

« L'ICOMOS considère que les délimitations et les zones tampons sont appropriées pour la plupart des biens mais les environs à l'est du Musée national des Beaux-Arts de l'Occident, Établissement principal, Tokyo, doivent faire l'objet de mesures renforcées et la zone tampon des maisons Jaoul (actuellement une zone de protection de 500 m) devrait être reconsidérée pour coïncider avec la topographie de ses environs. »

Fort Jesus, Mombasa (Kenya) No 1295rev

Official name as proposed by the State Party

Fort Jesus, Mombasa

Location

City of Mombasa
Coast Province
Kenya

Brief description

Fort Jesus, Mombasa, was built by the Portuguese in 1593 as part of a system of coastal forts to exploit African resources and transcontinental trade, at a time of political and economic domination by the West. The refined layout and structure of Fort Jesus, Mombasa, reflect the characteristics of Renaissance military architectural theory, and its basic design and structure have remained intact, despite frequent bombardment and several changes of ownership. Fort Jesus, Mombasa, controlled a larger area than most of the coastal forts - the East African Coast, including the Arabian Peninsula, and the Far East.

Category of property

In terms of categories of cultural property set out in Article 1 of the 1972 World Heritage Convention, this is a *monument*.

1 Basic data

Included in the Tentative List

25 June 1997

International Assistance from the World Heritage Fund for preparing the Nomination

2004

Date received by the World Heritage Centre

28 January 2009

31 January 2011

Background

This is a referred back nomination (34 COM, Brasilia, 2010).

A first nomination dossier for Fort Jesus, Mombasa was examined by the World Heritage Committee at its 34th Session (Brasilia, 2010). At the time, ICOMOS recommended to defer the examination of the nomination.

The World Heritage Committee adopted the following decision:

Decision 34 COM 8B.12:

The World Heritage Committee,

1. Having examined Documents WHC-10/34.COM/8B and WHC-10/34.COM/INF.8B1,

2. Refers the examination of the nomination on the basis of cultural criteria of Fort Jesus, Mombasa, Kenya, back to the State Party to allow it to:

- a) Further develop the nomination to demonstrate that the nominated property possesses outstanding universal value;*
- b) Expand the comparative analysis to include other relevant fortresses and go beyond the Portuguese context;*
- c) Amend the designation notice so as to eliminate the discrepancy between the sizes of the conservation area and the buffer zone;*
- d) Include the guidelines for the conservation of the Old Town (1990 Conservation Plan) in the bylaw so as to strengthen protection and facilitate management;*
- e) Revive the Mombasa Old Town Planning Commission and provide means for its functioning;*
- f) Reinforce the Mombasa Old Town Conservation Office (MOTCO) in terms of human resources and clarify its role;*
- g) Establish a holistic management structure for the Old Town that involves all the stakeholders, and, in particular the local community, the municipal council, and the managers of the nominated property;*
- h) Establish rigorous monitoring of the erosion of the coral rock that forms the foundations of the Fort;*
- i) Consider the inclusion of the underwater archaeological remains in the nominated property;*

3. Recommends that the State Party give consideration to the following:

- a) Relocating the car/bus parking area for visitors outside the moat for reasons of visual and functional integrity and authenticity;*
- b) Adding maintenance concerns to the Management Plan, including regular documenting of the state of conservation of the Fort.*

The State Party supplied on February 2011 the following new information:

- A revised nomination dossier, with an expanded comparative analysis;
- Copy of the revised Management Plan for Fort Jesus, dated January 2010;
- two maps:
 - the revised boundaries for the nominated

- property and its buffer zone, expanded to include part of the seawaters in front of Fort Jesus and Mombasa Old Town;
- the extract from the Survey of Kenya Map sheet 201/9/9NE1, scale 1:2,500, with boundary outline of Fort Jesus.
- two articles from the newspapers.

The additional information provided has been carefully considered by ICOMOS in the relevant sections of this report.

Consultations

ICOMOS has consulted its International Scientific Committees on Fortifications and Military Heritage and on Shared Built Heritage. ICOMOS consulted also independent experts.

Literature consulted (selection)

Boxer, C.R., and de Azevedo, C., *A fortaleza de Jesus e os Portugueses em Mombaça 1593-1729*, Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarino, 1960 Lisbon.

Freeman-Grenville, G.S.P., The Portuguese on the Swahili Coast: buildings and language, in *Studia* N° 49, pp. 235-53, 1989, Lisbon.

Hinawi Mbarak Ali, *Al Akida and Fort Jesus, Mombasa*, East African Literature Bureau, 1950, Nairobi, Kenya.

Kirkman, J., *Fort Jesus: a Portuguese fortress on the East African coast*, Oxford University Press, 1974, London.

Nelson, W.A., *Fort Jesus of Mombasa*, Canongate Press, 1994, Edinburgh.

Pearson, M.N., *Port cities and intruders: the Swahili Coast, India and Portugal in the Early Modern Era*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998, Baltimore and London.

Technical Evaluation Mission

An ICOMOS technical evaluation mission visited the property from 17 to 21 August 2009. As this is a referred back nomination, no further mission has been undertaken.

Additional information requested and received from the State Party

None

Date of ICOMOS approval of this report

10 March 2011

2 The property

Description

Fort Jesus, Mombasa, is situated in the town of Mombasa, a port city on the east coast of Kenya. The nominated property covers 2.36ha. It includes the Fort, the rock on which it stands, the immediate area surrounding it, including the moat, and an area to the south with archaeological material uncovered during

recent archaeological research. Mombasa Old Town forms the buffer zone to the Fort, occupying a further 31ha.

Fort Jesus, Mombasa, lies at the southern edge of Mombasa Old Town, close to the coastline, its main gate opening towards the main road of Mombasa Old Town.

Because of its strategic location, Mombasa grew in importance over the centuries and soon became a major trading port and a military strongpoint, along with other city- states, i.e. Lamu, Malindi, Pate, Kilwa, Zanzibar. The town was renowned from the 13th-14th centuries onwards and the beauty of its architecture was described by the Arab traveller Ibn Battuta, who visited East Africa in 1331 and gave vivid accounts in his writings of the towns of this region.

