

NATIONAL MUSEUMS OF KENYA



THE MONUMENTAL ARCHITECTURE
AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE CENTRAL
AND SOUTHERN KENYA COAST

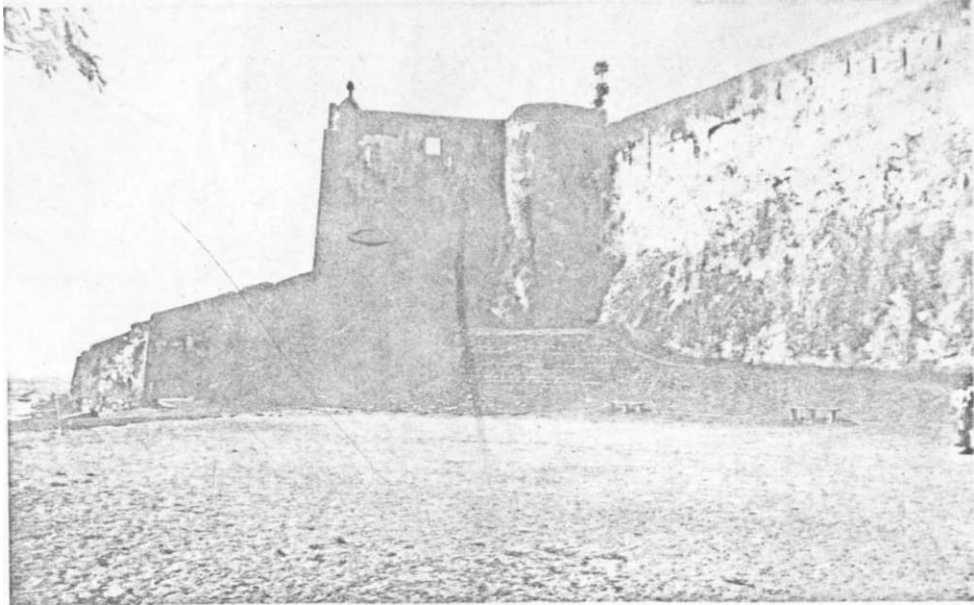
By

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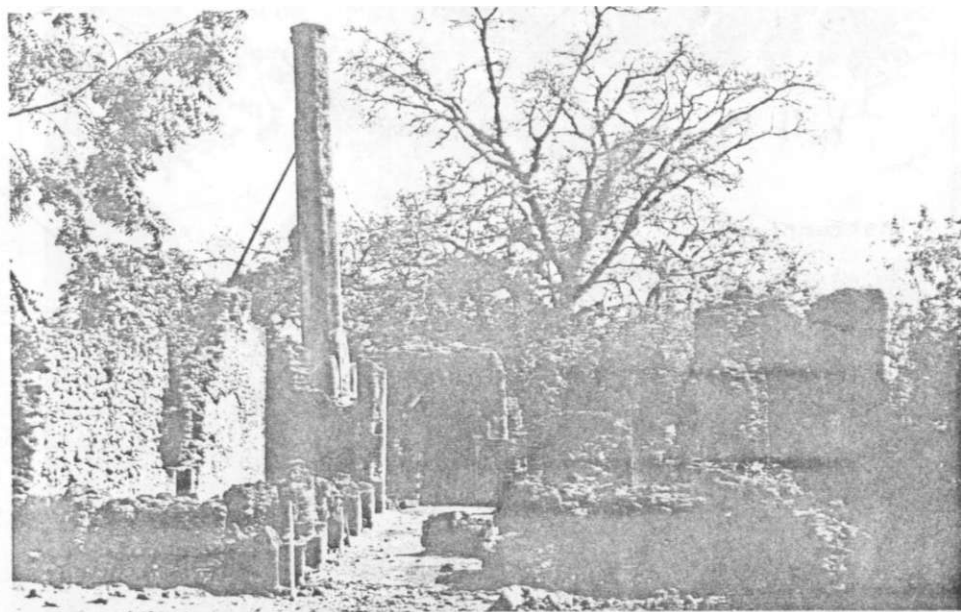
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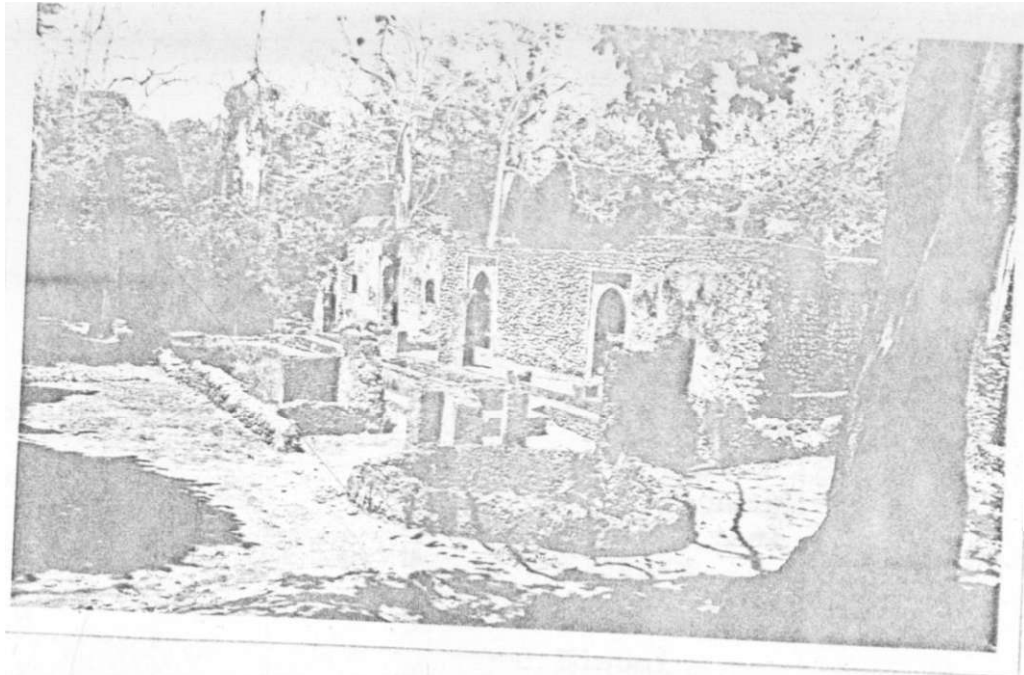
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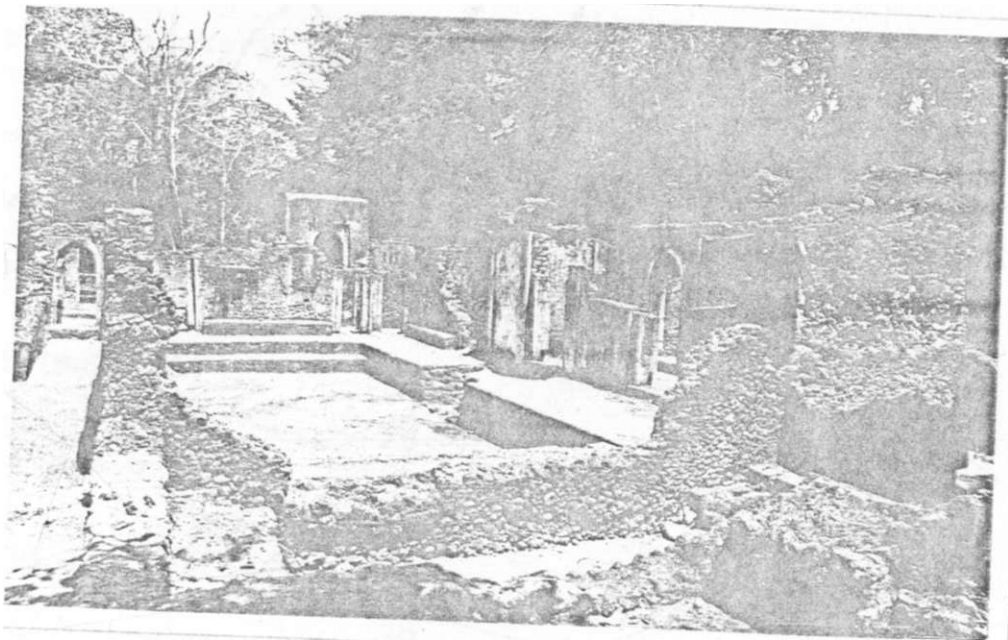
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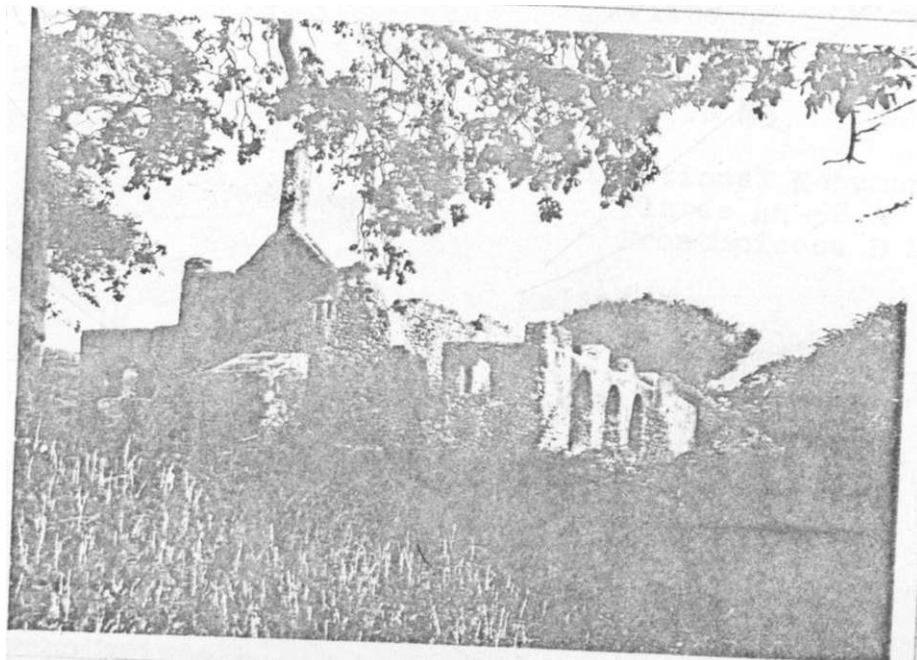
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Introduction

This monograph completes the survey carried out by the National Museums of Kenya of the archaeological sites of the coast. In scope this volume covers mainly the area from the Tanzania border to the Tana River, serving as a companion volume to that which covers the northern area of the coast, The Monumental Architecture and Archaeology North of the Tana River (Wilson 1978). Such survey work entails visiting the ruins of the coast in order to describe in detail what is to be found at the sites, to record structures and architectural features by drawings and photographs, and to locate the position of the ruins accurately by means of map references. "Wherever artifacts could be found surface collections were made, in order to estimate, however imprecisely, the time of occupation of the sites, and selective excavations were made occasionally to date historically or architecturally important monuments.

There are urgent reasons for documenting the coastal monuments and sites in this way: to form a detailed account of the sites on which to base policy for conserving, preserving, protecting, and developing the antiquities of the Kenya coast; to show the extent, quantity, and quality of the ruins, of which all East Africans can be proud; and to indicate forcefully the size of the problem confronting the National Museums of Kenya to care for the coastal sites and monuments. It is also useful to have descriptions of sites simply as a record, for twenty, fifty or one hundred years hence the ruins will have deteriorated further, despite our best efforts to save them. That archaeologists and historians often lament the lack of details or dearth of commentary of those earlier

writers who touched only lightly upon their fields of interest suggests how much comprehensive coverage is needed.

Discussion of the sites in the present volume proceeds from south to north, and in Appendix I may be found descriptions of some of the sites north of the Tana River missed in our first survey. Work south of Mombasa and north of the Tana is fairly straightforward: as the sites are relatively unknown, description and accurate recording by drawings and photographs are called for. In the area between Mombasa and I-iambui, however, the sites are better known, and some have been studied extensively; a strategy different than pure description is therefore required for these sites. As Fort Jesus is a well-studied and accessible monument it receives only a mention in this report. For Mnarani I have summarized the archaeology briefly and restricted my description to certain details omitted in Kirkman's 1955 paper. Gedi has been so exhaustively published that it might seem superfluous to write further on it. I have attempted, however, to synthesize briefly the archaeology of Gedi in a way that I think has not been done before. Jumba la Ktwana presents a special problem. It was partially cleared by Dr. Kirkman in 1971 but, with the exception of a short guidebook by him and a new guidebook just prepared by Sassoon, no study, descriptive or otherwise, has been undertaken. Because I believe, for reasons specified in these pages, that Jumba is one of the most important archaeological sites on the coast, I have accorded it a lengthy description and discussion.

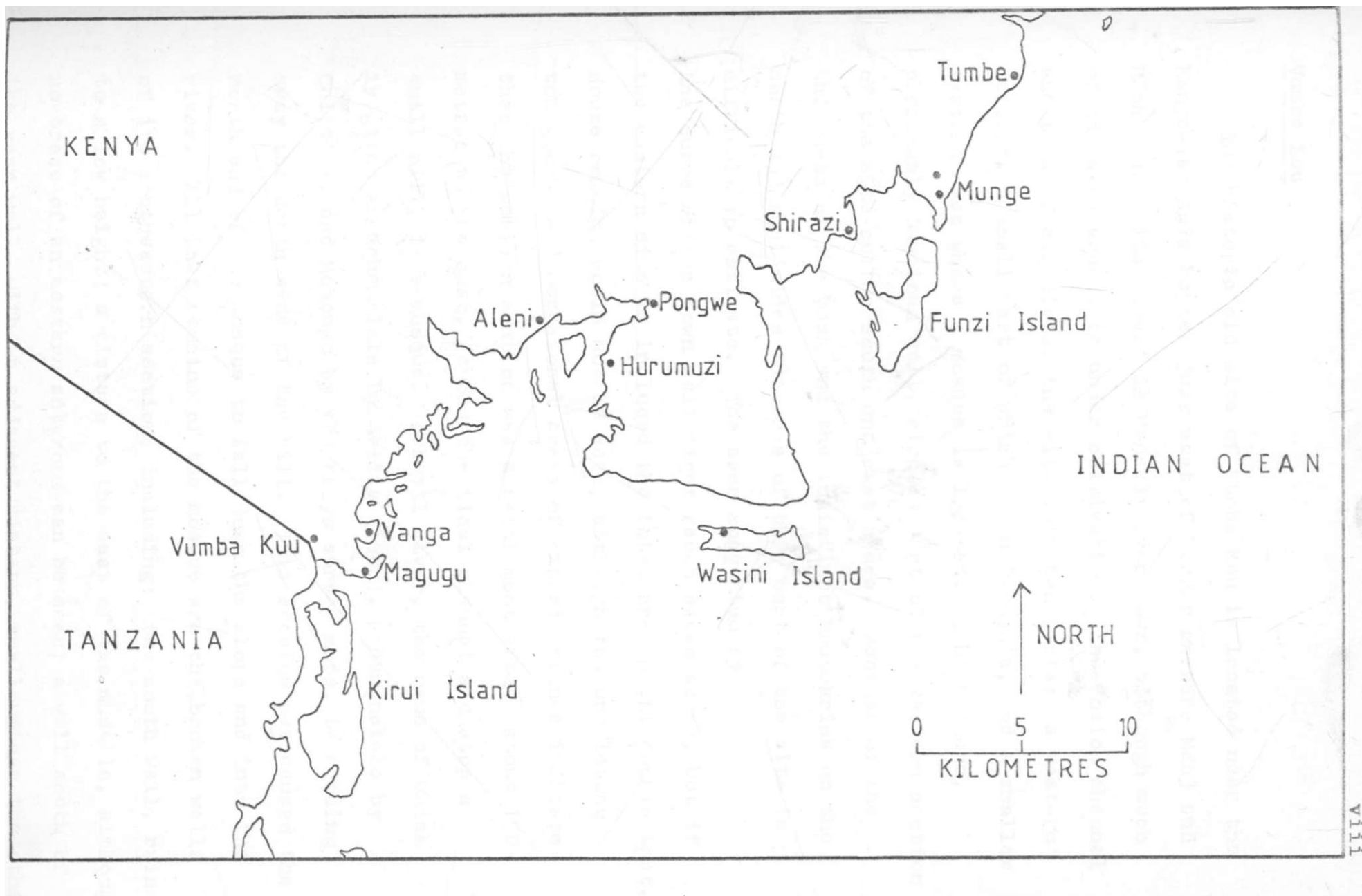
This monograph can be used in different ways. Because of the lengthy descriptions and technical terminology involved, perhaps only professional archaeologists interested in the

coast will care to read the volume in detail. The numerous illustrations and photographs, however, allow the monograph to be profitably scanned, and the nature of the coastal ruins appreciated, by those persons to whom detailed technical descriptions are unimportant. It can also be used simply as a reference work, to discover what is at individual sites, or the major archaeological references to them.

Site survey and the preparation of a site list (Appendix IV) are usually based on the previous work of individuals who have left some sort of record about the area under consideration. Dr. J. S. Kirkman did pioneering work on the Kenya coast, and all the papers and books of his listed in the bibliography are relevant to the present survey (but see especially 1957, 1961, 1968). Prins offered a fairly comprehensive site list (1967), and he was followed by Burrows (1975), Allen (1977), and Omar Bwana (1978). Sassoon (1974-75) worked on listing and briefly describing the sites, and I found his records of the relatively unknown south coast most helpful. Although Garlake's (1966) coverage of the coast was not comprehensive in the northern and southern areas, anyone who wishes to know about the architecture of the coast must begin with his work. For the inscriptions of the coast Freeman-Grenville and Martin (1973) may be consulted, and for the area around Vumba Kuu see Hollis (1900) and McKay (1975)* In neighboring countries, site survey has been carried out by Grottanelli (1955a, 1955b) and Chittick (1969), and on the Tanzania coast by Chittick (1957-58) and Freeman-Grenville (1962). The terminology used to describe mosques may be found in Garlake (1966), and that for tombs

in Wilson (1978, 1979).

Many people contributed directly or indirectly to the success of this project. I would like to thank, for encouraging the work to proceed and for helping to ensure its successful completion, Mr. Richard S. Leakey, Director of the National Museums of Kenya; The Honourable Omar Bwana, M.P., Head of Coastal Museums and Monuments; and Mr. Ali Abubakar, Curator of the Lamu Museum. I also thank the staffs of the Lamu and Fort Jesus Museums and the Gedi, Jumba, Mnarani and Takwa National Monuments for their help and hospitality in the field. The work could not have progressed as it has, nor would it be presented as it is, if it were not for the men who are permanently attached to the project, and to this field and laboratory crew I am greatly indebted: Muhammad Mchulla, Philip Jimbi Katana, Salilu Usama Salilu, Muhammad Famau ana, when he is on leave from his university studies, Athman Lali Omar. The first year's survey greatly benefited from the services of Mr. Benson Mboya and Mr. Gilbert Oteyo. Many Government officers and men aided the Museum in carrying out this project, including: Messrs. Karanja and Kabiru, former and present District Commissioners of Lamu; Mr. Qmuse, District Commissioner at Kilifi; and Mr. Kihuria, District Commissioner of Kwale. District Officers, Chiefs and Sub-Chiefs too numerous to name, in all areas of the coast, were always helpful; and the Kenya police, Army and Game Department always assisted when we asked. I have benefited from consultations in the field, in conversation and by letter from Mr. James de Vere Allen, and from correspondence on coastal matters with Dr. James Kirkman, Mr. Neville Chittick and Mr. Hamo Sassoon.



Vumba Kuu

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The historic old site of Vumba Kuu is located near the Kenya-Tanzania border just east of border markers M263 and K201|. The site itself is densely overgrown, although much of the area around is under cultivation. An erosion channel and tidal flats divide the site into two parts: a western section, a small part of which is in Tanzania, and a smaller eastern area where a mosque is located. A high mound, presumably the town wall, circles part of the western section of the site on the south and east sides. Because of the thickness of the bush and the indistinct boundaries on the north and west sides the area of this part of the site is difficult to estimate. The area suggested by the curve of the town wall might reach seven acres, but if the eastern side is included the total area might double that. House remains could not be seen, although the undulating topography and occasional areas of exposed stones indicate that the western section was a settlement area. About 150 metres to the east, across the tidal channel and atop a small hill, is a mosque. A small river, the name of which is given as Mchamalale by Hollis (1900), Mchamanelale by Chittick, and Mchongo by the Kenya survey maps, is eroding away the north side of the hill. This erosion has caused the north end of the mosque to fall down the slope and into the river. All that remains of the mosque are the broken walls of its southeastern section, including: the south wall, ruined > to a low height; a cistern to the east of the musalla, although, no trace of an eastern anteroom can be seen; a well south of the rear wall, with an adjacent cistern, smaller than the other.

A second mosque at Vumba Kuu has been reported by McKay (1975:21+1), but this was not seen by Chittick in 1958 or by me.

We made two small test excavations at Vumba Kuu, one in the settlement area and the other in the southeast corner of the musalla of the mosque, neither of which yielded ceramic. We were more successful with the surface collections, but even these we could obtain only from the erosion channel_f which yielded only local pottery, and from the tidal channel east and south of the mosque. Islamic monochromes were the most common pieces from the mosque area; of these 11+ had buff bodies and 19 had red paste. Of the former, eight were glaze_{e(j)} light blue, sometimes with purplish specks; the others had a green glaze. Among the pieces with a red body, six sherds were a dark greenish blue with a fine glassy surface, seven sherds were light blue to purplish blue in colour, with the glaze slightly mottled, and the remaining sherds had a green glaze. Two interesting pieces were glazed green on the exterior and reddish purple on the interior, over a brown body. Three sherds were Islamic polychrome on buff, and there were five small pieces of celadon. Local types included strai_f[^]_t sided, wide open-mouth bowls, carinated forms with incised edges, a small sherd with graphite on the inside and two shards with a red slip on the interior. There were also a round gaming piece or counter and two pieces of iron slag, one of which was circular around the edge and rounded on the bottom, per-h^{JPS} from the bottom of a kiln. Our collection confirms the observation made by Chittick (1958) that the absence of scraffiato indicates the site was not occupied before the j century. However, in our collection there was nothing obvi_o^v[^]

later than the **16th** century, although the site would appear to have been occupied at least through the 17th century, McKay reports finding **17th** century ceramics at Vumba Kuu, but our collection by contrast is strongly suggestive of a **15th** century date*-

Traditionally Vumba Kuu was said to have been founded in A.D. 1201+, the same date, as prins (1967:914.) points out, as the traditional date for the arrival of the Nabhani at Pate and for the foundation of Tumbatu. As there seems to have been some sort of connection between Pate and Vumba Kuu, or at least between Pate and some of the later families of the area under consideration, it is likely that the historic date from Pate was incorporated into the history of Vumba Kuu, Seven sultans followed the first man enthroned at Vumba Kuu, allegedly in 1201+, before the reign of a Kwana Chambi chardi Ivoo, whose presence seems to be confirmed about 1630, Between 1201 and 1630 occurred 429 years, requiring, if no sultans were left out of the list recovered by Hollis (1900), an unlikely 50 years as the average reign of each sultani Even though a certain number of interregnal years could be expected between the enthronements of successive sultans, it appears that either the traditional date of the foundation of Vumba Kuu is too early or the sultans are too few,- Assuming the list from Hollis is correct, and assuming a more modest average of 25 years for each reign, including interregnal years, the date for the foundation of Vumba Kuu is computed to be at the beginning of the 15th century, which accords well with the archaeological evidence,

Mwana Chambi Chandi Ivoo was remembered as the man who, with the help of Segeju and probably Digo allies, conquered

the eight Shirazi (or Dabuli?) towns: Kifundi, perhaps the present Shirazi; Maragoni, near the present Shimoni; Kwiyuni, the present Aleni; Mbayayi and Kirui, on Kirui Island; Muso, north of Manza, Tanzania; Manjauli, the present Manza; and Nkumbi, on the north side of Manza Bay. The last five sites are in Tanzania (vide Chittick 1958:8, McKay 1975:21+1-2). Of the Kenya sites, Hollis wrote that the ruins of Mdragoni mosque could then be seen near Shimoni (1900:282, note 5); this is probably the site called Kichangani by McKay (1975:21*0). I did not find this site, but the ruins at Alcni and Shirazi are described below.

Vanga "

Today Vanga is a community of mostly mud and thatch houses arranged along a neat series of north-south streets. The town is at the water's edge, with access to the sea through a broad channel flanked by mangroves. Small tombs scattered throughout the town are the only architectural features of any age. One of these has a small pillar about metres high, with the base of a 19th century European ceramic mug on top* Another tomb, dated A.D* 1978, has four saucers set in the east face, indicating that the practice of decorating tombs in this manner is still used in some areas today.* McKay wrote that the oldest surviving mosque at Vanga dates to the mid-19th century, although an earlier mosque existed that was completely destroyed (1975:21+0-1) • Hollis reported that Vanga was only a small fishing village when Diwan Sheikh moved there from Wasini about 1821. This is consistent with our surface collection of ceramics from Vanga, none of which appears to be older than the 18th century, and most of which is 19th century.

Kagugu

This is a site out in the mangroves about minutes' walk out of Vanga. There, on a grassy rise above sea level, a little island about 200 metres long by about 100 metres wide, are found an isolated cistern and, somewhat farther north, a ruined mosque. At the cistern site we collected many 19th century ceramics. The mosque was at the north end of the grassy high ground, but the north end of the structure has been carried away by tidal action. There were no potsherds in the mosque area. The mosque itself probably had a row of two (perhaps more) piers down the centre, making it a double-aisle type. At the rear was a transverse wall separating the musalla from the ablution chamber, which had a nicely plastered cistern at the west end. The rear pier, located a bay width in front of the door from the south room to the musalla, still stands, but the forward pier has fallen into the mangroves. There is no sign of the mihrab, which has similarly fallen into the tidal area. The rear wall of the mosque stands to full height; along the top exterior of this wall is a two member "half-keyhole" moulding.. The west front wall of the rear room stands to full height, and other walls partially stand. The sections of roof that can be seen are about 21; centimetres thick. The hidden nature of this site suggests it was located where it is for defensive reasons.

Wasini

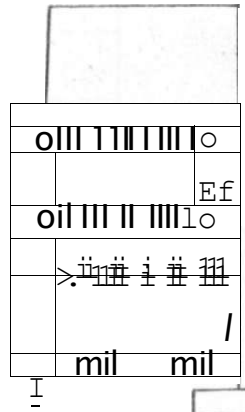
The town of Wasini is located on the northwestern side of the island of the same name; the community faces the mainland over a channel of the sea several hundred metres wide. There are two communities on the island in addition to Wasini,

Nyuma ya Maji on the south side, said by Hollis to be called Kun^ani and to be built on the site of an older fishing village (1900:285), and Mkwiro, a village of wa-Funzi on the eastern end of the island.

Although 13th to 16th century ceramics were reported from Wasini (McKay 1975:239), the present town itself seems to have been settled in the early 18th century, when Diwan Ruga moved there with his people from Vumba Kuu; According to Hollis the reason for this move was the fear of an attack from Mombasa, but today the people of Wasini say the move was forced upon them by the Galla or Masai.

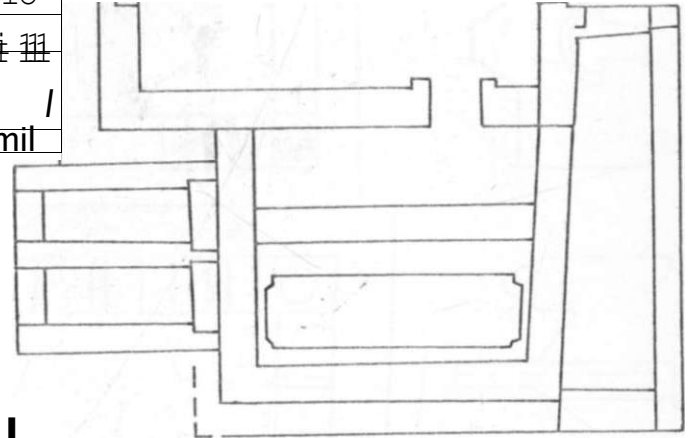
At Wasini there are five mosques, three of which are still in use, associated tombs and the ruins of a few stone houses. From west to east the mosques of Wasini are: Msikiti wa Mira Mwiuni (mtaa name), Msikiti Mdogo, Msikiti wa Ijumaa, Msikiti wa Kale and Msikiti wa Mgodo (mtaa name). The western mosque, Msikiti wa MiraMwiuni, was said to have been built by one Mkulu wa Mwenyi Mkuu of the al-Ba Uree family; he is said to have come from Pate. The roof is supported by two central octagonal pillars, directly in front of which is the mihrab. A recessed spandrel frame, rather than a true architrave, rises directly from the plain capitals. Within a single inner spandrel frame an archivolt frames the single arch; inside, the vault of the apse is ornamented by 13 fluted sections. Below the capital courses the apse is plain* At the southwest corner of the mosque are six tombs, illustrated below, said to be the graves of Mkulu wa Mwenyi Mkuu and his relatives. Of these six graves, two are plain low enclosures, two are step fend tombs with interesting superstructures (one could be considered a pillar tomb), and two have "mushroom" or "umbrella"

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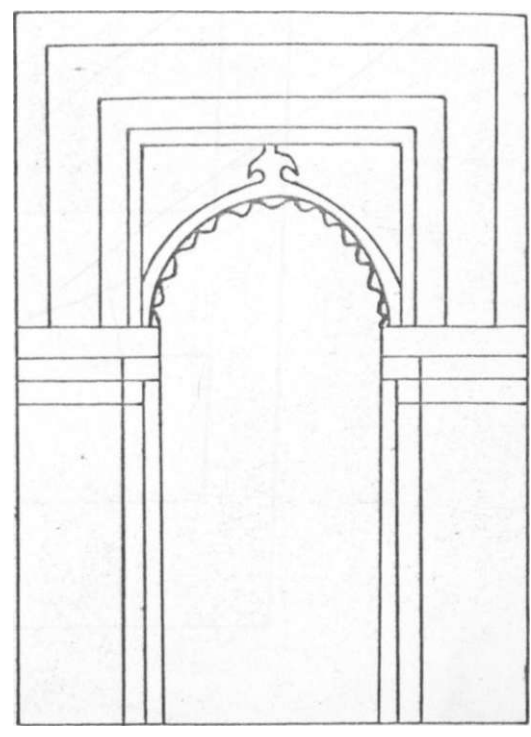
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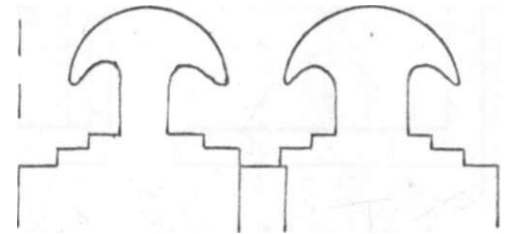
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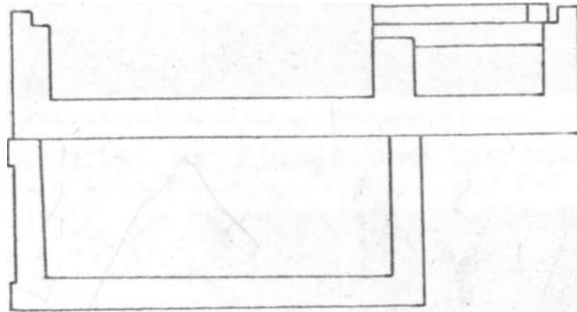
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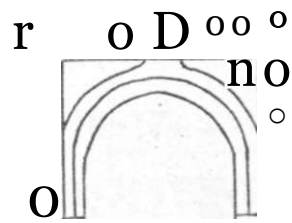
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MSIKITL WA KALE ○

WASINI SMALL MOSQUE



10

1. Msikiti wa Ijumaa and the tomb of Diwan Hasan, Wasini



2. Tombs 11-17, Chambocha Cemetery, Wasini



•Ph. 3. Tomb 22, Chambocha Cemetery, Wasini.
 ^ ^ ^ n nf the facade once Jield^ottle^

shaped elements above the east ends. These latter are the two southern tombs. Built at the same time, they both abut the ablution room of the mosque at their east ends, and they both have two low step courses below their superstructure, all of which also abuts the mosque. The side walls are flat on top, while the west wall has a low semicircular masonry slab on each tomb. The southernmost of the central two step end tombs has these semicircular masonry slabs in the centre of its north and south walls. It is a five-step tomb, with a chimney-shaped superstructure on the east wall. Below, in the east wall there is a window shaped as an arch above a rectangle, somewhat similar to one in the west wall. On the northwest corner of the tomb is a conical finial with vertical cuts. This tomb, like the one adjacent to the north, seems to have been built on a basal plinth. The northernmost of these two tombs is interesting for its small pillar, which was also a chimney fed from a niche on the inside of the east wall. This design was clearly for the burning of incense. It is a three-step tomb, with conical finials at the corners. On all four walls (the pillar is in front of the east wall) the central element of superstructure is a triangular member with concave upper surfaces; in all walls except the east the walls are pierced by arch shaped windows. Chinese and European ceramics of the 19th century may be picked up around these tombs, particularly at the last tomb described.

The other unused mosque at Wasini, Msikiti wa Kale, is now in ruins, as it was when Hollis visited it at the turn of the century. He wrote that this little mosque was built by the agent of Ahmed bin Muhammad, the Mazrui governor of Mombasa between A.D. 1780 and 1814. (Hollis 1900:285)?" The roof, now
 *Kirkman (1974:167) wrote that he was Wali of the Port, 1769-1810•

fallen, was held in place by a single central column with three main beams from each of the four walls meeting in the centre of the room. The rafters of the northeast bay were transverse to the central axis of the mosque, as were those of the southwest bay; those of the northwest and southeast bays were longitudinally arranged. The roof design, therefore, was one of alternating rafter orientation. There was a western door, but the main access was through a small eastern anteroom at the south end of which was the cistern. The mihrab had an architrave decorated with bowls and dishes across the top, only one of which now survives, a Chinese porcelain white on the inside and brown on the outside. Within the architrave are two stilted arch orders above narrow capitals of a single course, below which the two courses continue to ground level.

I did not investigate the other three mosques because they are still in use. Of these, Ksikiti Mdogo is a small mosque on the seafront said to have been built by the al-Jadid family. The eastern mosque, Ksikiti wa Kgado, like Ksikiti wa KiraMwiyuni, is said to have been built by Mkulu wa Mwenyi Kkuu. Ksikiti wa MiraKwiyuni is remembered to have been constructed first, but if they were both built by the same man their dates could not be too far apart, probably AD 1820-30, Ksikiti wa Ijumaa was built by Diwan Hasan, the son of Diwan Ruga, and completed in A.H. 1161 or 1162, A.D. 1718 or 1719. Behind this mosque are 11 tombs. Thirteen are arranged in three groups and a single tomb is at the southeast corner of the mosque. Five tombs, or rather four tombs and a grave, are within a high-walled compound with a southern arched doorway. Another group of four tombs is within another compound adjacent to the southwest, the eastern access to

which is now blocked by a tomb straddling the doorway. The last four tombs are to the south and east of the others, and are not surrounded by a compound wall. In the first compound are said to be buried Abubakar Diwan Ruga, his second wife, Mwana Jumbe binti Mwenyi Umanzi bin Sheikh el-Kasraji-el-Ba Uri: of Ozi and their daughter. Diwan Ruga, it will be remembered, died in A.D. 17b?-> his son, Diwan Hasan, died about A.D. 1802, and it is his grave that abuts the Msikiti wa Ijumaa on the southeast side.

Near the seafront is the grave of Iaarus, who is reported by Hollis to have been considered a wizard and at whose grave the Digo were said to pray for rain. He is remembered today as a religious man, and a leper, to whom people, mostly sailors, would go to ask him to pray for them or their problems. The grave has short pillars on the east and west ends, with central wall monuments on the side walls and step ends at the corners with conical finials on top on the east end and cylindrical finials on the west. The facades are decorated with European blue and white bowls and plates. There is a tombstone at the grave with the date A.H. 1279, A.D. 1862/3 inscribed. This could not be the Idarus mentioned by Hollis, who was supposed to be the son of Diwan Ruga and Mwana Jurabe, and who thus would have been born in the first half of the 18th century. Possibly the tombstone does not belong to the tomb.

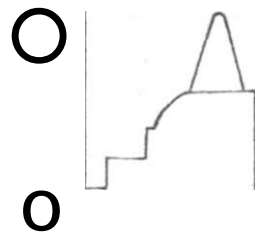
There are also a number of ruined houses of stone in Wasini. The house in western Wasini illustrated here was said to have been built by Mkulu wa Mwenyi Mkuu; it would thus probably date to the first half of the 19th century. The north half of this house was the earliest built, followed by the southern courtyard wall and doorway. When the southern

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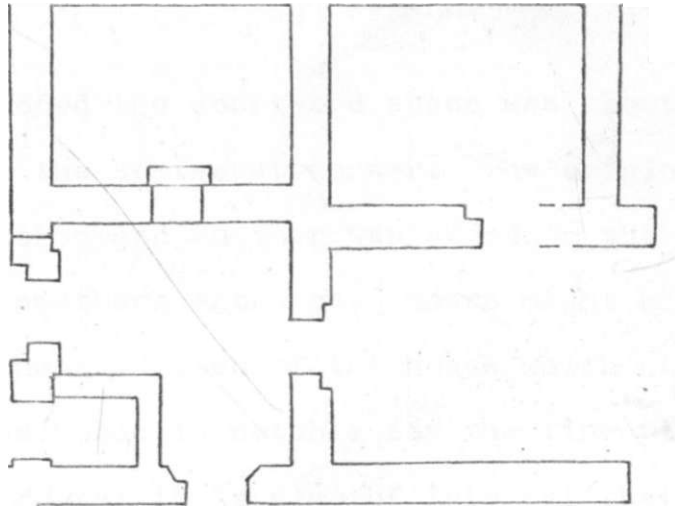


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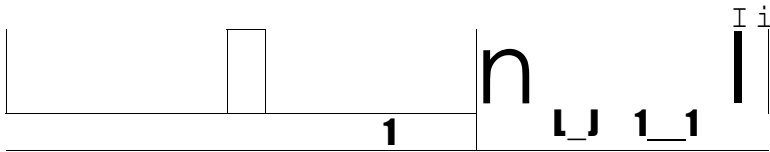
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**WASINI TOMB
OF
SAYYID IDARUS**



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M E T R E S

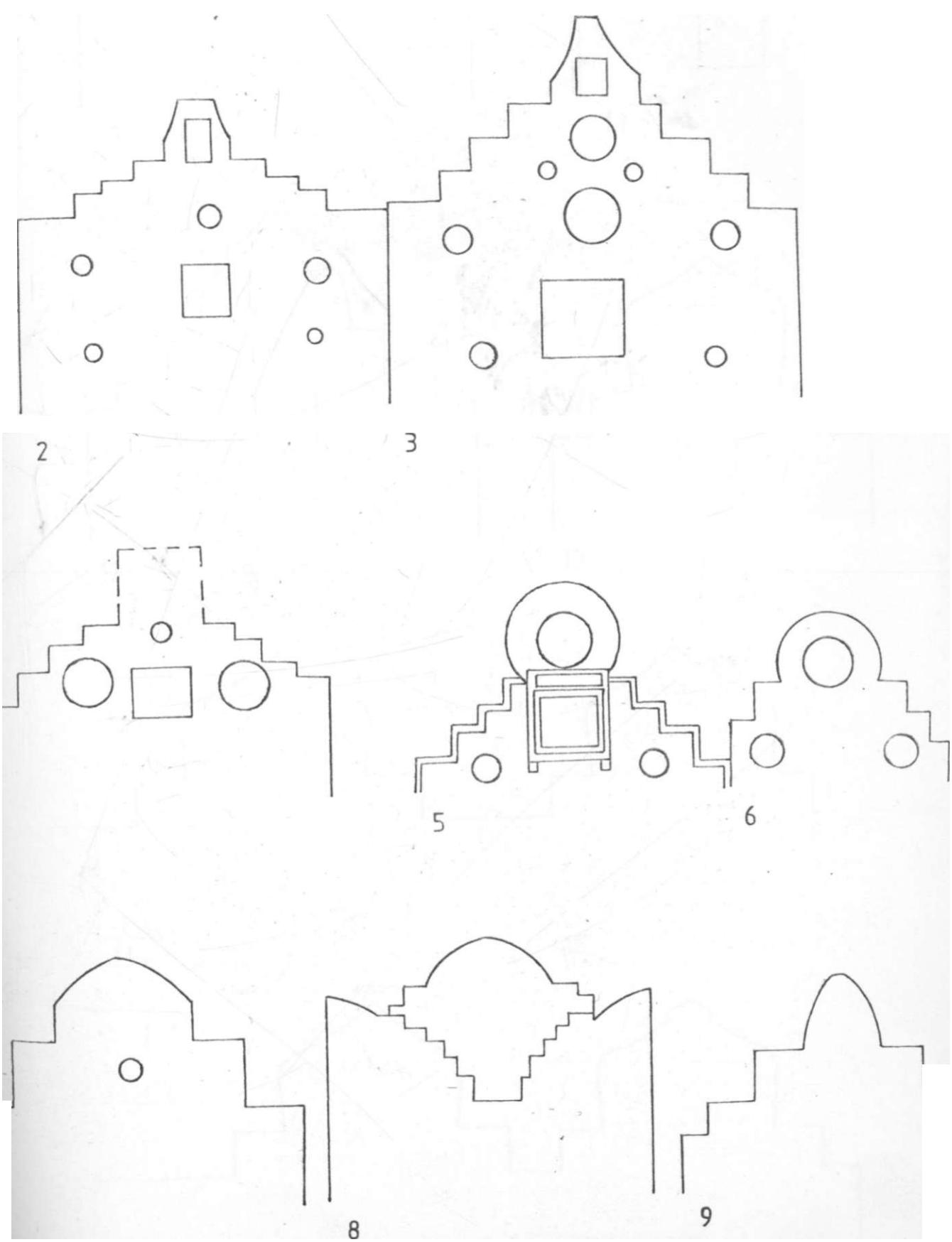
HOUSE IN WESTERN WASINI

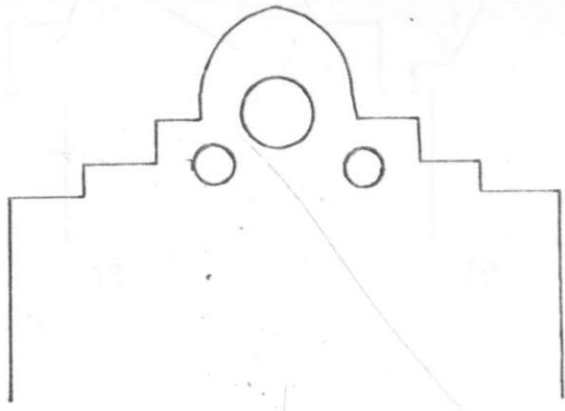
roo: were added the courtyard space was about halved and was relegated to the southeast corner. The original courtyard door was blocked and another was added to the east, still providing a southern entrance. There might have been an earlier southern section of the house which was subsequently removed. The house is notable for the fine plasterwork over some of the doors; it is also of interest that the northwestern room had a pitched roof. Another house in the middle of town on the seafront has a large arched niche on a rear wall. The house apparently collapsed in heavy rains in 1947* In the east end of town are other ruined structures with many walls standing to full height. One has four long north-south rooms, and might have been something other than a house.

Water has apparently always been a problem for the people of Wasini. Although some wells were dug in the past, the contemporary water supply comes from large water catchment and storage systems. At the time Hollis wrote water was brought to the island from the mainland in water tight boats with the rowers sitting in their own drinking water as they paddled.