Fort Jesus, Mombasa, was erected in 1593-96 to the designs of Giovanni Battista Cairati by the Portuguese when they gained control over Mombasa, to protect its port, which became a stop-over along the trade routes throughout the Indian Ocean. Cairati was an Italian military architect and engineer who designed several fortresses for the Portuguese colonies in Asia. However, Cairati apparently never went to Mombasa: he only produced the drawings for the fortress and sent them to the master builder in Mombasa.

The Fort was given a form that was roughly human, inspired by the architectural theories of the Renaissance which were developed one century before the construction of the nominated property, in 15th century, by, among others, Filarete or Francesco di Giorgio Martini and expressed in several anthropomorphic sketches of architectural elements and buildings.

In addition to the influence of Renaissance architectural theories, and in the light of the fact that the founders belonged to the Order of Christ, the image of the martyred Christ has also been read in the plan of the fort.

The Fort is organized around a central courtyard with four bastions, one at each corner, while the side towards the sea is interrupted by a rectangular gun platform. The landward bastions (São Filipe and São Alberto) were built with re-entrant angles facing one another in order to provide gun positions, whilst the seaward bastions (São Matias and São Mateus) were square in plan, although today São Matias also has one slightly re-entrant angle for protecting the Main Gate. A wooden bridge (now filled with sand to create a causeway) ran across the ditch to connect the gate with the exterior. Above it is the gatehouse, with upper and lower rooms. Two subsidiary gates, used to receive goods delivered by boat, open out from the projecting structure towards the sea. These were connected to the inner court by a sloping passage and a staircase.

Other features of the Fort are the parapet walks, firesteps, watchtowers and gun ports, barrack rooms on

both north and south sides, and guardrooms leading off the main gate. The fortress included facilities such as a chapel, a cistern, a well, and the Captain's house, but among these only the cistern and an L-shaped building survive.

The base of the defences is solid coral cut back to the line of the walls. On the landward side the walls were 4.27m thick with a parapet 2.75m wide and 1m high, backed by a wall walk and firestep. A dry moat encircles the three landward sides of the Fort, to ensure that it could not be attacked from the rising slope beyond the landward bastions. The height of the scarp, including the 5m deep and wide moat, is c 17m. The Fort is well above sea level and the moat provided protection during a retreat.

The original construction materials of the Fort were coral, lime, sand, and clay. The facades are finished with a pigmented yellow ochre plaster.

History and development

The East African coast between Somalia and Mozambique has been inhabited by different peoples over several centuries. The location and geomorphology of this part of the African coast was favourable for independent city states to flourish, trading in gold, silk, ivory, and skins with merchants from as far away as Persia, Arabia, Syria, India, and China. Kilwa, Mombasa, Malindi, Lamu, and Pate were all in competition with one another to gain supremacy over the area and the trade routes.

Portugal succeeded in opening up a sea route to the East Indies at the end of the 15th century, when Vasco de Gama sailed around the Cape of Good Hope to reach India and visited several prosperous port towns in Mozambique, Tanzania, Kenya, and Somalia. These cities were capable of providing good intermediate bases for ships sailing to and from India, and for this reason Portugal sought to gain control over the area. The Portuguese were obliged to compete with established groups such as the Omani Arabs, and domination over towns such as Mombasa or Malindi was not secured without ruthless clashes. By 1509 the Portuguese controlled tracts of the East African coast between Sofala in Mozambique to the south and Socrata to the north.

Nevertheless, control of the area continued to be contested by other groups, who tried repeatedly to replace the Portuguese in dominating the area. The Turks, for example, succeeded in building a fort in Mombasa by the sea during a brief period of control over the entire coastal region at the end of the 16th century.

The Portuguese reaction was not long in coming and by 1596 a new fortress, more strategically positioned and designed according the most advanced principles for constructing fortifications, was completed only three years from when work began and was named Fort Jesus, Mombasa.

The Fort became the new Portuguese headquarters on the East African coast, with a permanent garrison of a hundred soldiers. Smaller supporting forts were built on the island, the ruins of some of which are still visible at Mama Ngina Drive Heritage Site, about 1.5km south of the Fort, and at Makupa, 3km to the west.

The building of the fortress attracted Portuguese settlers and traders in large numbers and the Fort expresses the Portuguese's successful attempt to stamp its authority on an area that had formerly been under the influence of eastern civilisations.

Portuguese control of the area was challenged in particular by the Omani and the Turks, who encouraged the local population to revolt against the occupiers, as well as by other European powers, which had, by the end of the 16th century, made their appearance in the competition to obtain their share of the Indian Ocean trade.

This restless history is reflected by the numerous transformations that Fort Jesus, Mombasa, has witnessed over its existence.

The first improvements to the Fort date back to 1634-39 when, following a revolt, curtain walls were built on the landward side, and new walls were built on top of three of the bastions (São Filipe, São Alberto, and São Matias) and provided with new gun-ports, the curtain wall to the west was strengthened and the gaps were filled in to protect the foundations of the bastions on the coral reef, the main gate was protected by adding an elliptical bastion to the existing one and creating an additional gate connected to the first one by a covered passage. Two gun platforms were built, one to cover São Mateus bastion and the other to protect São Alberto bastion and the south curtain wall. Turrets were built to protect the projection located on the seaward side.

Having become aware of declining Portuguese control, the Omani raided their possessions on the East African coast from 1652 onwards and repeated attacks were launched until 1696 when the Omani Arabs besieged Fort Jesus, Mombasa, and eventually drove out the Portuguese. Further modifications were then made to repair and reinforce the damaged fortress. They filled in the outer rooms to create a larger platform at the level of the Portuguese walls and protected it with musket slits and gun-ports.

Despite repeated attempts, it was not until 1728 that the Portuguese reoccupied the Fort, and then only for 18 months.

Apparently, although the 18th and 19th centuries are not fully documented in the nomination dossier, the Omani Arabs maintained control over the coastal settlements until the area was colonized by the British in 19th century. Under British rule, in 1895, the Fort was converted to a prison until 1958. In this period additional buildings were built inside, such as the kitchen and a gallows up against

the re-entrant angle.

In 1958 Fort Jesus, Mombasa, was declared a National Park, and in 1960 it was restored, a site museum, a conservation laboratory, and an administration block were built on the foundations of the former barracks. The new status of the Fort led to archaeological excavations and research which yielded a great deal of information about the construction phases, as well as a number of artefacts that were housed in the museum.