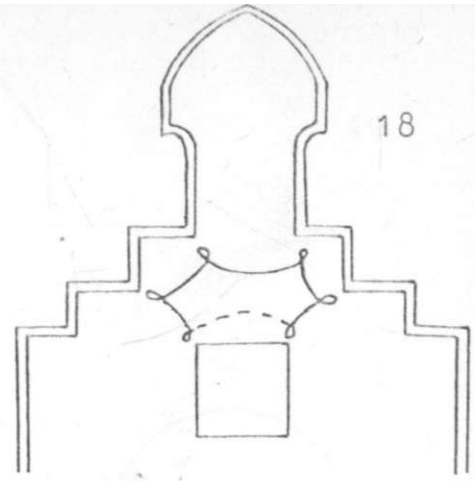
Chambocha Cemetery, Wasini

On the south side of Wasini Island, near the hamlet of Nyuma ya Maji, is located the Chambocha Cemetery, the burial place of the people of Wasini. The reason the cemetery is located so far away from the village is simply because there is not an area without stony ground any closer. At the cemetery I counted about 50 tombs in thick bush, of which I drew the east facades of U3 tombs. The tombs are small, usually single



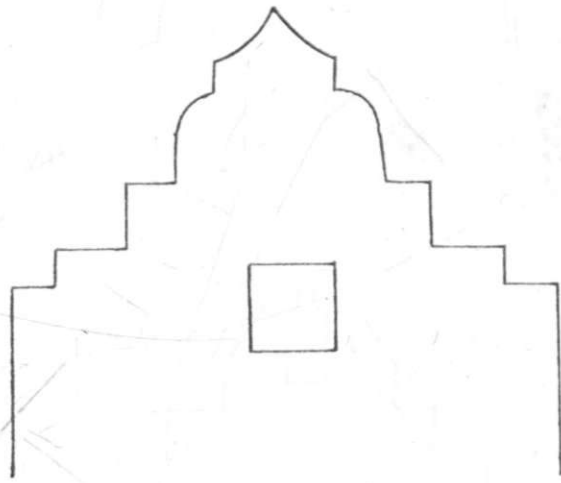


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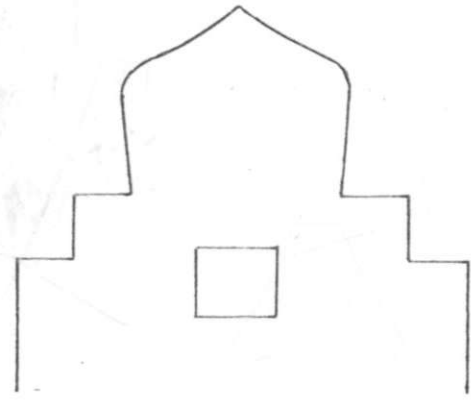


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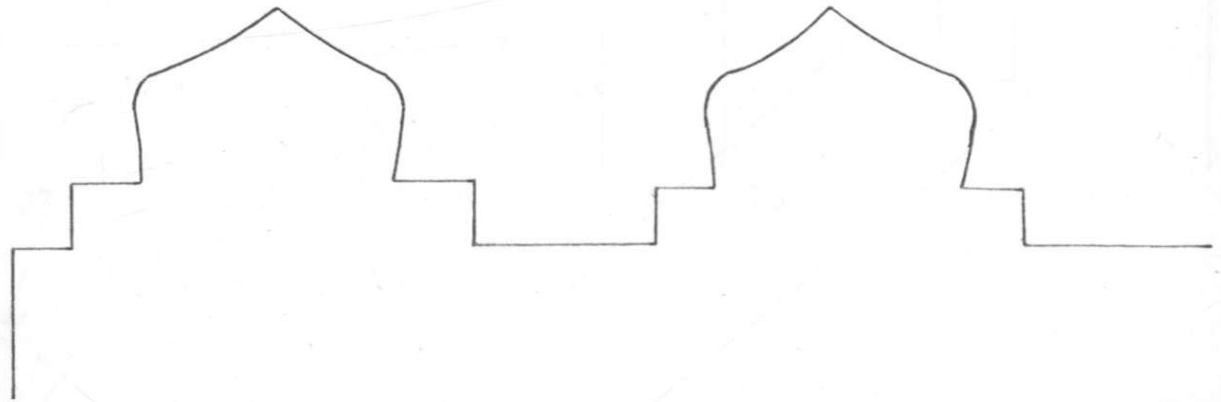
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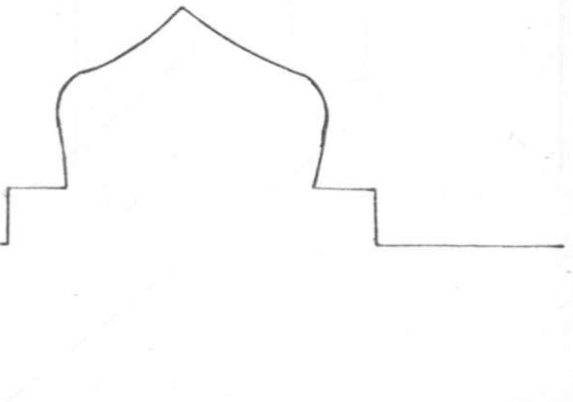
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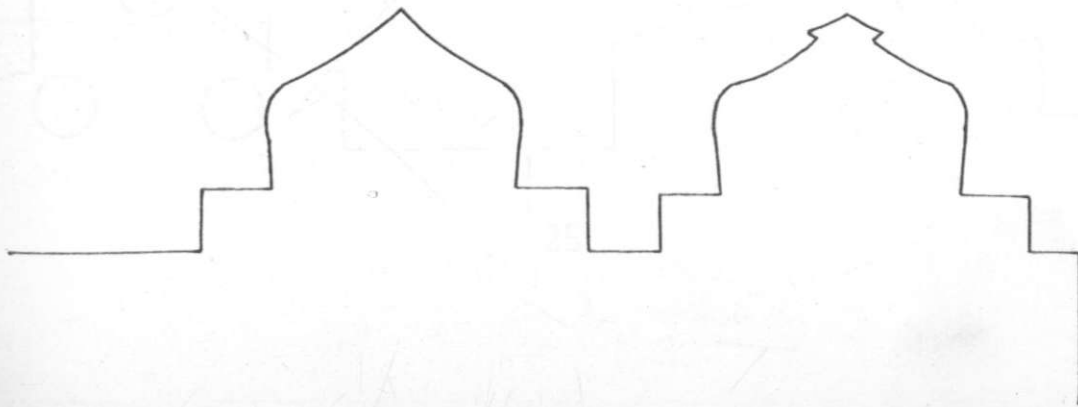
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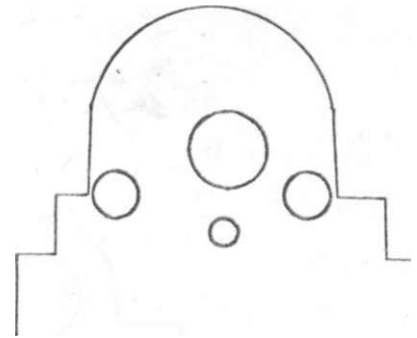
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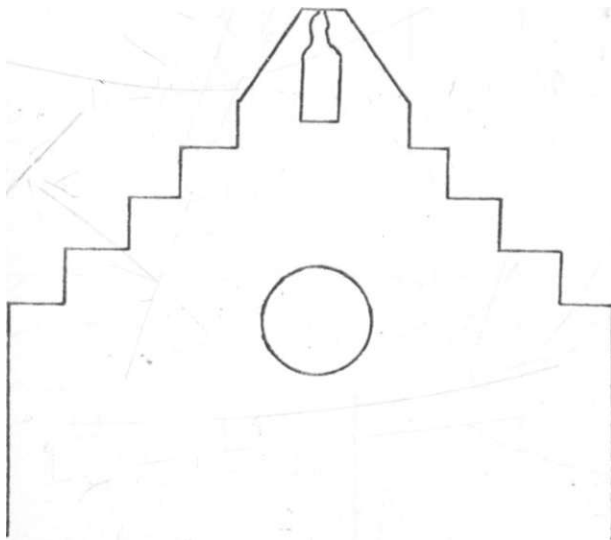
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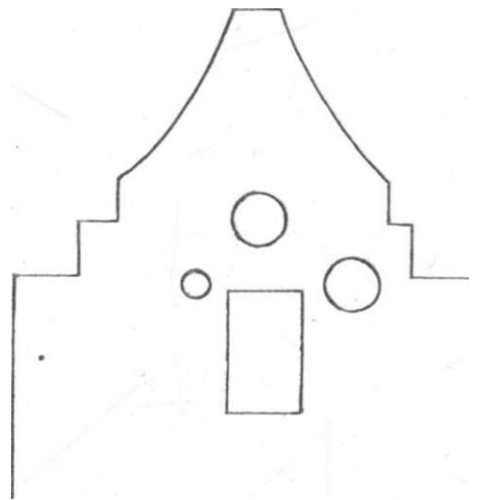
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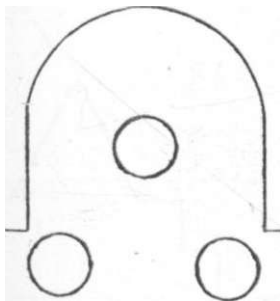
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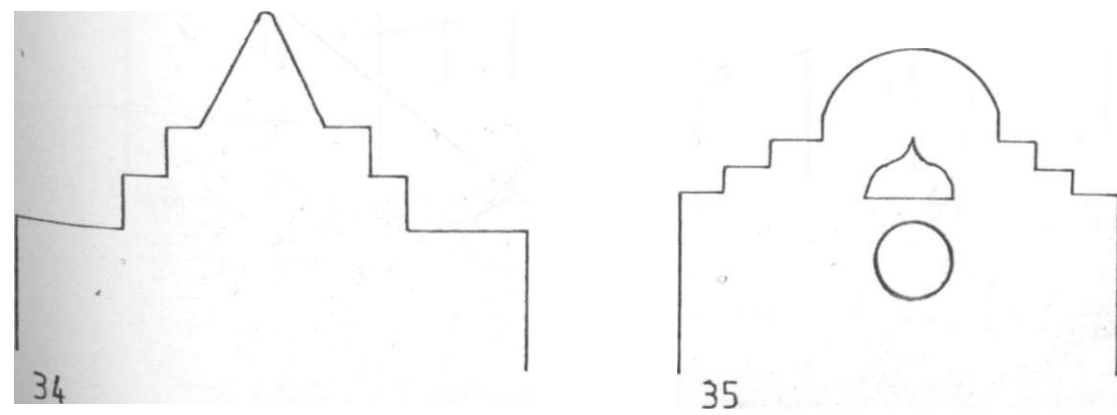
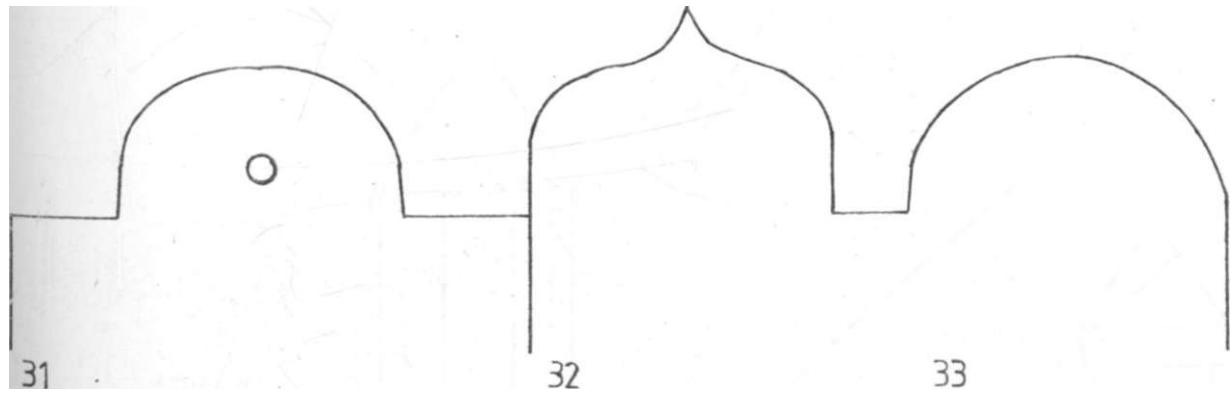
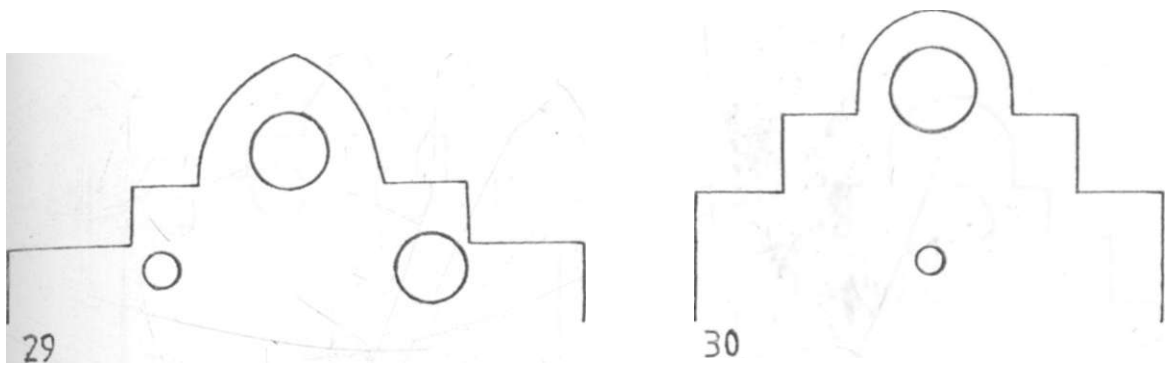
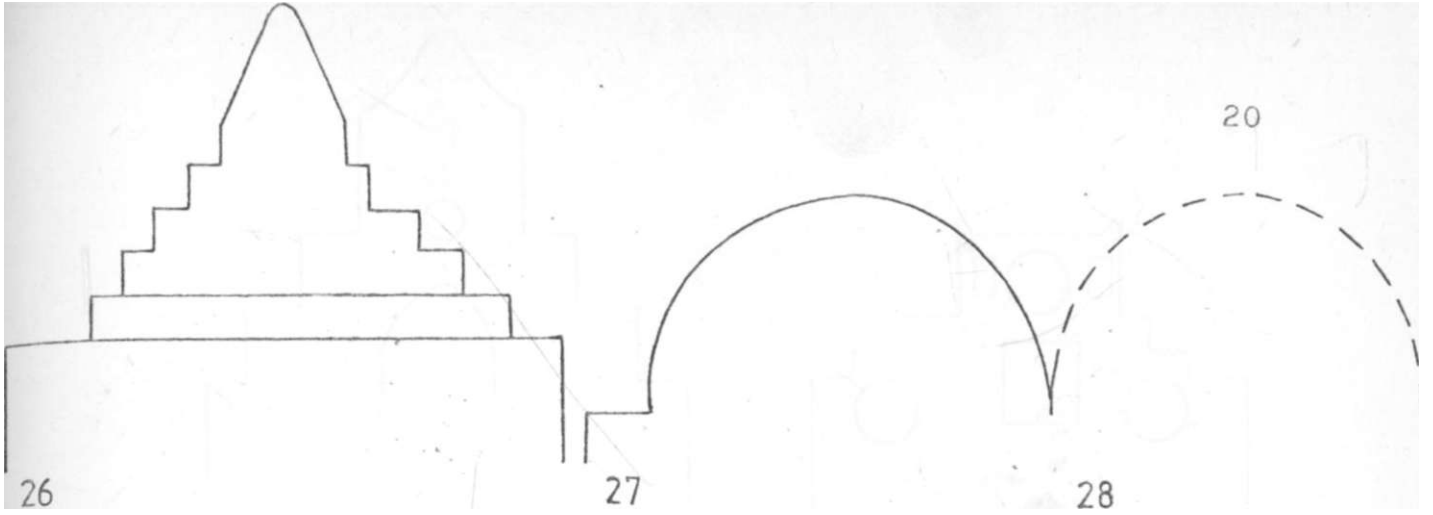


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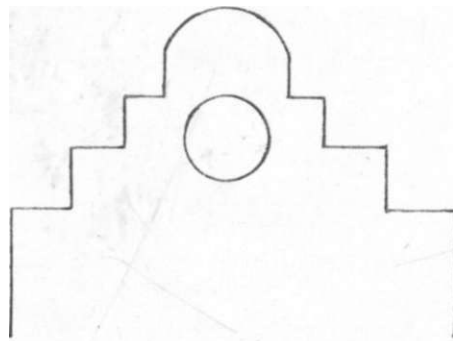
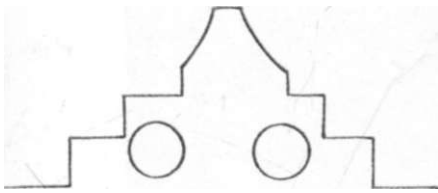


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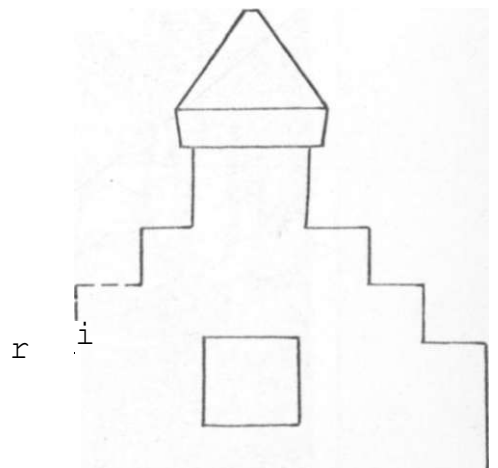
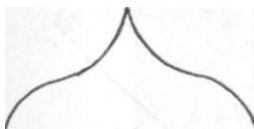
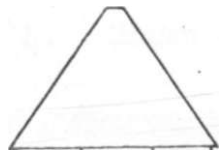
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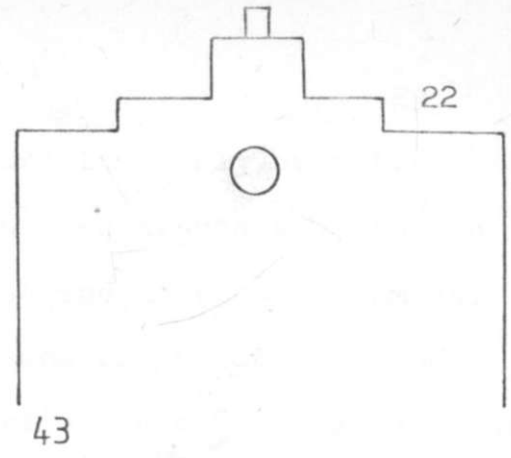
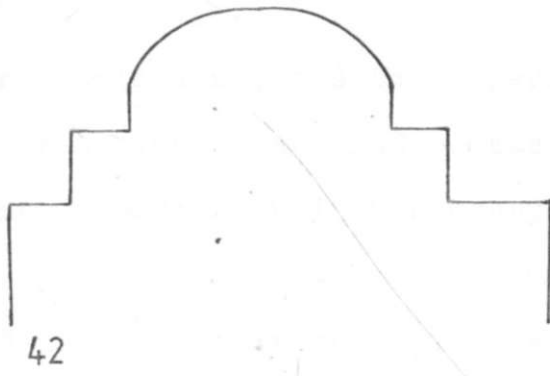
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4. Chambocha tombs 5 and 6, Wasini



5. Chambocha tomb 40, Wasini

or double size, and the superstructure is rarely over 1.5 metres high. Many had pieces of bowls or dishes adhering to them, most often 19th century Chinese and European ceramics. A few pieces might be 18th century, and one piece might be earlier, an heirloom. The facades often have windows or niches and sometimes had plaques or tiles as well as bowls and dishes. Some of the gravestones bore inscriptions although these are now mostly illegible. A few years ago Dr. G.R. Smith reported that the names al-Ba Alawi and al-Jadid could be read, and that one tomb bore the date A.H. 1212, A.D. 1797-8 (Freeman-Grenville and Martin 1973:115)* Below are presented the orientations of the tombs of the Chambocha cemetery and the mosques of Wasini.

Structure	Orientation	Structure	Orientation
Ksikiti wa Mira		Chambocha Tomb	
Muyuni	9°	20	360'
Ksikiti Kdogo	360"	21	360"
Ksikiti wa Ijumaa	35U°	22	358'
Ksikiti wa Kale	350°	23	337°
Ksikiti wa Mgodo	353'	24-26	333°
Chambocha Tomb 1	3k7^e	27, 28	356°
2	350°	29	353'
3	350°	30	355*
k	355'	31-3*1	359°
5	3U6'	35	350-
6	3U6°	36	352'
7	10*	37	3 W
8	327 ^c	38	2"
9	307°	39	10°
10	3146'	ko	5 [#]
11	3U7°.	41	12°
12	8	U2	r
13	10°	U3	336°
1U-17	3U5"		
18	353 ^e		
19	3b7'		

Shimoni (Kdragoni)

Mdragoni, one of the towns conquered by Kwana Chambi Chandi Ivoo for Vumba Kuu, was located near the present

Shimoni, across the channel from Wasini. As noted above, Kollis (1900:282) and McKay (1975:210) reported the ruins of a mosque there, and both wrote that the site of the old settlement was used by the Segeju as a burial ground.

Pongwe

A few kilometres west of Kidimu are the ruins known as Pongwe. The only remains are the ruins of a small mosque now located about 20 metres inside the high water line, at the edge of the mangroves. It measures about five metres long and four metres wide; although the masonry nowhere stands to above one metre in height, the structure was undoubtedly a mosque: traces of the mihrab can be seen on the north, and there was probably a cistern on the south. The orientation of the mosque was about ii° .

Hurumuzi (Hormuz?)

The site of Hurumuzi, probably the old Hormuz (Ormuz), is located about 30 minutes' walk west-south-west of Pongwe mosque, through dense concentrations of mangroves. The site is on a little grassy knoll rising above the surrounding mangroves. Some scatters of local ceramics could be seen, and there were a few stones around that might have belonged once to structures. The main building is a small mosque of a single chamber, entered through a door on the south end of the

east wall, and possibly through another in the south wall. The north, east and east half of the south walls stand; the west and west half of the south walls have fallen. There is a single rectangular column in the centre

of the room that above the main beams supported transverse rafters in the northeast bay and longitudinal rafters in the southeast bay, above which was a flat roof about 25 centimetres thick. The cistern was outside, on the east side of the south wall. The mihrab is a pleasing trefoliate type with a small nick at the apex of the arch. If there was an architrave it is now destroyed. Below simple capitals the facade may have been plain; above, there are two courses of spandrel frame. The apse is plain but there is an offset at the level of the base of the capitals. Mosque orientation is about 1* Hollis wrote that in 1895 Ormuz was the chief village in Pongwe district, when it was destroyed by British troops (1900:276),..

Although the design of the mihrab is different, the pattern of alternating transverse and longitudinal rafters in the four bays of the mosque and the single central pillar in the musalla suggest a relationship with the Kazrui mosque at Wasini, the Ksikiti wa Kale.

Aleni (Kwiyuni)

At Aleni, near Kajoreni, there is a large ruined mosque in the bush, the old site of Kwiyuni. The qibla and most of the walls, except the west wall of the main chamber, have fallen. In plan it probably had eastern and western side rooms flanking the musalla; there was probably also a south room. There were three arched doorways in the west wall with two recessed orders of cut coral on the exterior (one of the doorways has collapsed). There are square niches between the doorways. In the south wall is a square-headed door without the recessed orders. The musalla measures about 9.20 by 5.25 metres, and the east room was about 2.61 metres wide. The walls are about 41 centimetres thick, and the orientation of the mosque is 359°.

To the north there is a plain low-walled tomb enclosure, and in this area I picked up the only imported sherd seen at Aleni, a green Islamic monochrome.

Shirazi

Shirazi, according to Hollis also known as Kifundi, is a pleasant little village at the edge of a sea channel about three kilometres from the highway. About 100 metres or less south of Shirazi village is a mosque and one or more tombs in dense bush. There are two wells, one south of the mosque that is still used by the people of the village, and an old well in the bush east of the mosque. The mosque is in extremely ruined condition, all walls and the qibla fallen except for a short/ portion of the north wall. On the outside it is seen that the north wall stands to a height of about two metres, demonstrating that the mosque is deep in rubble. The musalla measures about 4-60 metres wide by 6.90 metres long. There is a niche on the east end of the north wall and a small window on the west end. The mihrab was framed by an architrave that on its lower faces was plain. There was probably a capital, below which the facade seems to have been plain. Above the capital are three cut coral stones, all that is left of what were three arch orders (or the spandrel and two inner orders).. In the apse the area below the capitals was plain* There was an eastern anteroom about 2.25 metres wide, the fallen jambs of an eastern doorway of which may still be seen. On the west side was another room. Directly south of the mihrab
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was a doorway in the south wall. The orientation is approximately 359«

The dry well is about 20 metres east of the north wall

of the mosque; the diameter of the well at the top is about 2.5 metres. -About 10 metres south of the well and a little further east is a tomb with its east facade fallen. In front of the tomb, however, there is a large chunk of masonry, about 1.22 metres high, which might be a tombstone. On the south wall there is a riser curving up to end on the east wall, behind which there might have been two shallow steps. Any steps or other superstructure once on the west end of the tomb is now destroyed. The wall is 1.75 metres high, with the step end curving up 1+3 centimetres above that. If the masonry in front of the tomb is indeed a tombstone, which would be compatible with the style of the step end, the whole aspect of the tomb would be similar to tombs B and I at Mwana (Wilson 1979:Fig. 7A, 1978:68-69, Photos 86-88, 90). A wall partially surrounds the tomb; inside, it is divided into three chambers. About 8 metres north of this tomb a small tombstone protrudes from the ground, possibly dated A.H. 13_J|> maybe A.H. 13Ikf A.D. 1896.

About 200 metres north of Shirazi village, perhaps 140 metres from the present high tide line and today surrounded by shambas is one of the prettiest ruined mosques I have seen in Kenya. The musalla was entered through an eastern anteroom of which only a north section of the east wall survives. The two arched doorways into the musalla are recessed once below capitals and twice above them on the side of the anteroom. In the spandrels and above the apex of the arches are three coral bosses cut in a kind of "cog-wheel" design. A support for carrying an arch to span the room juts out of the west wall of the anteroom about half way up the wall, in plan dividing the room into about two equal areas.



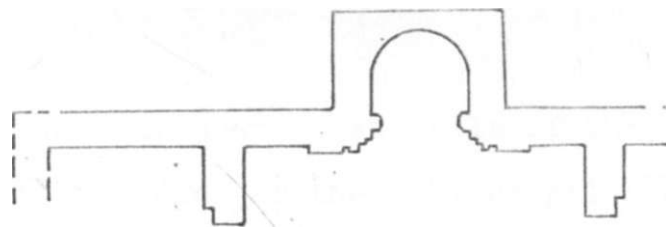
6. Mihrab of the north mosque at Shirazi



7. Mihrab of the mosque in the shambas at Munge



8. The mosque by the sea at Kunge, showing the ramp

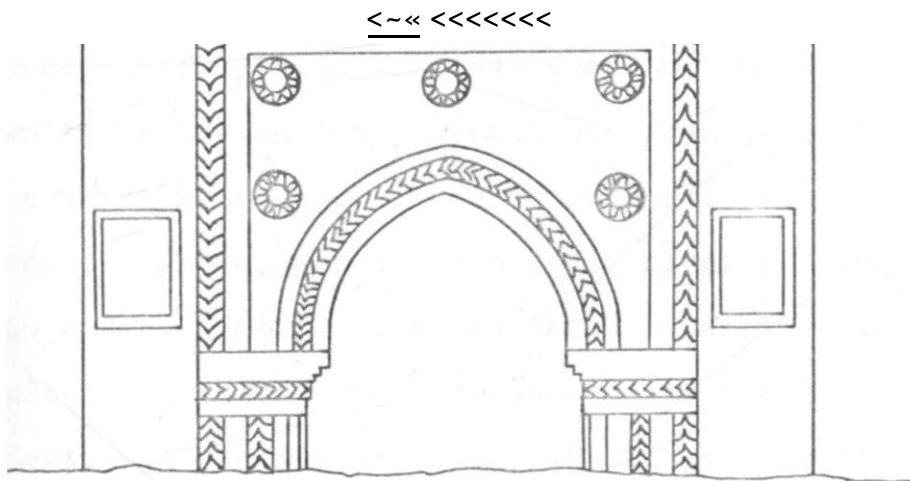


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SHIRAZI MOSQUE

The south and west walls of the musalla have fallen, but the remains of the salient pilasters' on the east wall indicate there were transverse archways springing from them, suggesting that given the width of the chamber there must have been a single pair of columns down the centre line of the mosque. At the north end of the east wall three corbelled members of cut coral extend out from the top of the wall. This, plus the depth of the deposit in the musalla and eastern anteroom might indicate that the mosque was roofed in these sections with domes and barrel vaults.

The mihrab has an architrave with single recessed niches in each pilaster. Within is a spandrel frame of an outer herringbone course and an inner plain member. The spandrels themselves are decorated with five of the cut coral "cog-wheel" bosses. Within the spandrels are three arch orders, two plain courses divided by a herringbone member. The capitals also consist of two plain members separated by a herringbone course. Below, the two courses of the spandrel frame continue down to create an inner architrave frame. Inside this there is a herringbone course corresponding to the level of the spandrels above, and a plain order corresponding to the outer arch order. Inside is a chamfered pilaster without its own capital, which in width corresponds to the two inner arch orders. As the mihrab is buried almost to capital level the design of the base is not known. The mosque orientation is 12.⁹

There was a western room also, known from a few fragments of wall. Compared to the central and eastern chambers the deposit in the room is shallow, -perhaps indicating the room was roofed with thatch or a thin stone roof of coral rubble. There was no trace of a well or cistern. We made a one square metre excavation in the southeast con.^r of the musalla,

but no ceramics were recovered. No surface finds were made at Shirazi either.

Kunge (Munje)

The ruins at Munge consist of two mosques, one on a hill overlooking a little beach and the sea and the other about half a kilometre back from the sea in some shambas. The Munge mosque in the shambas is built upon a little hill and overlooks the surrounding land by a metre or two. The mosque consists of a central chamber, eastern and western flanking rooms, a southern chamber and an area delimited by a western peripheral wall. About 9 metres northwest of the mihrab is a large well, 3.14 metres diameter and 8.10 metres to contemporary water level. It does not appear to be used at this time. Northeastern and southwestern sections of the mosque stand, as does the mihrab, although it is tilting precariously to the north. The western walls have fallen in the central and northern areas, and the southern wall survives less than a metre in height. The two doors on each side of the musalla were recessed twice below two-member capitals and three times above them, once to spandrel level and then two inner arch orders. The spandrels contained the "cog-wheel" type coral bosses as did those of the Shirazi mosque. Here only a fragment of one boss survives, in the northeast doorway. The dimensions of the musalla are almost exactly the same (7.00 by metres) as the Shirazi mosque, and on the east wall just behind the forward doorway there emerges a pilaster about half way up the wall, perhaps to support an archway between the wall and a central column, a portion of which protrudes from the rubble in the room. As the design of

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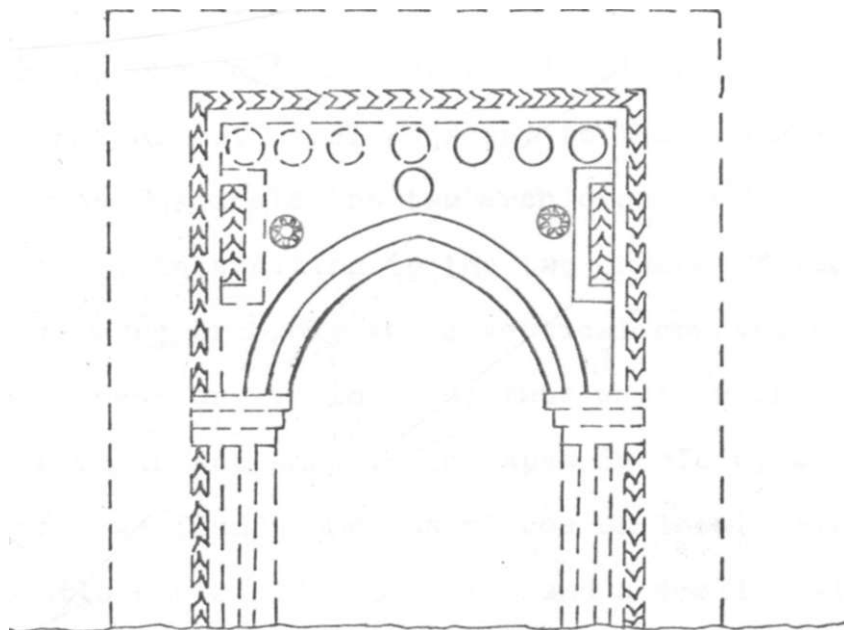
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MOSQUE IN SHAMBAS MUNGE

the mihrabs of the north Shirazi mosque and the Kunge mosque in the shambas is similar, there are both stylistic and structural parallels in the two mosques. There were no clues other than the pilaster and the central column as to the type of ceiling of the mosque. There was probably a central door in the south wall.

The mihrab is much in ruin, much of its cut coral facing having fallen off, and its design had to be reconstructed for the drawing. There was an architrave but it has completely fallen. A single piece of herringbone moulding survives to indicate that there was a two-member inner spandrel frame, an outer herringbone course surrounding an inner plain member. These came to rest on three member capitals and may have continued below. The spandrels were decorated with a line of bowls across the top, the surviving evidence for which is the three eastern bowl recesses, a single bowl above the apex of the arches, one flanking "cog-wheel" boss on each side and a piece of herringbone moulding set vertically within a frame of a single course of cut coral adjacent to the inner spandrel frame. Within the spandrels are two arch orders of cut coral. Below the capitals, in addition to the two orders of the architrave frame were probably three vertical courses of cut coral, but no pieces survive in situ; thus whether they were plain or decorated is not known. The apse is plain, without offsets. Inside, we found numerous pieces of local pottery, a stoppered bottle containing rosewater and a small vial that once held perfume. Clearly the mosque is still occasionally visited.

There may have been a cistern or bench at the southwest corner of the mosque, and the relationships of the walls in that area suggest there was a southern access to the western

sections of the mosque. Possibly this transverse construction could be a high stair steo (there may be' another below, not placed on the plan), leading into the south room of the mosque, where it is possible there was a cistern. Mosque orientation **is 355°.**

The second mosque at Kunge commands quite a good view of the sea, and could possibly have been seen itself from a good distance out to sea. The mosque consists of a central chamber flanked by two eastern anteroms and a western chamber; also, a southern room probably spanned the width of the structure. Perhaps the most interesting feature of the building is the long ramp with masonry walls that descends from the farthest eastern anteroom to the beach. The arrangement of this mosque, its situation, plan and the ramp could be used to support the argument that some mosques were built for the convenience of fishermen, for the mosque is more open to the seaward side than the landward area. In this connection it is interesting to note that there are no doors in the western room. The apparent lack of ablution facilities, however, might mean that the ramp was for nothing more than to provide easy access to the sea for washing. Clearing of the ramp was not sufficient to determine whether it was really a stairway.

The design of the mosque is also of interest. There are a pair of doorways in each of the side walls of the musalla and

in the east wall of the first eastern anteroom. These doors are almost exactly aligned across the width of the mosque, and the shape of each is that of a simple arch, without recesses or capitals of any form. This stark simplicity is repeated

the raihrab, which is a simple arched inset in the north wall of the musalla, echoing the shape of the doorways. This



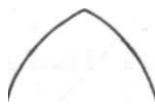
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MUNGE MOSQUE BY THE SEA

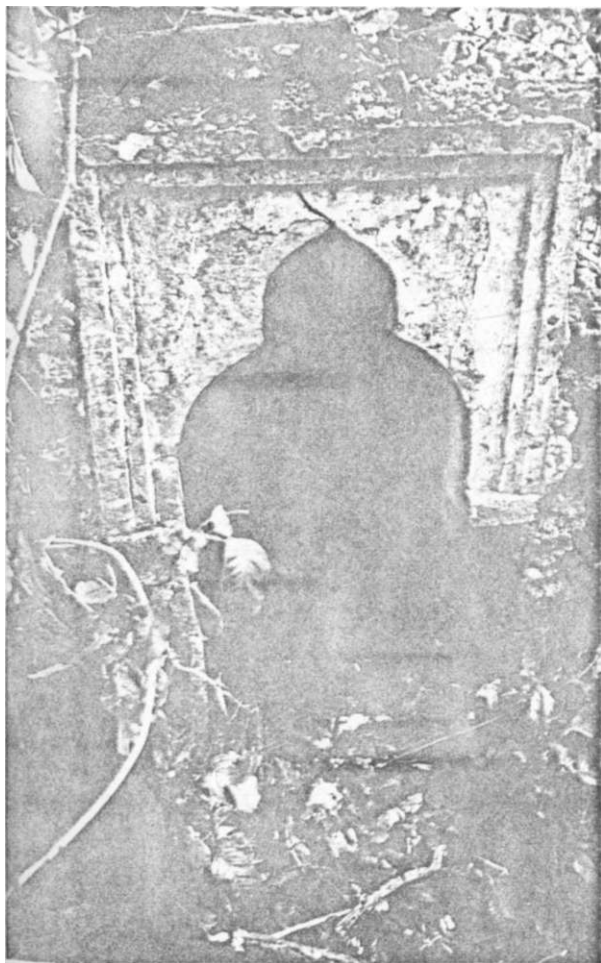
design sharply contrasts with the design of the other Munge mosque and the north Shirazi mosque, such that there could be great temporal differences between the two styles or, more likely, the two types were the products of groups of people coming from two different mosque building traditions.

The doorways in the far eastern room were the square top variety. In the musalla there was a central doorway in the south wall, which is very curious in that it was only 1.23 metres high. It was also the square topped type. In the west end of the south room was another doorway that might also have been low, but it has fallen and this could not be unequivocally determined. The mosque is in good condition, although the south room has completely fallen. The eastern wall of the far eastern room has also fallen, as have the north and south walls, and so have the sections between the doors of the east wall of the musalla and the east wall of the inner eastern anteroom. The orientation of the mosque is 2°.

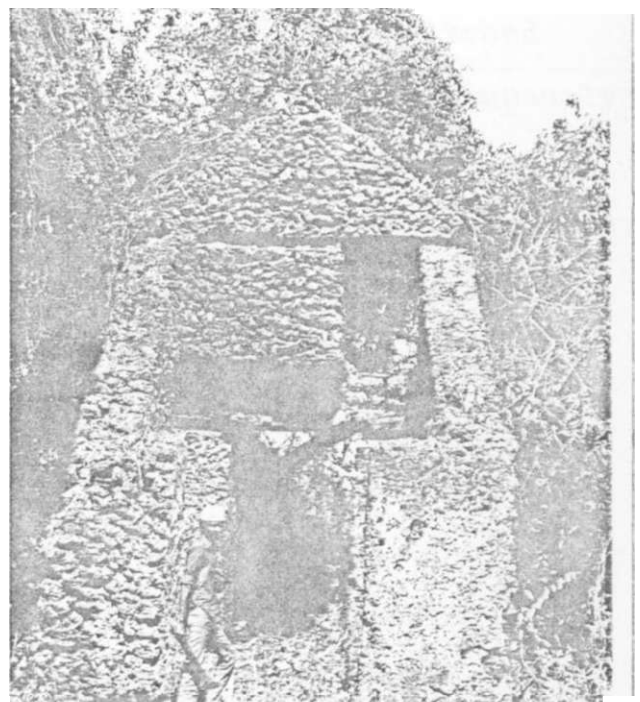
A few metres up from the southern area of Munge beach and about 80 metres south of the mosque is a tomb. It is a large tomb by south coast standards (5.32 metres on the east and west sides, 3.54 metres on the north and south ends, orientation 3°). It is interesting for its long eastern side compared to the other ends, but unfortunately the east face is mostly broken. There is a single vertical salient pilaster on the east face, indicating that the tomb was panelled on that side only, with perhaps five panels across the facade. There is a narrow basal curb around the tomb. On the north wall the top is a concave slope from high points at the ends, a kind of "wing". The combination of wide east facade, basal curb and concave side wall crests are reminiscent of tombs



9. The mihrab and main chamber of the mosque by the sea at Munge



10. The mihrab of the mosque at Hurumuzi (Hormuz)



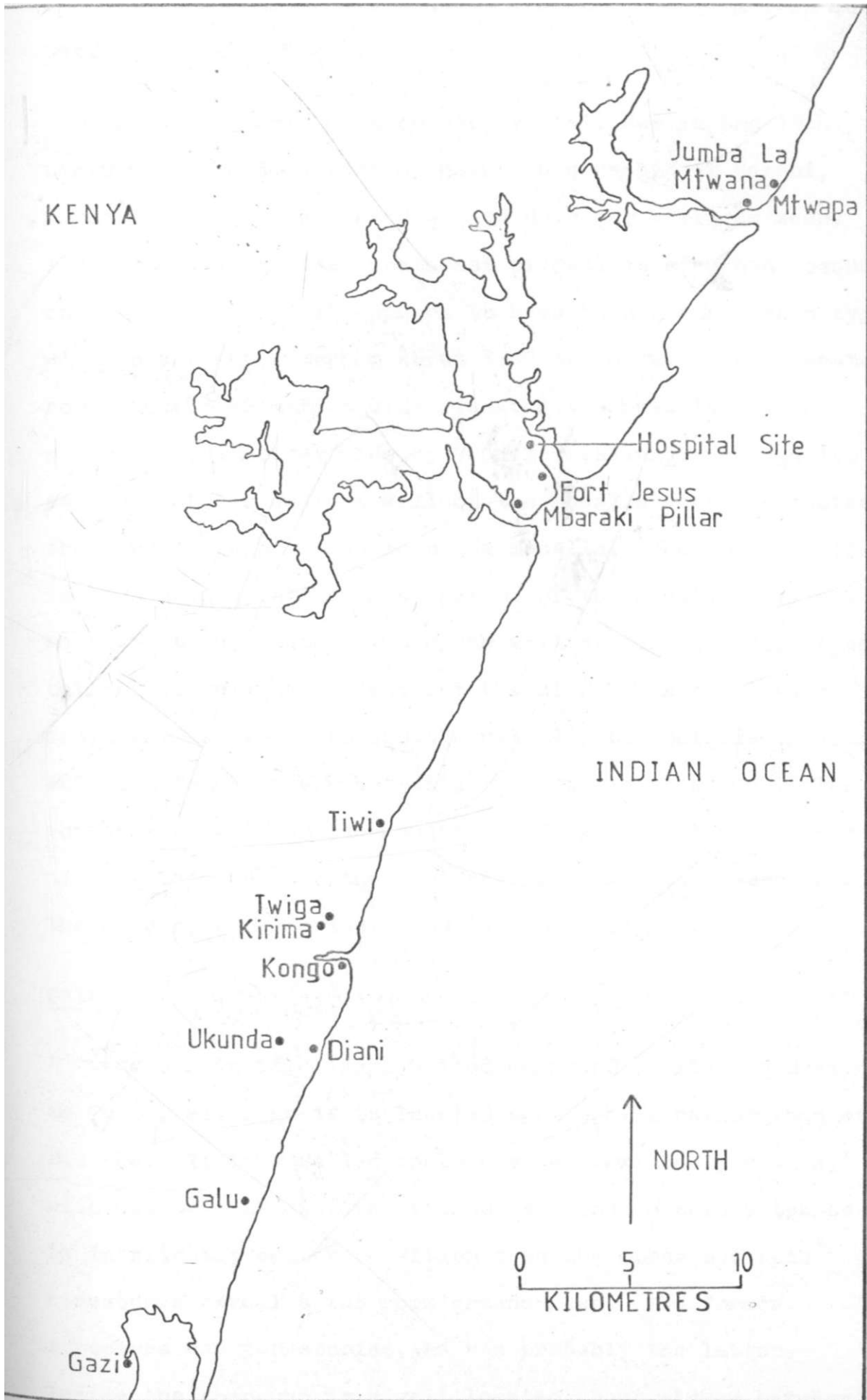
11. The west gatehouse at Tumbe, viewed from inside the compound

L and E at Kwana ^Wilson 1978:68-73, 1979:Figs. .7B, 8).

Tuinbe

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Tumbe is a large walled compound, perhaps 130 metres north to south; and 100 metres east to west, located at the edge of coral cliffs at the sea. The walls are about 1.75 metres high on the east, where the jagged and razor sharp coral would prevent any quick assault, but they are slightly higher on the west, where the site would be more vulnerable from a land attack. The main gateway into the compound was on the west side. In ground plan this was a two room structure, with the inner, outer and central doorways aligned. There was an upper storey above the out^r room, with a gabled roof; there was a door in the rear wall of this room, next to which the south wall of the upper room was buttressed with pitched masonry ramps at the sides. A small north gate was subsequently blocked, and farther east the wall was abandoned entirely, where an area of steep cliff made entry into the site impossible. The design of this large compound seems to be an attempt to keep people out rather than to keep people in--there is wall only where there is access to the site. It was thus probably for protection (from Masai?) rather than a collection centre for the deportation of slaves. Similar sites in the Segeju area of northern Tanzania have been described by Chittick (1958:5-7)* who pointed out their defensive characteristics and that they were said by the local people to have been built as protection against the Masai. The only other such site at the Kenya coast about which I know is at Galu, described below. They might be 19th century constructions.



Gazi

Gazi, possibly more correctly Gasi, was in the 19th century the headquarters of Kbarak bin Rashid al Kazrui, whose palace with a carved wooden door may still be seen. About three kilometres southeast of Gazi is a ruined mosque on the Khan farm. It appears to have been a three room type, with an eastern anteroom about 2.60 metres wide and a western room about 2.20 metres wide flanking the musalla, which measures 3⁵ metres wide by 7.61 metres long. Enough low sections of the eastern wall of the musalla stand to indicate there were two doorways into the musalla. The western side is more, ruined, although

a section of the musalla wall may be seen at the south. The north wali stands to perhaps two-thirds its original height but the raihrab has collapsed; the south wall survives to about equal height. Outside the eastern anteroom is a cistern set with its long axis perpendicular to the long axis of the mosque. A long conduit leads from a northeastern well to the cistern. A narrow curb surrounds the mosque, whose orientation is about 6°.

Galu

Galu ruin is a large walled compound similar in design to Tumbe, although it is located upon a hill rather than at the sea. It is a walled enclosure, approximately square, with western and eastern gatehouses. The western entrance is in slightly better condition than the other but both structures reveal a two room ground plan. The former structure was two storied, as was probably the latter. Inside the compound is a well located about midway between

the gatehouses; it is still in use. In the middle of the north and south walls were salient circular bastions with holes placed to allow enfilade fire across the northern and southern walls. The walls themselves are just under two metres high.

Ukunda

The remains of a single mosque may be found near the large baobab tree protected by presidential decree at Ukunda. It is a structure with eastern and probably western rooms flanking the musalla and with another room to the south. The musalla measures 5-20 metres wide by 8.95 metres long; the eastern room is about 2.10 metres wide. A section of the eastern wall survives and suggests that there were two eastern doorways opening into that chamber. The edges of a surviving jamb are cut coral. Most of the walls of the mosque have fallen, however, although it can be seen that there was a central door in the south wall and that there were doorways at each end of the south room, or rooms. The width of the southern area was 2.78 metres. The apse of the mihrab stands but the facade has fallen. There appear to have been five or possibly four orders below a three member capital, based on the hollow sockets left when the facing stones fell out or were removed. I could not determine the details above the capitals. The apse is completely plain, and it might have been coloured red.- Mosque orientation is 10°. The cistern was located outside the mosque at the southeast corner of the building.