3 Outstanding Universal Value, integrity and authenticity

Comparative analysis

The comparative analysis made by the State Party in the revised nomination dossier expands the previous analysis presented in 2010 and includes also examples from other geo-cultural regions, although for the most part related to the Portuguese presence throughout the world. The analysis aims to highlight the specificity of the nominated property within a selected group of fortresses that, although erected according to the Renaissance military architectural principles, were built in non European contexts.

The rationale of the comparison is based on the reasons underlying the construction of these forts (control of the coast or the hinterland and of trade routes), similarities in planning and in the building materials, retention of the initial design, history of the nominated property and its buffer zone, and the present state of conservation.

The properties examined in this comparative study are principally World Heritage Sites: the Fortress of the Portuguese City of Mazagan - El Jadida (Morocco, 2004, (ii), (iv)), the Forts in Elmina, part of the serial World Heritage property of Forts and Castles, Volta, Greater Accra, Central and Western Regions, Ghana (1979, criterion (vi)), which are among the earliest example of fortified buildings in the tropics. They also influenced the design of later fortifications, such as James Island and Related Sites, Gambia (2003, criteria (iii), (vi)), the Fortaleza de São Sebastião in the World Heritage fortified city of the Island of Mozambique (1991, criteria (iv), (vi)), the Ruins of Kilwa Kisiwani in Tanzania (1981, criterion (iii)), the Red Fort Complex (India, 2007, (ii), (iii), (vi)) and the City of Valletta (Malta, 1980, (i), (vi)).

Among properties inscribed on the tentative lists of the State Parties, the State Party has selected for comparison the Fortress Kambambe (Angola). Further properties reputed relevant for the comparison were the Forte dos Reis Magos (Fortress of three Wise Men, Brazil), the fort of Mannar (Sri Lanka) and Fort Aguada, in India

Fort Jesus, Mombasa, is considered to be more intact than the Fortress of Mazagan in that it has lost one of its five bastions, whilst the nominated property has retained all its parts, thanks to its superior design as a military

structure. Additionally the nominated property is said to have been built to control a larger area and along its history more powers contended to take over the fort. In respect to the Forts in Elmina, Fort Jesus was built to control the sea trade, whereas the Forts in Elmina were created in order to oversee routes in the interior, and also because it has retained its original design over the centuries while the design of the Forts in Elmina has been overlaid by the subsequent Dutch modifications.

The Fort on James Island was only partially stone-built, the utility buildings being of wood and thatch. After a long period of turmoil it was restored in the 18th century, when its initial design was substantially altered.

The Fortaleza de São Sebastião is said to be similar in a number of ways to Fort Jesus in terms of design, but it is less regular than the nominated property and the construction is reputed not to follow fully the principles prescribed for achieving the highest level of defence. The Fort was built not only to defend the trade routes to India but also to secure inland routes to gold mines. The Fortaleza de São Sebastião has been restored several times and has also suffered from heavy cyclone damage. However, it is worth mentioning that both Elmina and São Sebastião forts have been built before Fort Jesus, Mombasa and predated this fort.

Kilwa Kisiwani was built before Fort Jesus, Mombasa, but they share a similar history, since they both were built by Portuguese power and were subsequently taken over by Omani Arabs. Kilwa Kisiwani, however, was mostly destroyed by the Portuguese when they abandoned the fort only a few years after it was built, and so today only a fraction of the Portuguese fortress survives.

The Red Fort is said to be different from Fort Jesus for a number of reasons: the civilization that built it – the Moghul in the Indian subcontinent, the cultural influences that may be found in its fabric - Islamic, Timurid and Hindu - and the functions for which it was built, residential instead of military.

The city of Valletta and Fort Jesus are said to share several similarities. Both were erected according to architectural Renaissance principles, both are associated to religious orders (the former to the Military Order of the Knights of St. John, the latter to the Order of the Knights of Christ). However, differently from Fort Jesus, the fortress of Valletta was part of a system of fortifications around the town that were functional to the effective defence of Valletta. On the other hand, Fort Jesus is said to have been built as the main stronghold to protect itself, the surrounding town of Gavanna (today Mombasa Old Town) and the Indian Ocean trade routes. This would demonstrate the different role played by Fort Jesus.

The Fort of Mannar in Sri Lanka is said to differ from Fort Jesus for two reasons: it was smaller in size and re-built completely by the Dutch when they superseded the

Portuguese in the control over Sri Lanka.

Forte dos Reis Magos, Brazil would share a number of similarities with Fort Jesus: both were built on the top of a coral reef promontory, both had five bastions, but the nominated property is reputed to have a superior design, that allowed the Portuguese to maintain control over the fort and their economic interest in the Indian Ocean.

Fortress Kambambe is considered different from Fort Jesus, in that the first was built mainly to control the Portuguese penetration into the Angolan inland and as a base for the slave trade and goods storage, whereas the nominated property was meant purely for defensive reasons, to secure the coast and the Indian Ocean trade routes. Finally, Kambambe fell in ruins, whilst Fort Jesus is still intact.

Fort Aguada (India) was built at the beginning of the 17th century in Goa and is reputed one of the best examples of the Portuguese forts in this town. Fort Aguada is located, like Fort Jesus, Mombasa, on a rocky cliff but today it is almost in ruins.

In summary, according to the State Party, the comparison would show that Fort Jesus is an outstanding witness of the new principles and conception for military architecture, applied in a particular geo-cultural and historic context, as well as of the exchanges of influences among European, African, Arabian and Asian cultures. Thanks to its design, it has preserved its original design and structures, despite several changes of control.

ICOMOS observes that, although expanded, the comparative analysis has failed to consider vital examples for the comparison. Even when limiting the analysis to the Portuguese colonial context e.g. the Fortresses of São Miguel in Luanda, Angola, which is still an imposing and still standing fort, or the Fortress of the World Heritage Site of Cidade Velha, (Capo Verde, 2009 (ii), (iii), (vi)), should have been included. Further relevant examples against which to compare the nominated property and not examined by the State Party are Muxima, and Massanganu in Angola, the Fort of the Wise Men in Goa and the Fortress of São Sebastião of Baçaim (India), and the Fortresses of Ormuz (Bahrain), and of Muscat (Oman), as well as the Fort of São Filipe de Setúbal (Portugal).

ICOMOS further notes that the revolution in the conception and design of military architecture in the 16th century, following advances in weapon technology and in military strategy, as well as the application of certain architectural design principles derived from the Renaissance, were a general phenomenon that touched all European powers and so, for a robust comparative analysis, fortifications built not only by the Portuguese but also by other European powers could have been examined.

Additionally, ICOMOS observes that the expanded

comparative analysis has focussed only on typological aspects of the fortification and, in this regard, the comparison has not made a systematic use of the shared reference criteria adopted for studying fortifications, i.e., size, plan, layout, articulation of the bastions, location, etc.. On the other hand, the comparison has overlooked the cultural interchange witnessed and reflected by the nominated property and other similar properties.

In this regard, ICOMOS underlines that almost all fortresses that have been used for comparison and are inscribed on the World Heritage List are part of larger properties comprising the towns or settlements that are associated to them and contribute to reflect and convey the intercultural exchange values that were claimed for sustaining their inscription. This is true, i.e., for the Portuguese City of Mazagan - El Jadida, fortified city of the Island of Mozambique, the City of Valletta, Cidade Velha.

In summary, ICOMOS considers that the comparative analysis, as it has been expanded by the State Party, has not been able to support the values that are claimed for the nominated property. At the same time, the new comparison provided has limited its scope to one set of values claimed for the property, overlooking the cultural interchange dimension of Fort Jesus, Mombasa.

ICOMOS considers that the comparative analysis does not justify consideration of this property for the World Heritage List at this stage.

Justification of Outstanding Universal Value

The nominated property is considered by the State Party to be of Outstanding Universal Value as a cultural property for the following reasons:

- Built in a period and in a region, which were at the centre of the emerging political, commercial and cultural globalisation, Fort Jesus, with its imposing structure, is an exceptional witness to the first successful attempt by the western civilisations to control the east-west maritime routes and to the interchange of cultural values among peoples of African, Arab, Turkish, Persian and European origin.
- Fort Jesus, Mombasa, exemplifies a new type of fortification, resulted from the innovations in the military and weapon technology occurred in the 15th and 16th centuries. It also bears testimony to the philosophical debate that underlay the Renaissance architectural theory. Its layout granted Fort Jesus a complete protection from attacks and contributed to the retention of its original design throughout the centuries and several changes of hands and uses. Fort Jesus is reputed to represent the best surviving example of 16th century Portuguese military fortification of its kind in the world.

ICOMOS observes that the cultural interchange among

the different civilisations that came in contact and fought to dominate the region and the Indian Ocean commercial routes was undeniably witnessed by Fort Jesus, Mombasa but this argument has been mainly stated and only meagrely articulated in the nomination dossier. Struggle, conflicts and contestation to gain control over them, is the common destiny of most fortifications, as demonstrated by the comparative analysis, whilst the cultural interchange that occurred in the nominated property, and its significance, would be better understood and its relevance assessed, when posed in relation to its buffer zone, Mombasa Old Town, and to the regional pattern of development of coastal settlements of East Africa. This aspect of Fort Jesus' significance would need to be strengthened through a more detailed argumentation robustly related to its history and its subsequent transformations and framed within the larger geo-historical context of the Indian Ocean trade routes.

On the other hand, the claim of the importance of Fort Jesus, Mombasa, as one of the finest examples of military architecture reflecting the innovations in weapon technology and warfare strategies and embodying Renaissance architectural theories has not been substantiated by the expanded comparative analysis proposed by the State Party.

Integrity and authenticity

Integrity

The State Party holds that the boundaries of the nominated property have been selected to ensure that the functional and visual integrity of Fort Jesus is retained. The boundaries have been delineated so as to include the underwater archaeological remains adjacent to Fort Jesus that are integral to its historical context.

The property is said to be in good conditions and not encroached upon. Minor changes inside the fort bear witness to its history and do not threaten its integrity.

The State Party has informed that the car park that occupied part of the moat has been relocated in another place, outside the nominated property.

ICOMOS observes that the boundaries for the nominated property as redefined in the revised documents include the elements strictly necessary to express its value as a fortification built following Renaissance architectural design principles in a remote context, as a stronghold for exploration and territorial control, as several other cases documented in Africa.

ICOMOS notes that the State Party has included the area where the underwater archaeological remains lie in the nominated property and in the buffer zone. However, it is not understandable the rationale of the development of the expanded boundaries in the sea area, nor is it clear how the boundaries can be physically traced and identifiable in their marine side.

In this regard, ICOMOS recommends modify the perimeter of the boundaries of the marine area, to facilitate demarcation, in absence of physiographic features, according to straight lines that might be marked through buoys.

ICOMOS considers that the fabric of the nominated property is in relatively good condition, it is well maintained, and it is not encroached upon by permanent structures.

Minor changes to the building and its uses reflect its turbulent history. These alterations are well explained in the documented history and cannot be said to have damaged its integrity.

ICOMOS notes that the State Party has mentioned the relocation of the car/bus parking area for visitors to a site outside the nominated property. ICOMOS expresses its satisfaction for this decision; however, it would be important to know whether and how this part of the moat has been reclaimed after the removal of the park.

Authenticity

The State Party considers that, on the basis of archival and published records, Fort Jesus, Mombasa, still conforms with its original design. The nominated property retains its initial architectural and aesthetic values. The ramparts, for instance, or the surrounding moat have not been changed and the same materials used by the Portuguese in building the Fort have been used in subsequent developments, which for their part have not altered the overall shape of the initial fortress. The function of the Fort, although it is no longer a military installation, respects its aesthetic form and value and the modifications that have been made necessary by the current use do not diminish its unity, form, and original layout.

ICOMOS considers that Fort Jesus, Mombasa, has retained its form, design, and construction materials, despite a number of modifications, which in fact bear witness to the turbulent history of the nominated property. Changes of use and function over time have not damaged the important elements of its fabric nor have they introduced incompatible materials or techniques.

ICOMOS considers that the nominated property could have the capacity to meet the conditions of authenticity and integrity if further work is done to better justify the proposed outstanding universal value and the selected criteria, strengthen the comparative analysis in order to justify the proposed Outstanding Universal Value.

Criteria under which inscription is proposed

The property is nominated on the basis of cultural criteria (ii) and (iv).