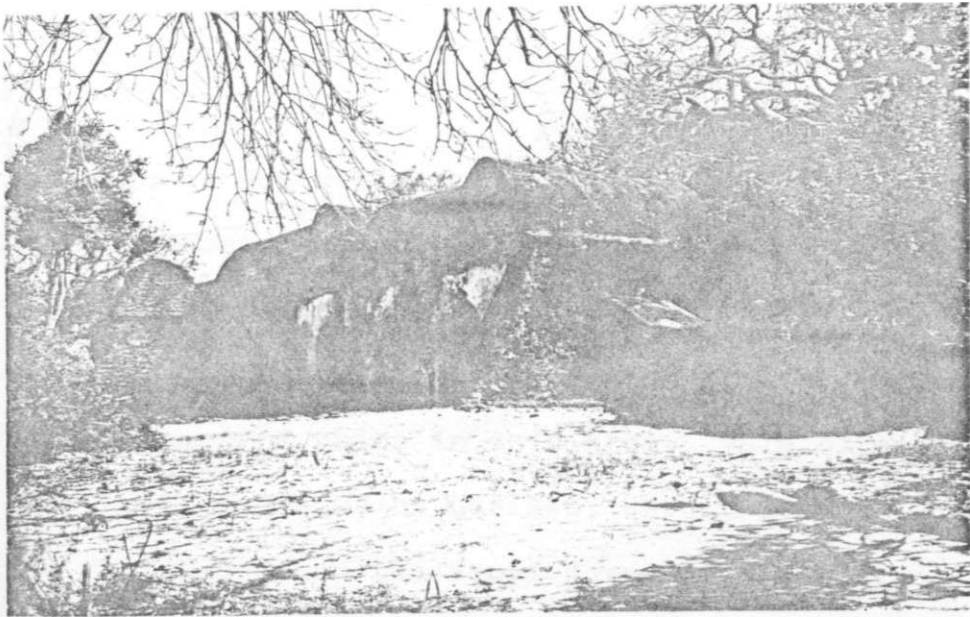
At the northwest corner of the mosque is a tomb, measuring 1.30 by 14.53 metres on the west and north walls



12. The west gatehouse at Galu, from the west



13. The Diani mosque from the west



14. The Kongo Mosque with Tomb B in front

respectively. Three single recessed panels of cut coral decorate the shorter east wall, which here abuts the mihrab of the mosque. No traces of superstructure could be seen.

Tomb orientation is 15°

Diani

At Diani is the mosque located farthest south that was studied by Garlake in his work on the early Islamic architecture of the coast of eastern Africa (1906:Plgs. 35, 36). It is located about 200 metres south of the Palm Beach Hotel, just above the high water mark. It is a structure of six rooms, the musalla, flanking chambers on each side, and three southern rooms. The western wall of the western room and the south and east walls of the south rooms have fallen; otherwise, it is in good condition. The doorways were simple pointed archways without recesses; the mihrab has a recessed spandrel area, the bottom of which serves as a kind of capital for the single arch order. Below springing, the wall and jamb facades are plain. In Garlake's classification this is a simplified classic mihrab (1966:67).

Kongo

The Kongo Mosque is a fine building roofed with barrel vaults and domes, most of which still survive, located on the south bank of the Kwachema, or Tiwi, River, in the locality known as Kongo. Unfortunately there has been some confusion about the names of ruins in this area. This building is called the Tiwi Mosque by Garlake, but it is not the site called Tiwi Mosque on the Kenya Government Survey maps, which^{1s} a little farther north. On the Government Survey maps the

Kongo Mosque is called the Diani Persian Mosque, which hardly helps matters, and it was called the Diani site by Burrows (1975)* The confusion may be summarized in this way:

<u>Wilson</u>	<u>Garlake</u>	<u>Kenya Survey</u>	<u>Burrows</u>	<u>Map Reference</u>
		<u>x Maps</u>		
Diani	Diani		Diani Beach	EP 650 261
Kongo	Tiwi	Diani Persian Mosque	Diani	EF 663 291+
Kirima			Tiwi	EP 665 310
Twiga			Twiga Lodge	EP 65U 322
Tiwi		Tiwi Mosque Ruins	Tiwi Beach	EF 678 355

It will be observed that Tiwi or some modification of Tiwi has been used by one or the other of these authorities for three of the five sites. Prins called the Kongo Mosque Diani beach, and noted that the ruins of a mosque were reported on Tiwi beach, thus falling somewhere in between Burrows and the Kenya Survey maps (0967:35)* In his 1961 book, Kirkman calls it the Kongo Mosque in his text, but I think he labelled his map Tiwi, although in the absence of the river it is not possible to tell; in any case he left Kongo off the map and Tiwi out of the text. Whereas I am reluctant to change the names of sites already published under another name, I am going to call the domed and barrel vaulted mosque Kongo, after its locality and common usage, and the northern ruin Tiwi, after Prins and the Kenya Survey maps, and the fact that Tiwi location is north of the river just as Kongo is to the south. Kirima is another locality name.

Nestled in the shade of great baobab trees, next to a beautiful beach and scenic creek, the Kongo Mosque stands with its roof of barrel vaults and domes intact,

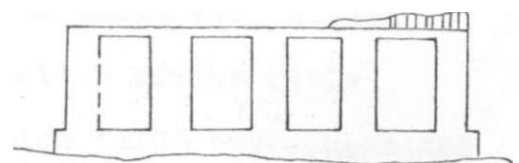
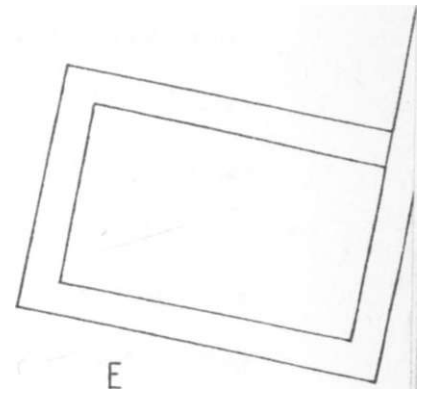
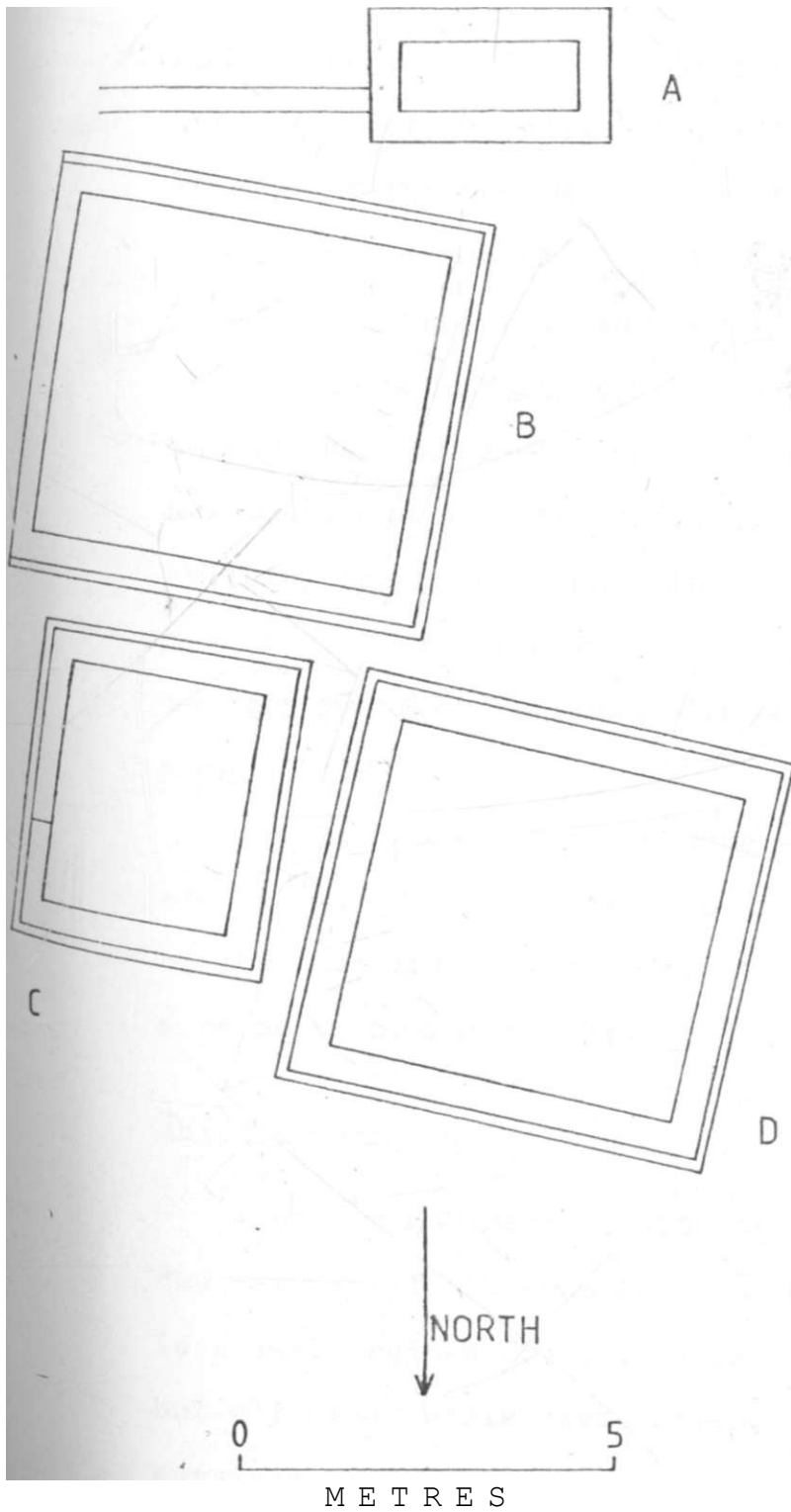
except for the collapsed eastern rooms. The plan drawn by Garlake (1966:fig. 38) reveals a musalla with forward and rear transverse barrel vaults, with two central longitudinal barrel vaults supported by three central columns. The flanking rooms were roofed with domes, and the three rear rooms were covered by four longitudinal barrel vaults. The doorways are simple archways, as in the mihrab, which opens without adornment from the wall plane into an unaecorated apse. This stark mihrab design was seen in the mosque by the sea at Munge and, in northern Kenya, in the mosque of the pillar at Shanga.

West of the mosque are walled courtyards, and to the north are five or more tombs, labelled A-E on the accompanying illustration. Tombs B, C, and D are interesting because they have basal curbs, but more particularly because they are rather large and are approximately square, or measure slightly longer on the east and west sides than on the north and south sides. Only tomb B was panelled, on the east side only, above which was a frieze of small niches; if there were ever any elements of superstructure cannot be determined by observation, but by north coast tomb style standards, to have nothing above such a wall would be odd (Wilson 1979). Tomb C might have been a step end tomb. The basal curbs and relatively wide east facades of these three tombs bring to mind the tomb by the sea at Kunge, which considering the mihrab associations of the Munge and Kongo mosques mentioned above, may indicate some relationship between the two sites.

jjirima

The mosque and houses of Kirima are reached by turning south down a track and following electric wires from the road from

'MOSQUE



TOMBS, KONGO MOSQUE

**EAST ELEVATION
TOMB B**

the highway and Twiga Lodge for a distance of a few hundred metres. The mosque is located atop a little knoll near the track. The mosque is 11 metres long by 8 metres wide, but its walls are much broken down. The qibla is completely ruined but it may be seen that the apse was plain. Two rows of central piers (91x16 cms) supported the roof, of which four of probably six remain. Their edges are of cut coral. Of the ruined mosques of the south Kenya coast about which information is available, this might be the only one in which an unobstructed view of the mihrab was offered by an even number of pillars to support the roof. There seems to have been an east room, all walls of which have fallen, but there was no west room. At the southeast corner of the building is the cistern, although the well is located a few metres west of the mosque. The well is wide and deep, and the top few feet are lined with masonry. Orientation of the mosque is 23°.

To the north of the mosque are the ruins of a stone structure, probably a two room house, of which only a section of the east wall now stands. There are at least two and perhaps more house mounds nearby.

Twiga Mosque

Not far northeast of the previous mosque, and only a few metres off the road between the highway and Twiga Lodge, is a small ruined mosque. A part of the south wall stands but all other walls have fallen. A portion of the qibla survives under a tree, the roots of which twine throughout the masonry. Its facade has fallen, but there seem to have been several recessed orders under a capital. The fallen jambs

of two doorways in the eastern wall of the musalla may be seen in the rubble. At the northeast corner of the mosque is a tomb with an arched window in its east wall. Its orientation is 19°.

Tiwi

I have not visited this site but Sassoon did, and the grid reference he gives is about the place the site is located on the Kenya survey maps. There he found a very ruined structure in the trees that he was reluctant to identify as a mosque. He also reported 12th century ceramics eroding out of nearby gullies (Fort Jesus Newsletter, May 1972+).

Mombasa

The ruins of Mombasa are of both Portuguese and Sviahili origin. The Portuguese remains include Port Jesus, overlooking the entrance to Mombasa Harbour; Fort St. Joseph, guarding the entrance to both harbours; redoubts threatening the approaches and the entrance to Kilinaini Harbour; and the sunken remains of a Portuguese warship, almost certainly the Santo Antonio de Tanna, a 22 gun frigate that was sunk before Fort Jesus during the great siege of 1697*. Fort Jesus is too well known and too well published by Kirkman (1962+:130-152, 1972+» 1975) to warrant discussion here, and the Portuguese redoubts covering Kilindini Harbour and the approaches to it are also discussed by Kirkman (1961+:125-128). Reports of the excavations and the finds of the sunken ship may be found in the interim reports of the Mombasa Wreck Excavation, directed by the Institute of Nautical Archaeology.

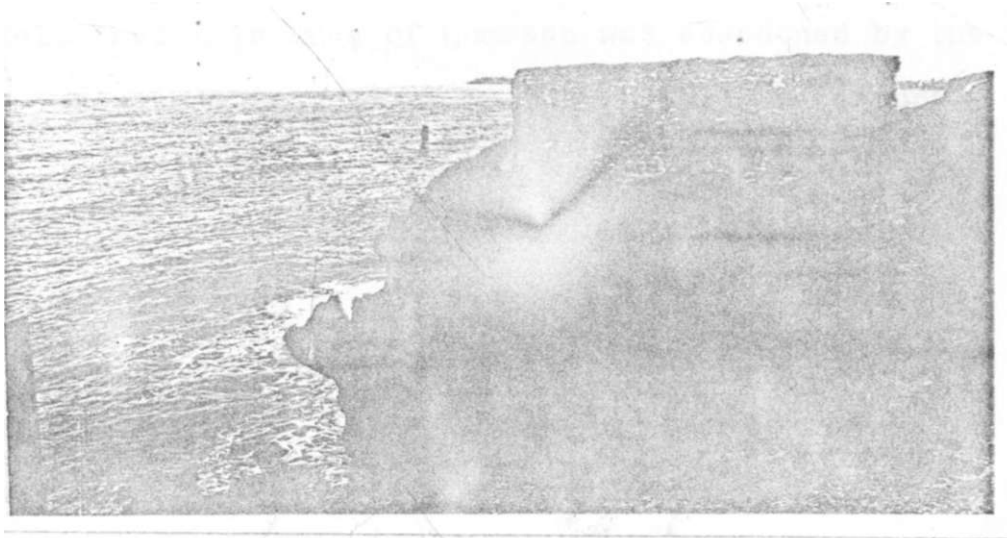
The remains of interest of Swahili origin in Mombasa include the Mazrui cemetery opposite Fort Jesus, the mosque (?) ruins and graves (including Ahehe Mvita's tomb) in the Alliaina Visram school, Kbaraki Pillar, the mosque ruins in the hospital grounds, the mosque ruins at the end of the new Nyali 3riage, ana the mosque ruins at Balu's Garage, Until recently one of the most important old monuments in Mombasa was the mosque of the Kilindini (Kirkman **1964:156-157**), but in **1974** Sassoon discovered to his horror that the building had been destroyed.

The initial salvage excavations at the Coast General Hospital site were reported by Sassoon (1978). There, in trenches that sometimes reached depths of over four metres, he found numerous walls of coral rag masonry, u5-60 centimetres wijde, occasionally with plaster adhering to them, and quantities of local and imported ceramics. The base of the early walls was between 2.5 and 3«0 metres below ground level; thus between one and two metres of deposit had accumulated before the first constructions in stone in the area. Sassoon estimated that the lowest levels might date to before A.D. 1200, and that the walls were probably built about A.D. 1300 (1978:37). The nature of the structures created by the walls could not be determined, but one building might have been a workshop, and two parallel walls, one of which extended 15 metres, almost certainly suggest a street. Sassoon felt that the upper half metre of deposit of the site represented the period from about A.D. 1450 to 1500'. A building in the eastern part of the sit©' perhaps a mosque, might date to this time. Unfortunately *th^e* north, qibla, wall had been destroyed in previous constructs^{0*1} "work, so the presence of a mihrab could not be established

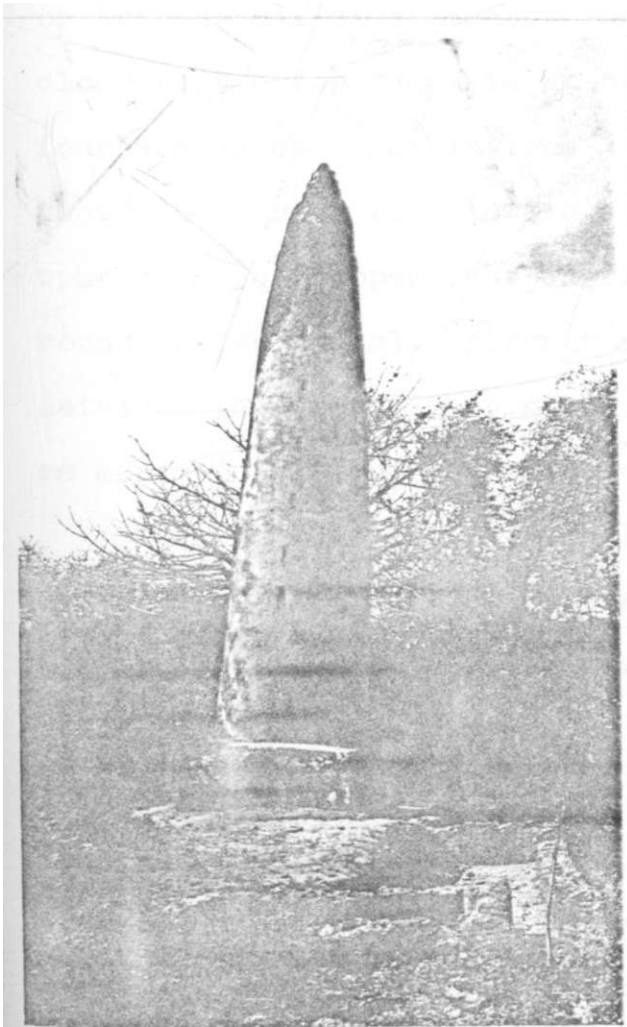
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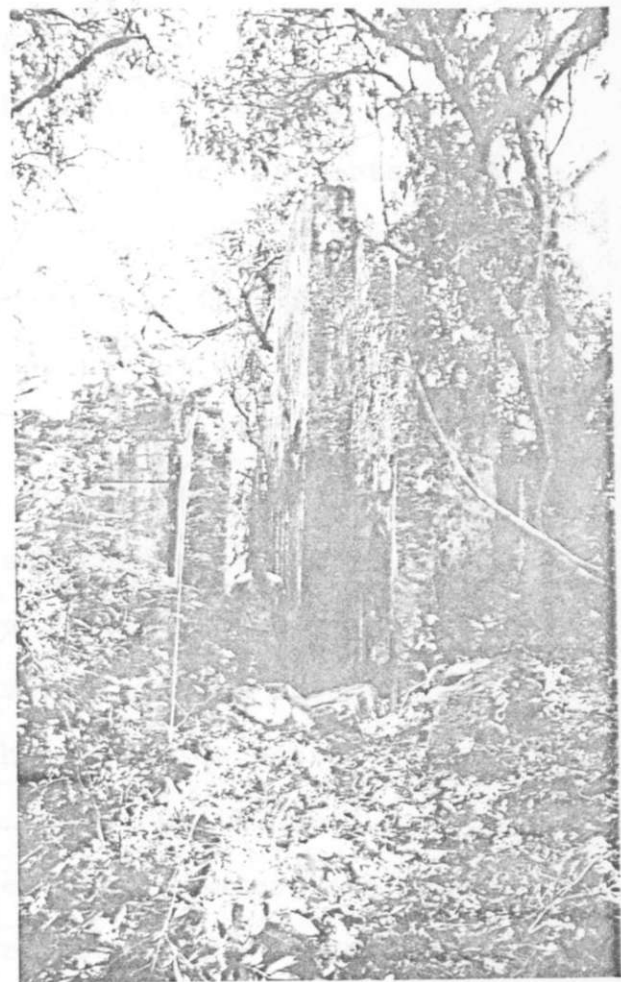
qibla, wall had been destroyed in previous construction work, so the presence of a mihrab could not be established to



15. Fort St. Joseph, Mombasa



Kbaraki Pillar, Mombasa



17. Two-storey house at
Ktwapa

verify the use of the structure as a mosque. Sassoon felt it likely that this ^warea of Mombasa was abandoned by the time of the Portuguese incursions in the early 16th century.

Still to be seen on the grounds of Coast General Hospital are the ruined remains of a mosque, of which only the southern wall and the well behind survive.

On the south side of Mombasa Island, overlooking Kilindini Harbour, stands Mbaraki Pillar. The base of this tall monument, almost certainly a tomb, is square and hollow, with a low arched doorway, once recessed, in its north side. Above, the hollow tower rises to its great height. Rectangular or trapezoidal slits ascend the tower in four uneven rows; close to the top there is an offset course, above which are four arched openings in line with the four rows of slits. Above these rise four inward curving masonry supports that uphold three stepped squares of masonry. At the summit is a round-topped finial. Kirkman argued that the Mbaraki Pillar dates to the late 17th century, because it was illustrated on maps of 1728 but not those of 1636 (1961:128-9, Plate 15).