Criterion (ii): exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of

the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design;

This criterion is justified by the State Party on the grounds that the Fort marked a milestone in 16th century fortress design, as a stronghold for the safeguard of Portuguese interests not only on the East African coast but also along the trans-Indian Ocean trade. The successful design of Fort Jesus, Mombasa, led to the adoption of some of its strategic aspects to improve other forts in Africa. Fort Jesus, Mombasa, is also said to symbolize the struggle for freedom, as it became a field for resistance against domination by any power. The Fort is also claimed to be a landmark of social cohesion as it is used by people of diverse cultures while still retaining the characteristics of its previous functions.

ICOMOS considers that the interchange of human values and cultures as well as the struggle over the Fort between local and foreign powers is illustrative not only of the history of Fort Jesus but also of all East Africa, as it is demonstrated by several forts and fortified settlements scattered along the coast of this side and in general of all Africa. This interchange is, however, only sparingly reflected in Fort Jesus' spatial and architectural expression over time, as its initial concept has proved to be so strong that any modifications remain subordinate. The cultural interchange of the nominated property could be better understood when it is considered in close relation to its buffer zone, Mombasa Old Town, which clearly reflects in its urban and built fabric its multi-cultural past and with the other fortresses and fortified settlements that punctuate the African coast.

Similarly, the claim that Fort Jesus is a landmark of social cohesion is not sufficiently articulated in the nomination dossier in relation to either the history of the fort or its physical fabric.

The expanded comparative analysis has not scrutinized the selected properties with reference to the set of values related to this criterion but has limited its scope only to the architectural and typological aspects.

ICOMOS considers that this criterion has not been demonstrated at this stage.

Criterion (iv): be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history;

This criterion is justified by the State Party on the grounds that Fort Jesus, Mombasa, is held to be the best surviving 16th century Portuguese military fortification in the world, which in its layout and form reflected the Renaissance ideal that perfect proportions and geometric harmony are to be found in the proportions of the human body, while at the same time meeting the functional needs of a modern and well defended fortification. No other fortress is said to

illustrate better than the nominated property reference to the human body as the model for its layout. This layout, though simple, ensured the complete protection of the Fort and allowed it to survive almost unchanged over centuries of continued occupations and reoccupations.

ICOMOS considers that the articulation of the justification for this criterion has not been developed sufficiently to substantiate the State Party's claims. The expanded comparative analysis has not been able to support the claims that have been put forth by the State Party to demonstrate this criterion.

ICOMOS considers that this criterion has not been demonstrated at this stage.

ICOMOS considers that the nominated property meets the conditions authenticity, while the conditions of integrity will be met when the rationale for the delimitation of the boundaries will be made clear. In this regard ICOMOS suggests that the delineation of this part of the boundaries be revised along straight lines, for purpose of unambiguous physical demarcation. ICOMOS does not consider that the criteria and Outstanding Universal Value have been demonstrated at this stage.

4 Factors affecting the property

Development pressures

The State Party states that no development pressures affect the nominated property, since it is a designated national monument and its buffer zone is a conservation area.

ICOMOS considers that development pressure does not affect the nominated property. However, it does concern the buffer zone, Mombasa Old Town and it is likely to increase in case of inscription on the List, as this is a common trend, due to various factors (i.e., increase of tourism, of land and property values). ICOMOS therefore notes that the consequences of an increased pressure may lead to social tensions in the short term and a loss of the qualities of the Old town due to foreseeable increase of tourism and related urban transformations.

Uncontrolled development in Mombasa Old Town may also nullify the additional protection that the buffer zone is meant to give to the nominated property. In Mombasa Old Town land values have increased and this may encourage local inhabitants to sell, leave, or redevelop their properties, despite the protective measures in place.

ICOMOS also recommends that the infrastructure of the town should be upgraded, in order to improve the living conditions in the Old Town.

Tourism pressures

The State Party estimates that 70% of the tourists visiting the coast of Kenya go to Fort Jesus, making it one of the most visited cultural sites in the country. A visitor management system has been put in place.

ICOMOS considers that these pressures are well managed through a visitor-management strategy that takes account of carrying capacity and the distribution of visitors across various trails and sites. Although, in the buffer zone tourism pressures may be more serious in its final effects and difficult to hold down, resulting in uncontrolled transformation.

Environmental pressures

In the section of the nomination dossier relating to environmental pressures the State Party discusses the consequences of climate change.

ICOMOS considers that unpredictable weather events and floods might be included among the environmental pressures related to climate change.

Natural disasters

The State Party considers that the Fort site is not at risk from fire or flooding. The staff is well trained and equipped to respond to fire, and recent drainage works have further reduced the risk of flooding. The site is not in an earthquake zone.

ICOMOS considers that the measures in place to counteract the threat from fire are adequate and that the efforts undertaken to improve the drainage system and its maintenance are helpful in addressing the issue of flooding within the nominated property.

Impact of climate change

The State Party is of the opinion that, owing to the global environmental changes that have caused a general rise in sea levels, tidal currents have been damaging the coral rock base of the Fort. This may over time undermine the built fabric of the nominated property.

ICOMOS considers that erosion of the coral rock on which the Fort is built is the principal threat. In 2008 a small section of rock on the northern section of the seashore collapsed. ICOMOS recommends that the highest priority be given to rigorous monitoring of this phenomenon and measures undertaken to address this issue as soon as possible.

ICOMOS considers that the main threats to the property are possible future development pressures on the urban buffer zone and the erosion of the Fort's coral rock foundations.

5 Protection, conservation and management

Boundaries of the nominated property and buffer zone

Care has been taken in the definition of the boundaries of the nominated property so as to include the Fort, the moat, an adjacent area for potential archaeological research as well as the area where underwater archaeological remains are located. The terrestrial boundaries coincide with distinct physical limits, such as the road to the north, the hill to west and south, and the sea to the east.

The buffer zone includes the Old Town and the old administrative area, designated a Conservation Area in 1990, because of its concentration of high-quality 18th century buildings and its historic and social links to the Fort. It is delimited for the most part by main roads, except on the north, where ICOMOS considers that markers for clarification to the public are needed.

Also the boundaries of the buffer zone have been expanded to include the marine area where underwater archaeological relicts have been detected.

ICOMOS observes that no information has been provided by the State Party about the amendment to the Gazette notice required by the World Heritage Committee to eliminate the discrepancy in the size of the designated Conservation Area (13ha) compared with the size of the buffer zone (31ha) – which are stated to be the same. The State Party has provided the text of the Gazette notice n.2092 (1990) through which Mombasa Old Town has been protected as a conservation area but the map attached to the Gazette Notice (ref Map 537/6) has not been provided by the State Party. At this stage, it is not clear whether the buffer zone in its entirety is covered by a layer of protection or not, as required by paragraph 104 of the Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention.

ICOMOS recalls its previous recommendation that the designation notice be amended as soon as possible in order to eliminate this mismatch and ensure that the entire buffer zone is granted the restrictions necessary to provide an added layer of protection to the nominated property, which, in this specific case, is particularly relevant considering that Mombasa Old Town possesses a cultural significance that is integral to the nominated property.

ICOMOS also notes that figures of the nominated property and its buffer zone sizes provided by the State Party in the nomination dossier has not been updated according to their expansion to include the underwater archaeological relicts. The figures provided are actually the same as those exposed in the 2010 Nomination Dossier.

Additionally, it is not clear the reason for the articulated boundaries delimiting the nominated property and the buffer zone in the sea area, nor is it explained how they will be identified or physically materialised.

In this regard, ICOMOS suggests that the delineation of this part of the boundaries be revised along straight lines, for purpose of unambiguous physical demarcation.

ICOMOS considers that the terrestrial boundaries of the nominated property and of the buffer zone are adequate, but recalls its previous recommendation to amend the gazette notice so as to eliminate the discrepancy between the size of the designated conservation area and that of the buffer zone. ICOMOS also recommends that markers are installed to clearly identify the northern as well as the marine boundaries of the buffer zone.

Ownership

The property is owned by the Government of Kenya through the National Museums of Kenya (NMK).

Protection

Legal Protection

Fort Jesus, Mombasa, was originally designated a National Park in 1958 to protect the Fort and a 100m strip around it. Today it is protected under the National Museums and Heritage Act 2006.

This Act clearly defines the functions and powers of the NMK, along with measures for the protection of designated areas. The NMK keeps collections and individual items of scientific, cultural, technological and human interest, conducts research and disseminates knowledge in these fields, identifies, protects, and conserves the cultural and natural heritage of Kenya, and promotes the cultural resources of the country. To accomplish its objectives, the NMK can acquire and exchange movable and immovable property for purposes connected with those of the NMK, erect or upgrade buildings, obtain revenue through the properties in their ownership, accept donations and bequests, establish and maintain research institutions, conduct environmental impact assessments, and enter into associations with other bodies or organizations in order to achieve its institutional goals and functions.

Areas protected under the National Museums and Heritage Act may be set aside or their use restricted in order to ensure that any monument or property is not damaged. These areas may be put under the control of the NMK and steps to ensure their maintenance can be taken by the NMK. Monuments are inspected, documented, and repaired by NMK staff or by persons authorized by the NMK.

The Environmental Management and Coordination Act (EMCA) 1999 and the National Museums and Heritage Act 2006 ensure that *'Environmental Impact Assessments are undertaken on sites earmarked for*

development projects and whose implementation threatens the survival of heritage resources of some kind among other components of the environment.'

The proposed buffer zone was declared a Conservation Area in 1990 and confirmed by designation in 1991. Today it is protected by the National Museums and Heritage Act 2006. Mombasa Old Town was protected because of its high concentration of 18th century buildings and the quality of its architecture and urban fabric, and also because it is historically and socially linked to the development of Fort Jesus, Mombasa. A Conservation Plan for Mombasa Old Town has been developed since 1990 and the Agency responsible for its implementation is the Mombasa Old Town Conservation Office (MOTCO), a department of the NMK. At the municipal level exists the Mombasa Old Town Planning Commission which cooperates with the NMK.

Additional information provided by the State Party on February 2011 explains that the Commission has been in operation since it has been gazetted in 2009 (gazette notice n. 2660). It includes members of the Municipal Council, interest groups from the local community, special interest groups and the NMK, providing technical expertise.

The revised nomination dossier reports that by-laws subject the area to development control measures, which are drawn from the conservation guidelines for Mombasa Old Town, namely buildings are not allowed to be built with more than three storeys; all buildings must retain their historical character and features, in particular with reference to doors and windows as well as their design and proportions; advertising signs should use hand-carved boards.

As part of its development strategy, the Government has produced a medium-term Development Plan for Mombasa District for the period 2008-2012.

ICOMOS considers that the existing legal provisions to ensure the protection of the nominated property and its buffer zone are adequate. ICOMOS however stresses its previous recommendation concerning the issue of the discrepancy between the size of the conservation area and of the buffer zone and recommends that is resolved as soon as possible.

Traditional Protection

Traditional material and local craftsmen are used for all repairs.

Effectiveness of protection measures

The nominated property is under the responsibility of the NMK. Any project concerning the Fort is developed by the Site Manager and then reviewed internally, final authorization being given by the Head of the Department responsible for sites and monuments.

In Mombasa Old Town all construction projects need authorization at the municipal council level and are subject to restrictions in terms of size and appearance. Signage must also be in accordance with the character of the town. Furthermore, development projects within Mombasa Old Town must be approved by the NMK, on the basis of the bylaws establishing building regulations.

The Mombasa Old Town Conservation Office (MOTCO) has been set up to monitor and control urban development and thus to protect the Fort from uncontrolled development or neglect.

Additional information provided by the State Party on February 2011 explains the internal structure of MOTCO, which includes a head of the office, an office messenger, a secretary, a community education officer, two building inspectors and a draft man.

In 2010, ICOMOS observed that, although MOTCO cooperates with the Municipal Planning Office, the Mombasa Old Town Planning Commission had ceased functioning since 2007.

The additional information provided by the State Party regarding the reactivation of the Commission is reassuring, although it would be important to know how it has been functioning after its legal establishment in 2009 (i.e., their responsibilities and tasks, periodicity of meetings, etc.). Consultation among the bodies responsible for the Old Town is indispensable to grant coordination in issuing building permits, thereby reducing the time necessary to the authorities in dealing with undesirable situations and focus on assisting the community to conserve the Old Town better.

ICOMOS considers that, although the existing administrative structure may ideally ensure effective protection, it would be important to understand how the Mombasa Old Town Planning Commission actually functions and to give it the means to function properly thus ensuring better coordination between MOTCO and the municipal planning office. Furthermore, MOTCO should be strengthened in terms of human resources.