West of the tomb is a small mosque, the musalla of which "was entered through two eastern and one western doorway. The mihrab is broken to about a metre above the floor, but what remains shows plain jambs and reveals the absence of an architrave. The north door on the east side was blocked sometime during the use of the mosque. On the west were an anteroom and what appears to have been a western ablution court, with tank and round coral footscrapers on the southeast. On the ^{at} side were an eastern anteroom and a broad step, at the north end of which was an ablution cistern. At the south end this pavement is what might have been a tomb. The east

-wall of the anteroom extends to the south, so there might have been a southern room, although there are no southern doorways in either the musalla or the anteroom. The mosque and Mbaraki Pillar are both oriented about 15°

Mtwapa

Mtwapa is a large site on the north side of Mtwapa Creek, The site is in good condition, in thick bush, with many walls of many houses still standing, I located about 60 houses at Mtwapa, including the 15 drawn by Garlake (1966:Fig. 77)- The site stretches several hundred metres north to south, but the breadth of the site has probably been reduced by the construction of houses overlooking the creek and sea. It is not difficult to imagine that Mtwapa was once considerably larger than its present size. There was a concern for group building and town planning at Mtwapa, for the houses there were often constructed in groups of two or more; the preferred orientations were north or east, and many north-south streets were created. Garlake's discussion and plan of the houses of Mtwapa (1966:97, Fig. 77) suggest a regular plan: often a structure three rooms long, with single central doorways aligned into the first two rooms and two doorways into the back room, which itself was or was not divided by a transverse masonry wall. The toilet facilities projected into a forecourt. Garlake noted that, among other things, store rooms and domestic courts were absent. Cut coral was used for the edges of doorways and decorative pilasters. A town wall surrounded the site and may be seen today as a high mound of earth extending across roads and through the bush.

There was apparently only a large congregational mosque at Mtwapa; at least no other mosques have been located (Garlake 1966:Pls. 35, 39). The mosque is three aisles wide and six bays long in the musalla, a design that offered an unobstructed view of the mihrab. The east wall had windows between four arched doorways; above, projecting brackets of cut coral lined the walls near the top. There were east and west verandahs, a south room, and southeastern ablution facilities.. Garlake drew the mihrab as a simple arch once recessed into the wall, and the spandrels as well, above springing level. The mihrab has now fallen. The mosque is oriented 21*.

We did three test excavations at Mtwapa, one in the mosque and two in houses. The excavation at the mosque, a 1 by 1.5 metre pit in the northwest corner of the musalla, unfortunately revealed nothing by which the mosque could be dated. The second pit was in the rear room of a house about 45 metres west-south-west of the mosque. In the pit a 90 centimetre excavation carried us to just below the foundation of the house, but unfortunately no floor was encountered. From the excavation came two sharpening stones, a piece of celadon (?) with unglazed flowers in white, an Islamic sherd "with turquoise blue decoration on a white ground, a piece of brown stoneware, and green and blue green Islamic monochromes on buff bodies..__The other excavation was in a house in far south Mtwapa, northwest of a large two storey house with a lane on the east. The excavation was 1.6 metres deep, and again took us past the foundation without discovering a floor. A purplish blue Islamic monochrome on a red body was the only imported sherd in the excavation, near the foundation. The

second excavation was rather inconclusive, but the finds from the first house are probably of 15-16th Century date.

Mtwapa is a site of great archaeological potential, for settlement pattern studies, survey and mapping, architectural study and excavation. Few sites could rival it in quantity and quality of its standing remains. It would have had much more potential for development as a national monument if its access to the sea and Mtwapa Creek had not been cut off by modern houses, which must have greatly damaged the ruins.

Jumba la Mtwana (National Monument)

The site of Jumba la Mtwana consists of four mosques and a number of houses located in a picturesque setting on and above the beach not far north of the mouth of Mtwapa creek. The site was investigated by James Kirkman in 1972, who cleared some of the houses and at least one of the mosques. Garlake, unfortunately, only found the northern, domed, mosque at the site (1966:Figs* 37> 38)* and he was also unaware of the unquestionably early (late 11th-early 15th century) date of the site revealed by the later Kirkman excavations. This has implications for his stylistic sequence of mihrabs. Kirkman has prepared a paper on the site, now awaiting publication, and Mr. Hamo Sassoon has written a guidebook for the ruins, which is being printed at this time*. I have not seen these papers, and what follows may have to be modified in light of the opinions of these two experienced archaeologists. A site plan of the site was made by a Mr. Wright in 1978 and may be found in Fort Jesus, Mombasa;

Because the ruins of Jumba la Mtwana seem to be **unencumbered** by any remains dating later than about the middle of the 15th

century, and because of the relatively good state of preservation of the ruins, this site is probably one of the most important of the coastal ruins of Kenya. It is therefore worth the allocation of space given to it in this monograph to record the ruins in detail. Let me begin with the mosques*.

One of the mosques of Jumba la Mtwana, the one cleared and planned by Kirkman (1970), known as the Great Mosque or the Mosque by the Sea* A second mosque, as it is located near the centre of the site, will be called here the central mosque. There is a small mosque at the far western end of the site, and the fourth mosque, the domed mosque illustrated by Garlake, is found some metres north of the cleared areas of the National Monument.

The mosque by the sea has been discussed by Kirkman (1971+). It consists of an eastern anteroom and cistern, a western room and far western gallery, a southern platform and a southwestern ablution facility* The musalla was entered through three doorways in each of the side walls and for a time through a southern doorway, subsequently blocked and rebuilt in an adjacent position, itself to be at least partially blocked before use of the mosque came to an end. Kirkman wrote that the musalla was roofed with a flat roof supported by two rows of three wooden pillars. The mihrab is framed by a plain architrave, within which there is a plain order of a single inner architrave frame, broken by the thin three member capitals. Within the spandrels there are two arch orders, the innermost of which rises from chamfered pilasters with their own capitals. Below the capitals, between the chamfered pilasters and the inner architrave frame are two recessed orders, one corresponding to the plane of the spandrels and one to the next inner arch

**MOSQUE BY THE SEA
JUMBA LA MTWANA**

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18. The central mosque at Jumba la Mtwana



19. The small mosque at Jumba la Mtwana



20. The domed mosque at Jumba la Mtwana

order. The apse is plain. The whole aspect of this mihrab is similar to that of the Takwa mosque, although not quite as complicated.

The roof of the eastern anteroom was supported by a row of three square masonry piers, above which Kirkman felt there were two rows of longitudinal barrel vaults. He wrote that evidence for this survives at the northwest corner of the room, and although I think this feature may still be seen I am not convinced that barrel vaulting is indicated. Still, recent repairs may have obscured unequivocal evidence of vaulting. The western anteroom was entered through single doors in the northern and western walls. Against the western wall was a salient pilaster, from which an arch might have sprung from a slightly offset cut coral capital* If there was an eastern companion pilaster, all evidence for it has vanished. It is possible that this room might have been roofed with a longitudinal barrel vault, supported by a central archway near the middle of the room. The far western passage was used as an anteroom to the western room and later as an area for burials. The western wall appears to have been built in two stages, to have been once heightened. It might have served a function as a western precinct wall, somewhat similar to the western wall outside the western gallery at Takwa mosquet

The ablution facilities at this mosque were strategically placed so as to allow convenient multiple entrance: a cistern in a small room at the southwest corner, with three circular coral footscrapers before it, which could be entered from the areas south of the mosque and provided access to the musalla through the southern doors or western passage; through the western passage itself, which had a cistern at the north end;

through the north door of the western anteroom, where access was at one time or another available to a large cistern with footscrapers outside of the chamber to the north or to the cistern of the western passage; and through the anteroom with a cistern on the east side of the mosque.

It is a well planned mosque with the building nicely-executed. The only doorway that still stands is the north door of the east wall of the musalla, a simple archway with cut coral edges. The orientation of the mosque is 20°. There was a precinct wall north of the mosque, against which, directly north of the mihrab, was built a narrow tomb whose only interesting feature is the top of the east wall, which rises in a curve from back to front.

North of this mosque is a cemetery, with several tomb enclosures abutting the little coral cliff to the west. With one exception these tombs are without distinctive features, either because these have been lost over the years or because they never had much of interest in the first place. They seem to have been plain enclosures about 1.5 metres high, often with a narrow curb at the base. The exception is the tomb called by Kirkman the Tomb of the Plaque, which has a carved rectangular stone set into the single recessed panel of the facade. The border of the plaque is gracefully carved with sura III 185, translated by Dr. Rex Smith:

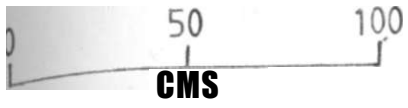
Every soul shall taste death. You will be simply paid your wages in full on the Day of Resurrection. He who is removed from the Fire and made to enter Heaven, he it is who has won the victory. The lower life is only an article of delusion.

The epitaph, now almost weathered away, is within the carved border.* Six inches cross the facade of the tomb at the top, and below the plaque is a window. There was no superstructure,

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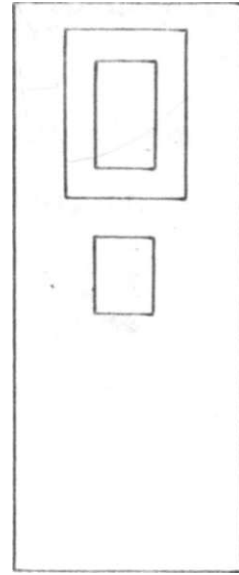
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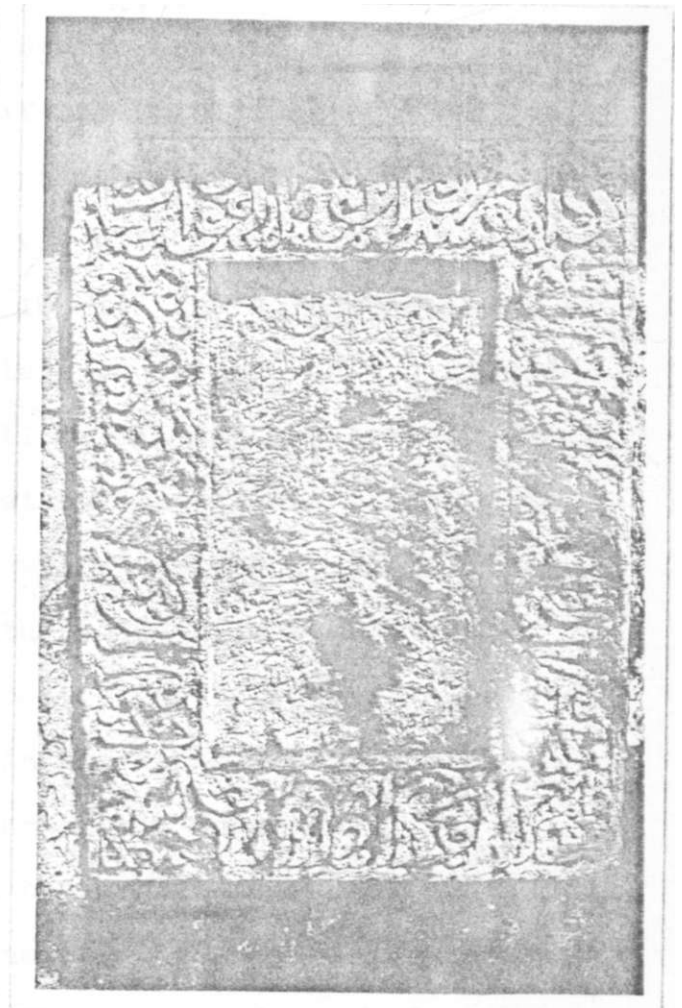
JUMBA LA MTWANA TOMB

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EAST FACADE



21. Tomb of the Plaque
Jumba la Ntwana

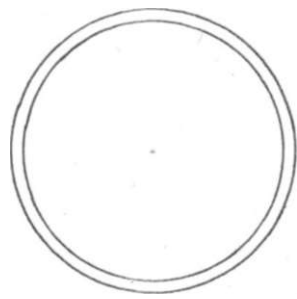
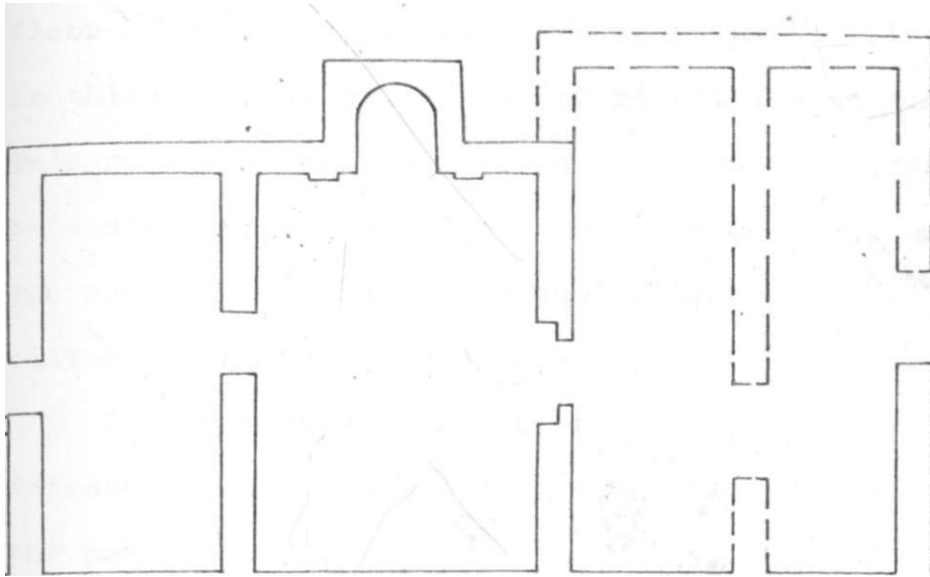
22. The inscription on the
Tomb of the Plaque

but the top of the wall curved up from back to front, to crest above the niches. It is oriented 25°.

Directly in front of this tomb is a curious construction*. There was a small arched doorway facing north, on the inside of which was a solid masonry rectangular construction, with two circular coral footscrapers (?) in front. It does not appear to have been a cistern, so perhaps the coral pedestals are not scrapers. If it is a grave, it is still an odd construction.

The central mosque has three main chambers, the musalla and a room on each side, plus three smaller chambers across the rear entered through a south door in the musalla. The main room had a roof supported by two rows of three (wooden?) seven or eight sided columns; if an analogy to the mosque by the sea is relevant, the roof would have been flat. The mihrab is composed of a plain architrave, within which the spandrels and pilaster below are at wall level. There is no capital at the spring line. Within the plain architrave only a single arch order is recessed from wall level, and the apse is plain. The east anteroom is of interest because it was roofed with a high barrel vault. There is a window in the north wall and another in the arch of the southern end of the vault. The eastern wall of the mosque is destroyed, but the musalla was entered through a single door in the south end of the eastern wall. There may have been a comparable north door, but if there was, repairs to the wall have obliterated it. There is a single southern doorway in the west wall as well, and like the east wall there might have been a second north doorway, now obscured. There were two cisterns outside the mosque on the west side, and another within the western anteroom

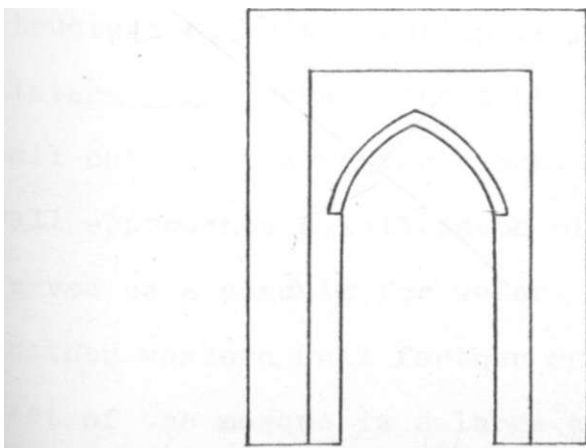




MAG. NORTH

250 500
CMS

JUMBA SMALL MOSQUE



0 25
METRES

11

at the southwest corner. This last construction is sunk to floor level of the room, which suggests the floor of the mosque in this area was raised during rebuilding or refurbishing. This room was entered through two western doorways north of this cistern, a central pier separating one from the other. The roof was upheld by two square masonry pillars, and the cisterns were fed by a nearby well to the west.-.

In the southwestern corner of the musalla is a small depression to support a jug of water. The orientation of the mosque is 23°

The small western mosque has a mihrab identical in style to the central mosque: a single recessed arch order within a plain architrave. The central chamber was entered through two eastern anterooms, or so there seem to be; the farthest away was entered through a central eastern doorway and possibly a southern doorway, the nearer through one or two eastern doorways and possibly, but perhaps not likely, through a southern doorway. The doorway into the musalla was a single simple archway that still stands. On the west was another room, which has been cleared down to a plaster floor almost one metre below the floor level of the musalla. - A doorway in the east wall of this room was blocked up to the level of the present floor of the musalla; thus there was an earlier structure at this location than the present mosque. The cistern might have been at the southern corner of the western wall outside the western room. South of the cistern a curving wall approaches a well south of the musalla and might have served as a conduit for water. There appears to have been another western wall farther on, possibly a precinct wall. East of the mosque is a large courtyard. Mosque orientation is 19t

The northwest or domed mosque at Jumba la Mtwana is located at the northwest periphery of the National Monument, about 100 metres north of the ticket office and about 175 metres north of the small western mosque. This mosque is of considerable interest. Inside the musalla a single row of two central octagonal columns below square capitals support the six bays of domes. The transition from bay to dome was made at the corners not with a true pendentive but with a rounded projection of a cornice member. Five-sided salient pilasters support the archways on the side walls and at the south end of the chamber. At the north end the central archway rested on top of the projecting mihrab. Garlake, who made a plan of this mosque (1966:Figs. 37, 38), wrote that this "is the only example on the coast where central columns are not combined with a transverse barrel vault in front of the mihrab" (1966:110).. Against the walls between the pilasters was a perimeter arcade of arches. These spanned the widths of the bays, except on the north wall, where their width had to be reduced to accommodate the mihrab. The mihrab itself projects without architrave into the room, and a single arch order is recessed into it* As in all the Jumba mosques, the apse is plain. At the north ends of the east and west walls of the musalla are narrow but vertically elongated windows. The room was entered through plain simple arched doorways in the centre of the east and west walls. There was no southern entrance.-

On the west exterior wall of the musalla clear evidence can be seen that three peripheral arches lined the wall, although the other walls of the room have collapsed, as have the salient Pilasters and the archways themselves. It is the plaster "shadow" of these arches that may be seen, the outline in

plaster of the three arches left when they themselves collapsed. This is clear evidence that there was a western domed room, which is not indicated on Garlake.'s plan. There might have been a western verandah as well.

The eastern anteroom was probably entered through two arched doorways near the centre of the east wall, built in a style similar to those inside the mosque. A single central column provided support for the roof from the middle of the room, directly in front of the simple archway into the musalla. Garlake reported an eastern verandah with an ablution tank located at the north end. The orientation of this mosque is 14°.

The houses of Jumba la Ktwana are complex, but archaeologically important; hence I intend to describe them at length, apologizing in advance to those for whom interest in the houses of Jumba la Ktwana may not sustain them through the following pages. The most complex of the domestic structures of the site is the House of the Many Doors, an edifice that was built, and then rebuilt, possibly with a transitional stage in between. Originally the house had a long northern anteroom giving way into a shorter main room. At one end of the main room was a store, and behind it were two smaller rooms, between which was a third room that was entered from the rear, rather than the front, of the house. On the east and west this nucleus of the house was flanked by long transverse rooms, the former having a small room at its north end, at the end of the long northern anteroom. On the south side of the house was another main room, leading into the small central room mentioned above. North of the house was a large courtyard, on the opposite side of which were probably servants' quarters. Subsequent modifications included blocking the northern doorways into

the anteroom (of which there were four, rather than the three mentioned by Kirkman) and making a western entryway; incorporating the small northeast room into the anteroom; blocking the north entrance to the main room; and building a broad wall across the anteroom. The next stage of building saw the broad cross wall removed; the western entrance to the main room blocked and two northern doorways constructed; the north end of the western transverse room incorporated into the main room, which was itself divided in two, forming two suites of two rooms, one on each side of the house; and raising the floor level of the north part of the house about a metre. Modifications also occurred in the northern buildings and courtyards during these times. In the southwest corner of the courtyard was a toilet, with washbasin and cylindrical foot stones to stand on while washing. This area was entered from a period one door in the anteroom. At the south end of the courtyard is a final period toilet, built against the north wall of the anteroom.

The House of the Kitchen and the House of the Cylinders, located west and northwest of the House of the Many Doors, were also investigated by Kirkman. The northern structure of these two, the House of the Cylinders, was designed with northern and southeastern courtyards, through which access to the house was gained. Upon entering from the north today one enters a low courtyard, which appears sunken, but which probably indicates the original level of the floors of the structure. At the northwest corner of this courtyard was a toilet, cistern and the two large cylinders for which the house is named.* These are raised ana abut the cistern, and their function was probably for sitting on or for kneeling

on while washing. South of this only the house .as it w.s rebuilt may be observed today. The main room to the south is on the west side of the house, and was meant to be entered through a doorway with a single recessed jamb niche of cut coral. The room had a shelf of cut coral in its west wall. Access to the four small square rooms to the south, west of the southeast court, was from this room, through a doorway with an architrave containing a niche in each pilaster of cut coral (assuming symmetry, for only the west jamb survives). One or more of these four southwestern rooms were probably entered from the north in this way; others, from the southeast court. North of the southeast court was a small room with a sump or toilet.

Kirkman excavated in the room of the sump, the southeast court and the southeast room of the group of four. Below current floor level were found a floor which belongs to the base of the walls of the structure, the first floor of the house, and one or two lower floors, just above levelled coral covered with red earth. Kirkman suggested that these earlier floors belonged to mud and thatch structures. It is interesting that he found a blue Islamic monochrome sherd on red paste sealed below the original floor.

The House of the Kitchen had large northern and eastern courtyards, and could be entered from the northeast through these courtyards, or from the southeast through an "L" shaped passageway that led directly onto the east court or into the private southern rooms of the house. There was also a northwest doorway, at the corner of the House of the Cylinders. The northern room seems to overlook the courtyard as a kind °f tier, but it is really probably the second construction

level at the house. At its west end is the toilet, a rather regal construction considering its height above the courtyard, the oblong recess behind it, and the squared coral steps with a runnel between them. Behind this was a long main room, which Kirkman thought was a kitchen because

of the two conical masonry constructions on the first floor of the house. At Takwa, however, such masonry features indicated toilet long drops or sumps, and in this case I think these represent the latter, being constructed for the raised floor level of the rebuilt house. On the other hand, excavators always have more information than their critics in matters such as this, and Kirkman might have found these

features full of ash or bones, or he might have some other unequivocal evidence that these were indeed ovens. Anyway, to the south were doorways into the next two rooms and one into a transverse eastern room. From this latter room was a lobby leading into the southeastern "L"-shaped passageway or into a toilet. Subsequently these doorways were all blocked and a dividing wall was added in the southwest room* The floor level of the structure was raised, as may be seen by the high door jambs in the north and south walls of the "kitchen" and the high niche in the west wall of the same room.