ICOMOS considers that the existing legal protection for the nominated property is appropriate, whilst, at this stage, it is not clear whether the buffer zone is entirely covered by a layer of protection, as required by paragraph 104 of the Operational Guidelines. ICOMOS recommends that the State Party provides a clear description with maps of the areas subjected to formal legal protection, as well as with a description and explanation of the functioning of Mombasa Old Town Planning Commission. ICOMOS also recommends that the Commission be given the means to allow it to function properly. Furthermore, Mombasa Old Town Conservation Office (MOTCO) should be strengthened in terms of human resources.

Conservation

Fort Jesus, Mombasa, underwent a substantial intervention in 2000-2001. The works included the complete replastering of the external walls, where much plaster had fallen off, and landscaping of the immediate surroundings of the Fort. Conservation for this property therefore relates principally to regular maintenance, with occasional special projects.

ICOMOS considers that the efforts of the NMK in preserving the nominated property have been successful, but that there is a need to ensure ongoing maintenance in order to avoid rapid deterioration of the structures.

ICOMOS observes also that the NMK, together with the general respect and concern of the community for the conservation of the special landscape of Mombasa Old Town, has ensured, until present, the retention of the general skyline and urban layout of the historic town. Nevertheless, there is a need to focus the initiatives of local stakeholders, which may be done through the establishment of the holistic management of pilot interventions carried out with the joint technical support of the municipality and MOTCO.

Inventories, recording, research

The most recent records and inventories date back to 2001.

The inventory, records, and archives are held at the National Museums of Kenya in Nairobi, in Fort Jesus Museum in Mombasa, and in the National Archives and Documentation Centre in Nairobi.

Present state of conservation

Fort Jesus, Mombasa, is in a fairly good state of conservation and is benefiting from recent efforts, starting in 2001, to improve its state of conservation and ensure regular maintenance. Marked improvements were noted on site in 2009 when compared with the state of conservation in 2001 in the management plan attached to the nomination.

On the other hand, the 2003 survey of the Old Town stated that 25% of the urban fabric is in a bad condition. Additionally, there is a tendency to rebuild and renovate rather than to maintain and repair the existing heritage fabric. This is threatening the significance of Mombasa Old Town and undermines the ability of the buffer zone to contribute to the understanding of the nominated property and its values and to provide it an additional layer of protection.

ICOMOS recommends that MOTCO make an additional effort to sensitize and inform the community and the municipal technical officers about the conservation guidelines and ensure their effective implementation.

ICOMOS further recommends that waste-management and sanitation should be improved.

Active Conservation measures

A project includes the plastering of the curtain wall.

Maintenance

The nominated property is maintained regularly. The foreman inspects daily and reports to the chief curator for action if necessary. Traditional materials and local craftsmen are used for all repairs. There is a team on site (masons, carpenters, electricians, etc) for daily maintenance.

ICOMOS considers that there is an overall approach to maintenance. Funds are secured and skills are available, trained, and promoted. The revised Management Plan includes a Maintenance Plan for the period 2009-2019 with a detailed articulation of the needs for each building component of the Fort.

Effectiveness of conservation measures

The existing conservation measures for the nominated property are effective, whilst the measures for the buffer zone need reinforcement in implementation in order to ensure that the buffer zone continues to provide a meaningful additional layer of protection to the nominated property.

ICOMOS considers that the nominated property's state of conservation and current maintenance practices are satisfactory, but notes that the current trends in the buffer zone may in the medium term undermine the additional protection that Mombasa Old Town is meant to provide to the nominated property. ICOMOS therefore recommends that MOTCO make an additional effort to sensitize and inform the community and the municipal technical officers about the conservation guidelines and ensure their effective implementation. ICOMOS also recommends that waste management and sanitation should be improved.

Management

Management structures and processes, including traditional management processes

The Fort is managed by a chief curator, who heads the departments of public programmes, collections, administration, finance, and sites. He also administers the Mombasa Old Town Conservation Office, coastal archaeology, coastal sites and monuments, the Swahili cultural centre, and some additional south coast sites.

The buffer zone is managed by the municipality through its technical offices but, since it is a designated protected area, the NMK has to approve all developments. The Conservation Plan of Mombasa Old Town implements the guidelines for the management and development of the designated conservation area. The Mombasa Old Town Conservation Office is responsible for its implementation.

Policy framework: management plans and arrangements, including visitor management and presentation

The 2010 revised Fort Jesus Management Plan is based on the plan developed in 2001 on the occasion of the 3rd Africa 2009 regional course on the conservation of immovable cultural heritage and is extended to 2014. The Plan lays down strategies to improve the conservation and management of the property over a ten-year period and has been revised, including consultations with stakeholders.

The Management Plan contains a description of the management framework, identifies a set of guiding principles and the main areas of interest of the Plan: legal and management framework, management resources, state of conservation, interpretation and presentation.

The plan contains a SWOT analysis which identifies a number of fields of action and specific short, medium and long term objectives. The five key areas to be tackled with are the following: establishing a sustainable funding system, site presentation and interpretation, conservation works, promotion and tourism, education and research and for each area specific objectives are identified.

The 2010-2014 Action Plan select the priority objectives in the five areas, articulated in short (2010-2011) and long term (2010-2014). The action plan relates to general goals identified for the National Museums of Kenya, namely, developing an institutional marketing and development strategy, and to local ones, i.e., addressing the conservation issues related to the decay caused by salty air and by tidal currents, and elaborating a presentation/ interpretation of the nominated property.

An interpretation plan for the Fort is being prepared, starting in 2009, to present it as a military landscape and to improve understanding of its significance through better signage, better presentation of movable and immovable heritage, and enhanced surroundings with various trails.

The immediate surroundings of the Fort were refurbished in 2008 with parking, benches, and access to the sea. Parking was moved to free the main entrance to the Fort. Future plans will reorganize the access to Fort Jesus and the Old Town, create new facilities, and transfer the parking lot to a site beside the Swahili cultural centre.

Visitor management in the Old Town began in 2009, with a brochure, maps, and information panels on significant buildings. Guides have been trained - interns in the Fort and twenty guides from the community in workshops - to provide information on Fort Jesus, for customer care, and for internal organization.