Whereas I am reluctant to apply names to the houses of Jumba la Ktwana, in the absence of a published site plan I have found it necessary for the discussion to do so; also, I realize a detailed knowledge of Si^ahili architecture is necessary to follow the descriptions presented here, but, again, I give it because of the importance of the site. ~~Small sketch of the house of the Small House. it was the~~

the house is a courtyard and southern courtyard wall, both shared by the house and the mosque, suggesting some sort of relationship between the two. "The house probably had two main chambers, one behind the other, opening north, with two transverse western rooms and certainly one and possibly two transverse eastern rooms. The southern part of the structure is partly broken down, but there were two smaller chambers in the centre rear of the house, one opening to the north and the other to the east. -The main northern doorway from the first to the second main central rooms has flanking pilasters with edges of cut coral and a double recessed niche in each. The eastern doorway was simpler, with a doorway frame recessed into the wall, with a second "arch order" recess framing or paralleling the simple doorway arch itself. There seems to have been a northern courtyard, at the northeast corner of which were a sump and toilet facilities including the double coral footstands or seats.

East of this house, between it and the House of the Many Doors and south of the House of the Kitchen, is the House of the Western Court. Streets run to the west, north and east of this house, which had five or possibly six small rooms, modest indeed compared to the other structures surrounding it.

In addition to the western courtyard, there might have been one to the south as well. To the south is another large compound with courtyard and perhaps house walls.

In the area immediately northwest of the House of the Cylinders there are more house walls, with square niches and blocked arched doorways, the remnants of structures too ruined to determine their plans. About half way between the House of the Many Doors and

the central mosque, a distance of about 80 or 90 metres, is
the House of the Double Doors, The plan and room relationships
of this structure are hard to determine. There was a northern
courtyard and an eastern area which was either a courtyard,
anteroom or bedroom space. There was probably a northern room
that has been destroyed. Through a recessed simple arched
doorway flanked by pilasters, with one double recessed niche
in each, entry was gained into a wide transverse room. At
least in the final days of the use of this house, if not before,
the east wall of this room intersected the east jamb of the
doorway. As this wall intersects the south wall of the room
it seems to be an original construction; as it abuts the jamb
of the front door it seems to be a late addition. In the
southeast corner of the larger room may be seen the depression
of a wooden column, which would have been unnecessary if the
wall were in place and only a normal room width had to be
spanned. Four corner posts suggest that the larger room was
first a single room, later modified by the addition of the
cross wall, perhaps to support a sagging roof. Assuming
the main entrance to the house was from the north, the double
arches of the eastern wall would have led to private rooms
on the east, although it is possible to envision a plan
similar to the final phase of the House of the Cylinders.
At the north west corner of the north courtyard was a latrine,
and in the southeast corner of the area was a small room, perhaps
a store. On the west side of the house was a transverse
chamber with access from the north and without access into
the house.

Behind this house to the south is a low-walled rectangular
compound, about 10.5 metres east to west by 5 metres north

to south. There is a courtyard wall to the east and north, possibly this was a school, market or storage area, or perhaps a garden.

East of the House of the Double Doors and the compound just described is gently undulating and rising ground, with coral rubble over it possibly indicating an area of ruined structures. About 30 metres south of the central mosque a few house walls stand, and a solitary door jamb with a pilaster and niche of cut coral. Southeast of the central mosque it is only a few dozens of metres to the coral cliffs on the eastern side of the site, below which are found the Mosque by the Sea and the cemetery. East of the central mosque, above the cliff, are located some of the more modest houses of Jumba la Mtwana. The plans of two houses, the East and West Cliff Houses, can be clearly seen, and the ruined remains of three or so others may be viewed. The plans are similar to the larger houses although there were apparently no courtyards, and there were fewer, and much smaller (about 5 by 2 metres) rooms per house. The houses are made up of five or six longitudinal and transverse rooms, with main entrances on the north or east. One of the very ruined houses boasted a particularly nice cistern, with two steps down to the bottom. East of this area the cliff drops off to the beach above the sea,

North of the mosque on the beach and the cemetery are one small and two large domestic structures, the East and West Beach Houses. A retaining wall was here built against the cliff to prevent rock falls and to provide a western wall for one and probably two courtyards. In the north this wall curves around almost ninety degrees and heads toward the sea. In front of this retaining wall is the main body of the two

houses, about four room widths wide. The eastern house is destroyed on the sea side, so the exact plan, including whether there might have been an eastern entrance, can not be determined. There were, however, double doorways in the northern room of the structure, which is oriented perpendicular to the southern rooms of the house. There was also a western doorway, later blocked, into the space of the other house from this northern room. In the western house were two rooms with double doorways, one room behind the other, opening west. At the south end of the courtyard in front was a toilet. At the southwest corner was a passage to a southern courtyard, at the south end of which were at least two rooms. Adjoining these was an arched doorway, opening from the south into a room, passage or courtyard. Between these structures and the cemetery is the low mound of another structure, ruined except for a low eastern door jamb.

The areas northwest of the central mosque remain to be considered. This area is best divided by an imaginary line from the central mosque to the northwestern domed mosque. To the west and south of this line extend houses more or less similar in plan to those already described, but to the north and east of this line almost no houses occur. Rather, this area is divided up into plots by straight walls usually following imprecisely the cardinal directions, so that the aspect of the area is one of neatly demarcated holdings. There are perhaps 7-9 of these compounds, which are perhaps 30 by 30 metres square, with some larger but few smaller. At least twice the gateways into the compounds are arched doorways constructed with cut coral edges. One plot had a cistern in its southwest corner, and the adjacent enclosure

had a low wall running diagonally across the end, and the mound
of a ruined structure on the opposite, north side. The plot
to the north on the east side of this one also contained a
mound of a ruined structure, this one located in the centre
of the compound, and a cistern. The purpose of writing
briefly about what is found inside these walled enclosures
is not to locate individual features within individual compounds,
but to suggest the types of things which might be found in
them. Cisterns and the mounds of single structures seem most
common, but I saw no wells. Possibly they were agricultural
areas.

North of the House of the Double Doors the settlement
area continues. On the east side of this area there were probably
two large structures, but they are too ruined to understand
their plans. On the northwest side, however, is the House
of the Small Courtyard, just north of a large well* The
house and courtyard were entered on the northeast corner;
at the other end of the court was a toilet, with a stand for
water pots, two coral foot-stands, and a low wall separating
the drop from the washing place. The house was entered from
the north, and the rooms are a simple series one behind the
other, without transverse rooms. The two inner doorways
were singly recessed from wall level, and the edges of the
recess and of the simple archways were of cut coral.- In the
rear room of a suite of three rooms, an eastern store or
Private room was created by a dividing wall. Northwest of
this house the ruins continue for perhaps 120 metres in the
direction of the northwest domed mosque.

As a detailed description of an archaeological site
does not necessarily elucidate architectural plans, trends

and details, I will now briefly summarize. A typical house at Jumba la Mtwana had a northern or northern and eastern courtyard, with entry through the north or east or both; It had one or more transverse rooms, on the east side, or preferably both sides. The toilet was in the courtyard to the north, where the washing area was built with unusually large footscrapers or stools. Doorways could be single or double or, as in the front facade of the House of the Many Doors, two major and two minor doors. In design they could be simple pointed archways, as seen in the west wall of the House of the Western Court, but more often the archway was recessed from the plane of the wall facade, the wall face itself forming a frame for the doorway. This is seen in the earliest structure of the House of the Many Doors, in the front door of the House of the Cylinders, in the double doorways of the House of the Double Doors, in the inner archways of the House of the Small Court, and in the south door of the West Beach House. It is also found in the eastern door of the House of the Small Mosque, although there the archway itself is also once recessed. The last type of door is set within pilasters, all of which probably contained niches with a single recessed frame. These are found in the north door of the House of the Small Mosque, the middle doorway in the House of the Cylinders (where there are two niches in each pilaster), in the late doors of the House of the Many Doors, in the north door of the House of the Double Doors, and in the East Cliff House, in all of which the archway itself was once recessed. The wall niches of Jumba la Mtwana are uninteresting, most being plain and approximately square, where were double niches of this type in the rear of the

House of the Many Doors, Single arched niches were found in the west room of the House of the Small Mosque and in the rear of the House of the Many Doors. The most interesting among this uninspiring assortment is a square niche with a salient cut coral frame, with a single recess around the opening of the niche, in the east room of the House of the Double Doors.

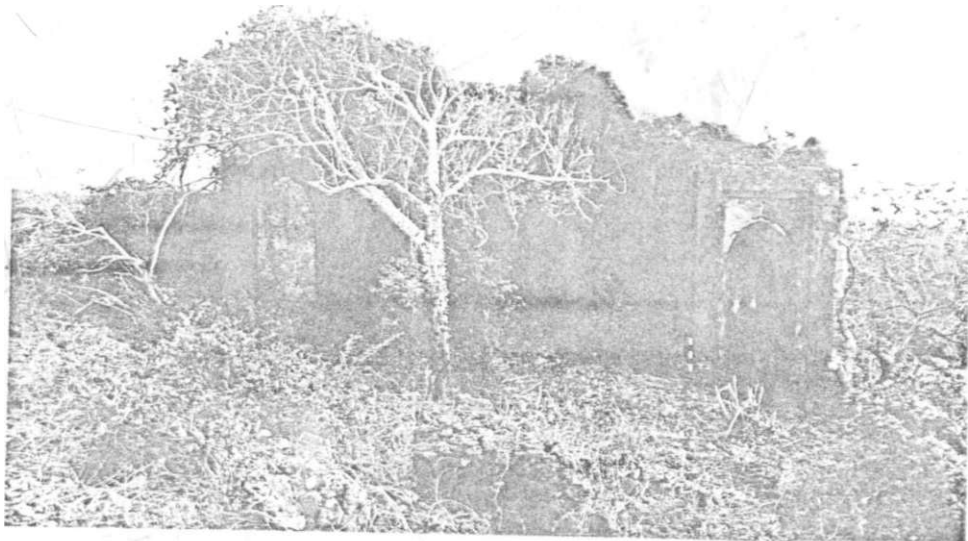
Jumba la Mtwana presents the archaeologist with some fascinating problems of interpretation that I believe can be stated in this way: ceramically Jumba la Mtwana is a single period site with an apparently short span of occupation, whereas architecturally and stratigraphically it is a two period site.- Kirkman dated Jumba la Mtwana on the basis of celadons, blue and white porcelains, green on buff and blue on red Islamic monochromes, the absence of scraffiato and the rare presence of black on yellow. He could have been describing the collection I obtained at Jumba la Mtwana, said to have come from the clearing of some of the structures: 27 pieces of celadon, including bare-circle types, a typical 11th century ware; 9 pieces of Chinese blue and white, four pieces of which are late 11th or early 15th century, one of which is probably 15th century, and four pieces I could not identify; 1 piece of white porcelain, unidentified; 1 sherd of black on yellow; 3 pieces of a stoneware jar, yellow-brown in colour with curvilinear incised decoration under the glaze; 12 green or blue-green Islamic monochromes on buff paste; and 11 blue Islamic monochromes on red paste. Both in percentages and types you could probably not ask for a more classic late 11th and early 15th century ceramic collection.

Considering the buildings, Kirkman's excavations and ground observation today clearly demonstrates that the Houses of the Many Doors, Kitchen and Cylinders were all rebuilt. Observation indicates that almost certainly the small mosque and possibly the central mosque were rebuilt as well. To add to the mystery, each of these structures seems to have been built the second time about 90 cms above the level of the first building. Thus we are asked to believe that within the span of about a century Jumba la Ktwana was built, that much of it was subsequently torn down to within 90 cms of the ground, that it was then rebuilt, but that it might not have been reoccupied. Even for the credulous, this is a bit much. I believe that in the mosques can be seen stylistic evidence of the two periods, or at least, if the small mosque and the central mosque were rebuilt and thus as they stand already represent the second period at the site, two separate phases of the second period. This is based on the distinction of mihrab styles in the three mosques on top of the cliff compared to the mosque on the beach. Stylistically, the latter mihrab is developed classic in type and thus, according to Garlake (1966:62), should be early 16th century at the earliest; and stylistically this mihrab is not one of the earliest developed classic types. Again, no late 15th or 16th century ceramic deposits

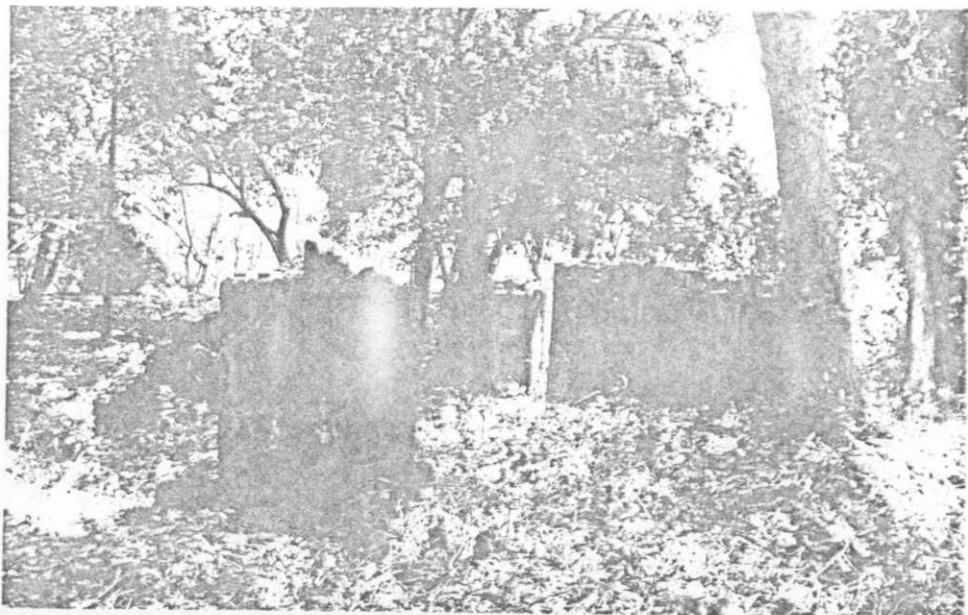
have been discovered at Jumba la Ktwana. The mystery of the site remains, but it makes Jumba la Ktwana the more interesting for that.



23. House of the Many Doors, Jumba la Mtwana



24. The mosque at Kijipwa, near Vipingo



25. Kinuni tombs E, D, B, and A

KENYA

Gedi
Mgangani
Kilepwa
Uyombo
Mida Creek
Watamu
Kiburugeni

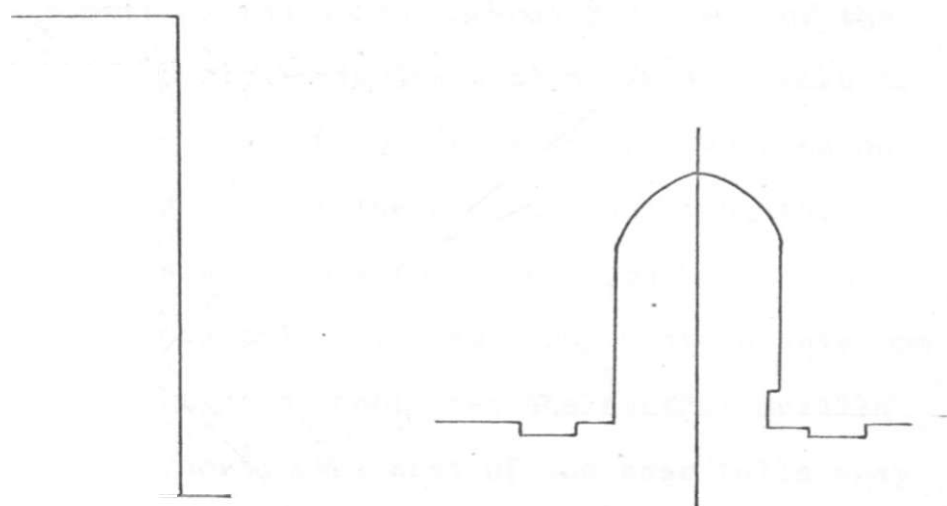
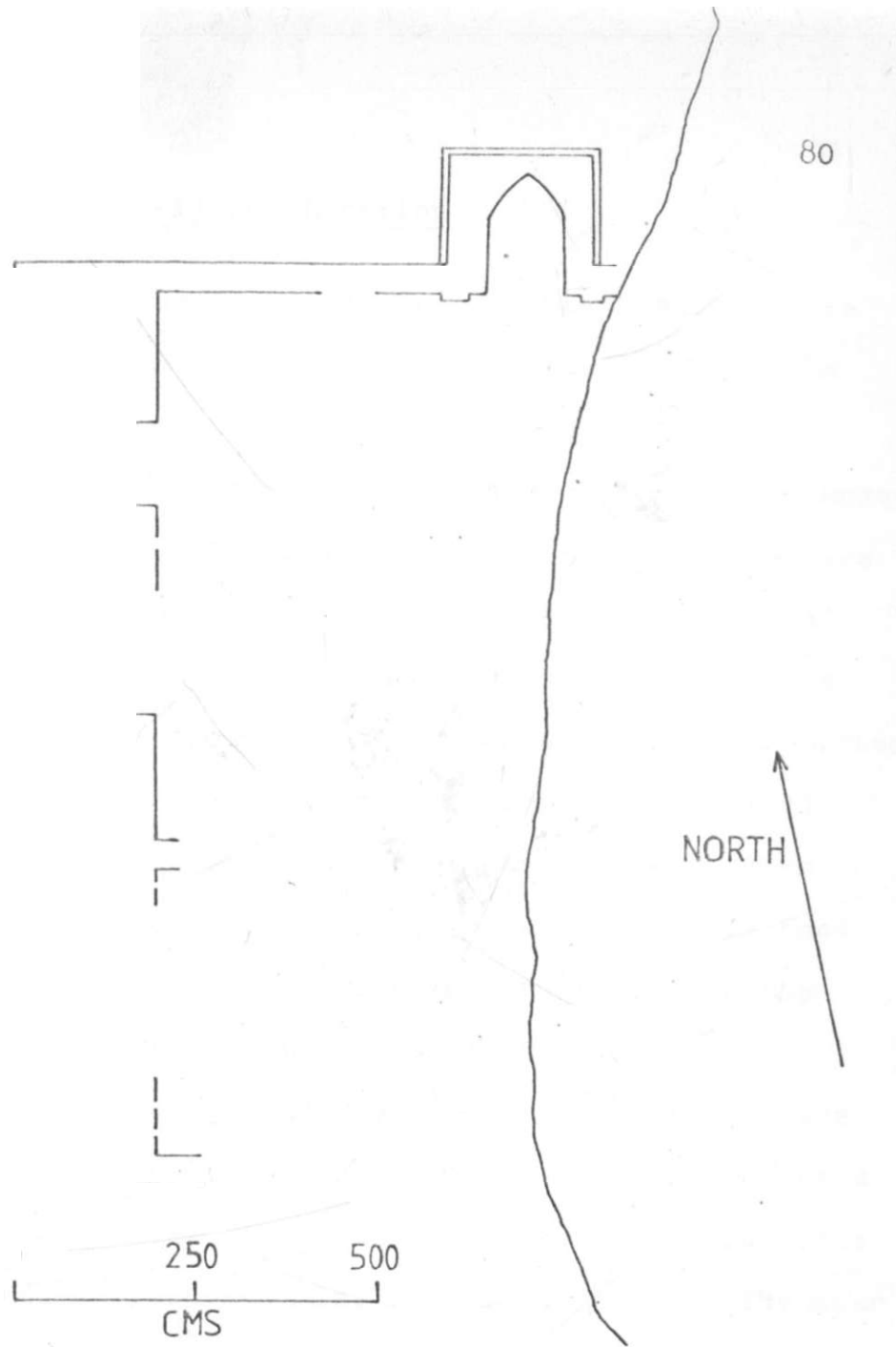
INDIAN OCEAN

Kilifi
Mnarani
Kitoka

Kinuni

Vipingo Mosque





250
CMS

IPINGO MOSQUE

Mosque near yipingo, Kijepwa Location

The Vipingo mosque is located on the beach about three kilometres southeast of Kijepwa Police Station. The qibla and west side of the north wall stand, and some of the western walls may be traced, but the eastern side of the mosque has been eroded away by the sea. The plan of the mosque was difficult to ascertain, but certainly there was a western area divided into, probably, a long northern chamber and a small southern room. These areas were entered through northern, western and southern doorways; the northern doorway still stands as a simple archway, the others have fallen. This mosque either had a very wide musalla or a very narrow one. The uncertainty arises because of a scar that runs up the north wall about a metre west of the architrave of the mihrab. This is the only evidence that remains of what was possibly a wall, shown in the accompanying illustration as a break in the north wall. The roofing of the mosque supports a more narrow (metres) musalla, for to the west of the scar the top of the wall falls with a sharp pitch. This pitch continues down almost to the northern arched doorway of the western room, and probably indicates the roof was of makuti. The wall height of the western room appears to have been no higher than the spring line of the archway; the area thus probably functioned as an open verandah. A southern room probably stretched across this proposed inner western anteroom and the musalla. The type of roof over the central musalla is uncertain, for the north wall east of the scar falls away at the top down to the mihrab.

The mihrab is framed in a plain architrave, with plain

jambes below offset capitals of two narrow members. Above, there is a plain spandrel frame, and within the spandrels is a single recessed arch order. The apse is plain, and the orientation of the mosque is 12! Our surface collection from the area was 18th and 19th century porcelain,

Kinuni

Kinuni is a small site of one mosque and a group of tombs located on a beautiful beach just north of a coral outcrop at the end of a well-kept access road in the Kurwitu area. Portions of the site were excavated and reported on by Kirkman **(1957)**- Only the western anteroom of the mosque stands, the northern portions to full height. This chamber was 8.70 metres long inside and 2.14.7 metres wide; to the south was another room 3.50 metres long, which, if it did not extend all the way across the mosque on the south, was probably the same width as the northern chamber. -The surviving northwest doorway of the musalla is a simple archway with edges of cut coral. The western doorways of the anteroom were squared. There might have been a western verandah. The mihrab and eastern sections of the mosque are completely destroyed. Its orientation is lit

Kirkman labelled the tombs at Kinuni A to E. Tomb A is the largest of the tombs, over 17 metres in area, and at 28° orientation it is the farthest away from magnetic north* Its facade consists of three single recessed panels under a frieze niches, with an octagonal pillar rising above the wall, slightly to the north of its centre. The northern panel held a plaque, since removed. Tomb B has a plain wall facade with

a single salient pilaster producing a panelled effect. From the top of the wall, above a frieze of niches, rose an octagonal pillar. Tomb C is an enclosure without, features. The east facade of Tomb D, however, bears two vertically elongated single recessed niches, between which is set a coral plaque with a carved border. Unlike similar bordered plaques at Jumba la Mtwana and Mnarani (Kirkman 1959:Plate 5D), the space left for an epitaph inside the border of this tomb at Kinuni was never carved. Again a frieze of niches crosses the top of the wall facade, above which rose a square pillar. Tomb D is also interesting for its tiled, barrel vaulted roof and its door in the north wall. Tomb E, adjacent Tomb D, was roofed with a low barrel vault also, although the facade of the tomb shows a pitched roof. Around the front of the tomb is a curious low ledge, or bench, and in the east wall, a window.