To balance visitor and handling capacities, alternative trails are planned within the Fort, in its immediate surroundings, in the Old Town, and in the coastal region. Visitors are redirected to other major heritage coastal sites. Collaboration with the French Embassy has produced brochures on coastal trails and these are distributed to travel agencies, hotels, and tour operators.

ICOMOS considers that the revised Management Plan has identified the guiding principles for the care and the stewardship of the nominated property, as well as the issues, the weaknesses and the opportunities for the nominated property. The key areas of the management plan appear appropriate and the specific objectives identified coherently reflect the problems that need to be addressed, although ICOMOS recommends to give priority to programmed maintenance over restoration, based on the 2009-2019 Maintenance Plan included in the Management Plan.

ICOMOS finally recommends that the presentation of the archaeological features illustrating the occupation of the Fort should be improved so as to show how different occupying cultural groups have left indications of their influence on the Fort and to include in the presentation all facets of the rich history of the property.

Risk preparedness

The State Party asserts that the Fort is equipped to deal with any fire disaster and the staff is trained in fire fighting as well as in reactions to possible flooding.

ICOMOS considers that any risk-preparedness plan and training should also take into account the buffer zone, which is densely inhabited (300,000 persons in 31ha).

Involvement of the local communities

The community has a direct impact on the management, conservation, and presentation of the Fort. The National Museums of Kenya (NMK) ensures participation in management, through regular stakeholder meetings at which they present details of planning for the Fort (e.g. during preparation of the nomination and the interpretation plan). The NMK wishes to ensure indirect benefits for the surrounding community. The new presentation plan addresses the training and management of community guides. The NMK, through MOTCO, seeks to improve the presentation of the Old Town to the public and to create opportunities for the community.

Resources, including staffing levels, expertise and training

The Fort employs a staff of 104, of whom seven are professionals and eleven technicians in the fields of architecture, conservation, archaeology, musicology, and management. The remainder is engaged in maintenance. Four education officers prepare school and community programmes.

Fort Jesus generates funds for maintenance of the Fort through entrance fees. Part of this revenue is for daily maintenance and part for planned major works (e.g. plastering the curtain wall, to be done in 2009). It also receives a small annual government grant.

External funding has made various projects possible in the past, such as the financing of the restoration of the Fort and establishment of the museum in 1960 by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation or the 1990s excavation funded by the Omani Government, with restoration of a house in the Fort to house an exhibition of the cultural traditions of the Omani people.

Effectiveness of current management

Fort Jesus, Mombasa is managed by the National Museums of Kenya as a museum site. ICOMOS considers that the management framework, the plan, and actions developed or programmed are all moving in the right direction.

However, ICOMOS considers that effective management of the nominated property cannot ignore the management weaknesses of the buffer zone, Mombasa Old Town, since their negative consequences will affect also Fort Jesus and its significance.

ICOMOS considers that the management system for the nominated property is at present adequate for the protection, conservation, and presentation of the nominated property. However, to ensure the effectiveness of the added layer of protection that the buffer zone is meant to provide to the nominated property, ICOMOS recommends that the Mombasa Old Town Planning Commission be provided with the financial, institutional resources and conditions to function properly, that a holistic management structure for the Old Town be developed, that close cooperation among MOTCO and the municipal council and technical offices be established, and that the role of MOTCO be clarified and its staff increased.

6 Monitoring

The Directorate of Museums, Sites and Monuments is responsible for monitoring the condition of the property and the Department of Coastal Sites and Monuments monitors archaeological material found in its vicinity.

In 2010 ICOMOS observed that the key indicators identified (lintels, timber frames, wall plaster, and mould on walls) do not include erosion of the coral rock, which has been identified as the most dangerous threat to the property.

Additional information provided by the State party informs that the coral rock – monitoring issue has been addressed.

ICOMOS nevertheless observes that the highest priority be given to the monitoring of the erosion speed.

ICOMOS further considers that the transformations in Mombasa Old Town should be monitored, since the buffer zone is closely related to the nominated property by virtue of both their related history and their physical relationship.

ICOMOS considers that an overall regular monitoring system should be established within management, with indicators expanded and monitoring programmes specified both for the nominated property and for Mombasa Old Town.

7 Conclusions

Recommendations with respect to inscription

ICOMOS recommends that the examination of the nomination of Fort Jesus, Mombasa, Kenya, to the World Heritage List be **deferred** in order to allow the State Party to:

- Further develop and articulate the nomination to substantiate the proposed outstanding universal value, with specific consideration of the role played by the nominated property within its broader geographical, historical, political and economic context and in relation to other properties that share a similar pattern of evolution;
- Expand the comparative analysis in order to examine all sets of proposed values, with special regard to the cultural interchange dimension of the nominated property in relation to its wider geo-historical context;
- Amend the designation notice so as to eliminate the discrepancy between the sizes of the conservation area and the buffer zone and /or ensure that the entirety of the buffer zone is protected so that the additional layer of protection to the nominated property is effective;
- Modify the boundaries in the marine area so that they follow straight lines for purposes of easier physical demarcation, install markers to clearly identify the northern as well as the marine boundaries of the nominated property and of the buffer zone and also provide the figures of the amended size of the property and its buffer zone after their expansion;
- Provide a description and explanation of the functioning of Mombasa Old Town Planning Commission;
- Give the Mombasa Old Town Planning Commission the financial and institutional means to allow it to function properly;
- Strengthen Mombasa Old Town Conservation Office (MOTCO) in terms of human resources and its role, so that MOTCO is enabled to make an additional effort to sensitize and inform the community and the municipal technical officers about the conservation guidelines, thus improving their effective implementation and ensure that the buffer zone effectively acts as an additional layer of protection to the nominated property;

ICOMOS considers that any revised nomination would need to be considered by an expert mission to the site.

ICOMOS also recommends that the State Party give consideration to the following:

- Give the highest priority to rigorous monitoring of the rock erosion and to undertake measures to address this issue as soon as possible;
- Improve waste management and sanitation in Mombasa Old Town;
- Develop a holistic management structure for the Old Town that involves all the stakeholders, and in particular the local community, the municipal council, and the managers of the nominated property;
- Give priority to programmed maintenance over restoration, based on the 2009-2019 Maintenance Plan included in the Management Plan.



Map showing the revised boundaries of the nominated property



Aerial view of the Fort



The perimeter wall



View of the interior of the Fort



The museum building