The style of the facades of these pillar tombs put them in a unique group, with their vertically extended single recessed panels and square or octagonal pillars and friezes of niches : with the 11th century tombs at Kilepwa (Kirkman 1952) and Ras Mkumbuu (Kirkman 1959), vi-ii the 16th century tombs near the Palace and the Great Mosque at Gedi, and with the undated tomb C at Mwana (Wilson 1979:Fig. 7C).

Kitoka

Kitoka, on the north bank of Takaungu Creek, along with Mnarani on the south bank of Kilifi Creek and Kilifi on the north bank of the same, were the settlements of the old "city state" of Kilifi (Kirkman 1959). A fourth site name

known for the area is Kioni, which Kirkman first (1959:95) equated with Kitoka but later considered a separate site near the sea on the south bank of Kilifi Creek (1975:227, 210-211). Kirkman (1975:211) wrote of Kioni that "the capital of a inhrab was found with an inscription in interlacing Kufic, which may be older than the fourteenth century," That is all I know about Kioni, which will not be considered further here.

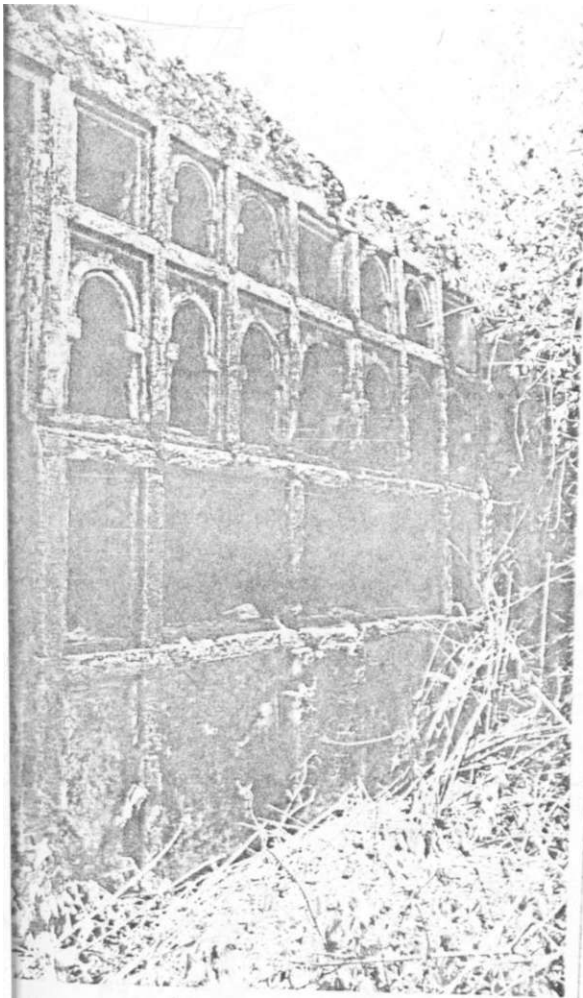
Kitoka is a site of two mosques and numerous houses, today covering an area of about six acres, although it is likely that in the past the site was considerably larger. Plans of the two mosques and elevations of their mihrabs were presented by Garlake (1966:Pls. 35, 36). The mihrab of the large mosque is still in good condition, with two arch orders above and two recessed jambs below single member capitals. There was no architrave, but salient pilasters, each with an arched niche over a rectangular niche, flank the mihrab. The roof was supported by two rows of three large and two flanking rows of three small octagonal columns. One column whose plaster has decayed reveals alternating tiles and mortar surfaces, as at the pillar tomb at Kilepwa. The walls have fallen and the mosque is now used as a *simsim* patch. Its orientation is 358°.

During two trips to Kitoka I was not able to find the small mosque illustrated by Garlake; I believe it was overgrown or, more likely, now completely destroyed. Garlake's drawings show a plain mihrab of a single arch framed by a simple rectangular inset in the wall. The stark simplicity of this mihrab design associates this mosque with the mosque at Mtwapa, the Kongo mosque and the mosque by the sea at Munge.

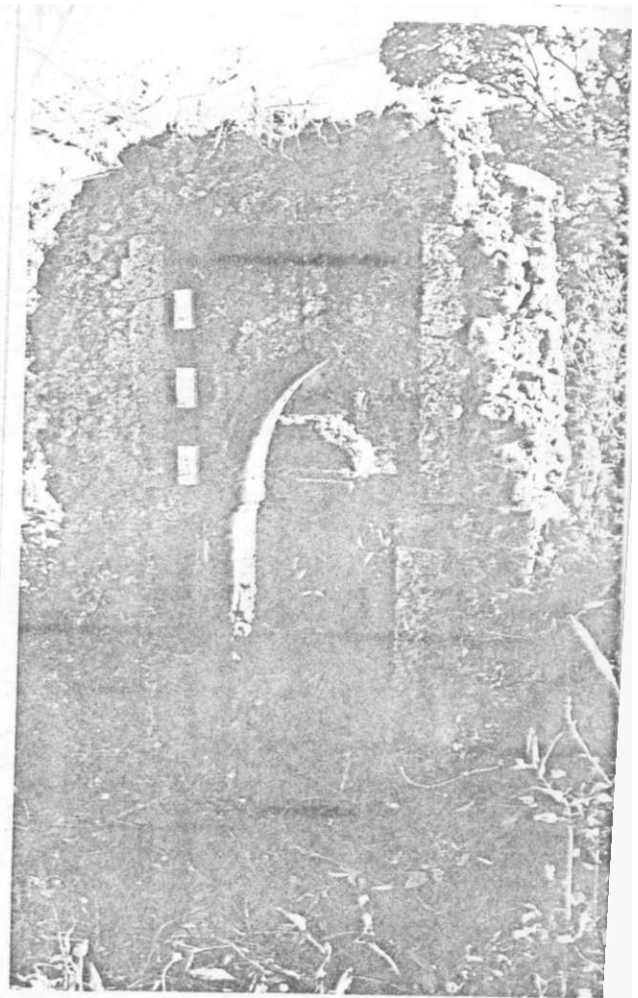
Rather than describe the individual houses at Kitoka, "which would be tedious and repetitive, I will simply call



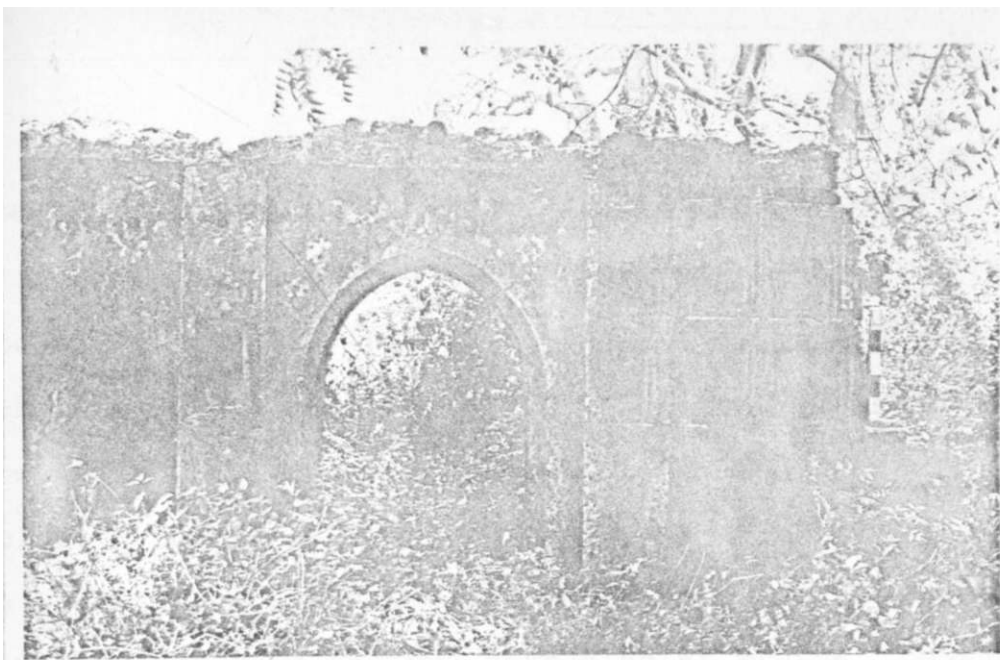
26. The large mosque at Kitoka



27. Kitoka, large panel of niches

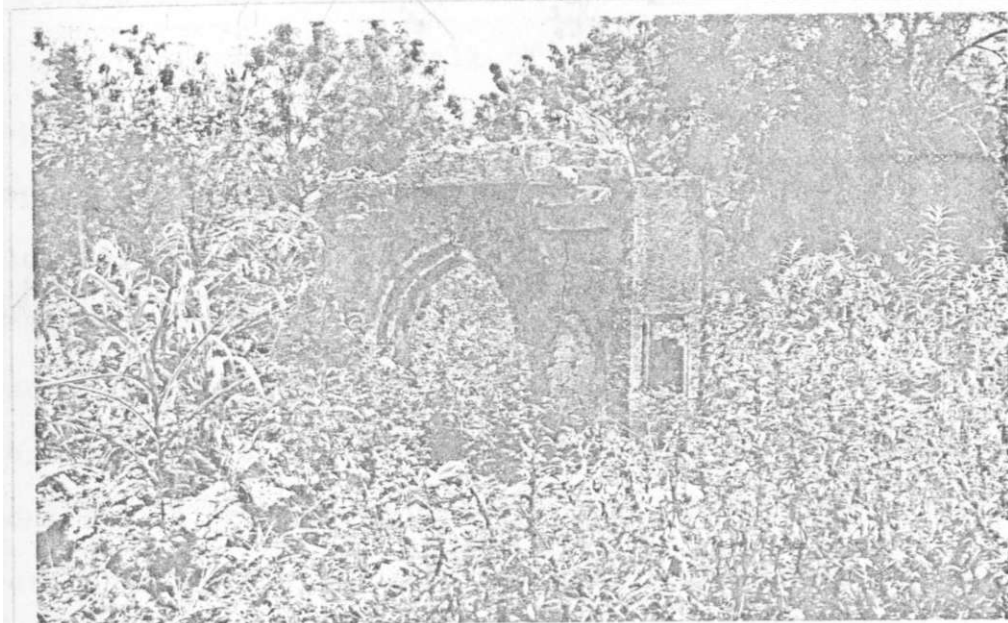


28. Doorway into toilet, Kitoka

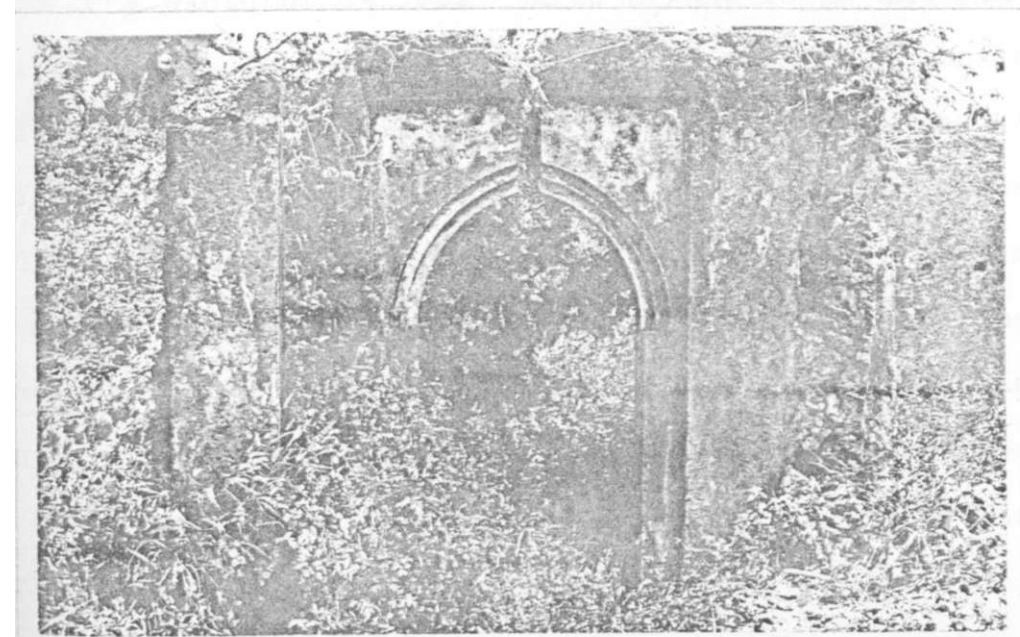


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29. Doorway with pilasters and niches, Kitoka



30. Salient wall pilaster and overhead brackets, Kitoka



31. Pilasters and recessed archways on a Kitoka doorway

attention to some of the more interesting features or characteristics of the houses. Doorways in the houses of Kitoka were usually framed by architraves, often with single niches in each of the pilasters. The archways themselves were often once or twice recessed from spandrel level, either including the jambs or above the level of springing only. One doorway has projecting brackets below the lintel of the architrave, a rare feature seen also at Mtwapa. Another link to Mtwapa is the occurrence of a single salient pilaster down the centre of the back wall of some rooms, sometimes with a single central recessed niche. Kitoka houses also sometimes displayed panels of niches constructed of cut coral, two of which have been published by Allen (1979:Figs. 1+, 5)* One of these was a panel of two rectangular niches, above which were four arched niches surmounted by four small rectangular niches. The other panel extended from niches in the pilaster of an architrave framing a doorway. Here, a similar pattern of rectangular niche below an arched niche with small horizontal rectangular niches above was repeated across the wall facade through a width of at least three of the large and six of the small rectangular niches. The wall is now broken on the west, but it appears a fourth line of ascending niches was added there, once again in a salient wall pilaster. Below the niche panel and between the pilasters the wall surface gives the impression of a single large recessed panel. The most interesting niche panel at Kitoka is more complex. In a house to the east of the large mosque, is a niche panel covering a great portion of the rear wall of the room. Here there are three tiers of niches above four large slightly recessed panels. The basal four large rectangular niches are unusual because the central

two niches are horizontally extended to approximately twice their normal size. Above these four basal niches is a row of seven arched niches, above which again is a row of square and arched niches in this pattern: square niche, two arched niches, central square niche, two arched niches, terminal square niche. It is unfortunate that this niche panel cannot be dated at this time, for it might well be the earliest large panel of niches extant in Kenya.

Kitoka is an example of a site that needs to be protected from its owner. Almost the entire area of the site has been cleared and has been cultivated for years. Whereas I don't know if any of the ruins have actually been torn down by the owner, the cutting back of the protective bushes ensures the rapid deterioration of the surviving structures, while the turning of the soil for planting greatly diminishes the value of any archaeological excavations that might someday be carried out there. The owner of these fine ruins is either avaricious or short-sighted or both, but even ignorance is no excuse to allow one of the finest sites on the coast of Kenya to be destroyed.

Knarani (National Monument)

The site of Mnarani, overlooking Kilifi Creek from the south side, consists of two mosques and a group of tombs. These have been reported by Kirkman (1959) and discussed by

Garlake (1966); as these scholars have discussed the archaeology and architecture of Mnarani in depth, I will cite only briefly of this site. The Great Mosque is a long, three-aisle congregational type, with an entrance lobby and side room on the east, a western room, a southern



32. The Greet Mosque at Mnarani National Monument



33. The small mosque at Mnarani



34. Pine carving at the large pillar tomb (A), Mnarani



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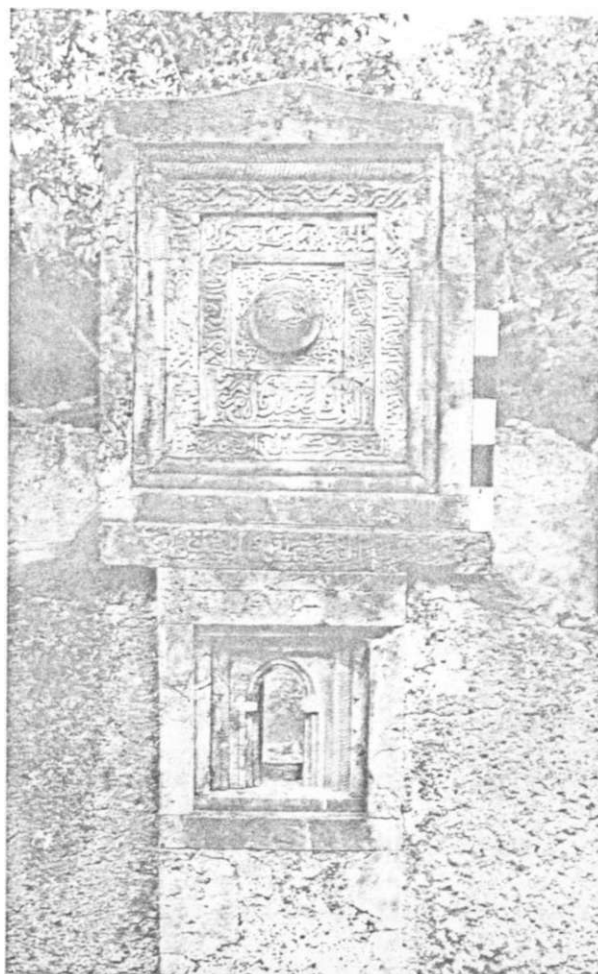
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35. Mihrab of the Great Mosque

36. Mihrab of the small mosque



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Tombstone of tomb K

verandah and southern ablution facilities and well. The mihrab is interesting for its multiple arch orders, inner arch order, inscribed jambs and fluted apse with inscriptions and carved coral at the base and just above spring line. Kirkman felt that the site was first occupied in the early 11th century but that the first mosque was not built until about 1125. Enlargements were undertaken soon thereafter, followed by major reconstruction efforts later in the 15th century, following the collapse of the earlier building. Garlake has pointed out the apparent anomaly between the ornate design of the mihrab, thought to be a later development in mihrab style, and the seemingly solid 15th century date of the structure (1966:61;).

Nearby is a small mosque, the plan, section and elevation of which were drawn by Garlake (1966:Fig. 19). The roof of this mosque was supported by two rows of two octagonal pillars. The top of the architrave of the mihrab was decorated with a recessed panel, and each of the pilasters contained a single niche. There were two arch orders and, below simple capitals, the jambs were twice recessed. Two circular bosses and an arch-shaped plaque were set in the spandrels and above the apex of the arches respectively. There was an earlier, smaller mosque at this location, the foundation of the mihrab of which may still be seen east of the present mihrab. Kirkman felt that the original mosque was built around 1175 the later mosque about 1500. A Portuguese dish in the cistern indicates that final alterations to the mosque were probably not completed before the 16th century. North of the mosque are two large tomb enclosures, of which a portion of the wall of the western tomb was incorporated into the structure of the later mosque.

North of the Great Mosque are 12 tombs lettered A to L. Kirkman has admirably described these tombs, and there is no reason to reproduce all of their details here. It should be stressed, however, that these tombs and the Great Mosque bear some of the best quality cut coral inscriptions in Kenya, in relatively great quantity. Garlake (1966: pgs. 82, 83) has illustrated some of the bosses and mouldings from Knarani, and Kirkman has included photographs of some of the Mnarani tombstones in his paper (1959: Plates 5)* As the east facades of these tombs were not drawn or recorded it is appropriate to briefly describe their eastern walls. On tomb A, the great pillar tomb, are two single recessed plain panels between a broad central pilaster and two corner pilasters. Tomb B seems to have had a flat wall facade, while tomb C had a single panel. Tomb D appears to have had only two small upper single recessed panels, almost the size of niches, above what almost looks to have been a square single lower panel that was subsequently filled in. The facade of tomb E is destroyed. Tomb F is interesting because there are two lower panels above which is a niche course of cut coral, probably eight niches in all. They are square and about twice the width of the common niches of the north coast. Above, the top of the wall curves up from west to east, like the tomb at Jumba la Mtwana. Tomb G has two very broad panels across its long east facade. Tomb H is broken at the top, but the bottom reveals that the facade had two panels. Tomb I seems to have been panelled on its north face only, one of the two of which contains the tombstone. Above these panels was a course of niches. Tomb K has two broad panels on the front, flanking a central pilaster, in which the window shaped like

a mihrab is located. In the west wall are three rectangular windows of cut coral. The orientation of all of these tombs is between 9° and 11°, except for tomb L, which is oriented approximately 16°. The small mosque and the two tombs in front of it are oriented 8°. Kirkman (1959:100) felt that no great amount of time separated the construction of the earliest and latest tombs, suggesting that tombs A, S and F might date to the early 15th century, associated with mosques I and II, with tombs D and H associated with mosque III in the third quarter of the same century. Tombs B, C and G might have been intermediate in date.

About 35 metres south and a little west of the Great Mosque survive the cut coral jambs and the sections of ceiling of a small structure. The mound may be that of a ruined house; it is likely that some remains of a settlement should be found here, but the thick bush inhibits search. The scatters of potsherds, however, are too great to have been deposited only from the use of the mosques.

Kilifi

Kilifi is now, and probably was in the past, located on the north bank of the creek. The old settlement, of which there are now no structural remains, was probably in the area of the District Headquarters. A roadcut to the water's edge revealed potsherds to a depth of about a metre below the surface of the ground, so there was some sort of old settlement in the area. This is all we found, though.

jjvonbo

Uyombo is located a bit inland from the south side

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of Kida Creek, The site is a a very ruined mosque in the bush, its mihrab fallen. The only thing of interest is a long conduit, about a metre high, running from a well that is still in use to a cistern that was located at the southeast corner of the mosque. Another cistern and wall nearby were from a ruined house. These uninteresting ruins are probably recent,

Kilepwa

Kilepwa is a site on an island in Miaa Creek, consisting of a mosque, some tombs and some houses. The site was investigated by Kirkman who, on the basis of local and imported ceramics and porcelains, divided the site into three periods of seven phases, dating from the last half of the **12th** century through the second quarter of the **17th** century. The earliest levels represented a time of occupation but apparently not of construction in stone; Kirkman noted, however, that the quantities of scraffiato sherds all over the site suggest that the site was more important in the **13th** century than the absence of constructions in stone indicated (1952). The earliest permanent structure that has survived is the pillar tomb, probably dating to around the middle of the 14th century. This interesting structure has two large single recessed panels on the east facade of the wall, with a row of probably 17 niches across the top, all executed in fine cut coral. Above the wall, which is about 2.2 metres high, rises the slightly tapering octagonal pillar another 2.7 metres. Coral panels composed of three ascending coral tiles alternating with adjacent areas of rough coral masonry today give a pleasing chequered effect to the pillar, although

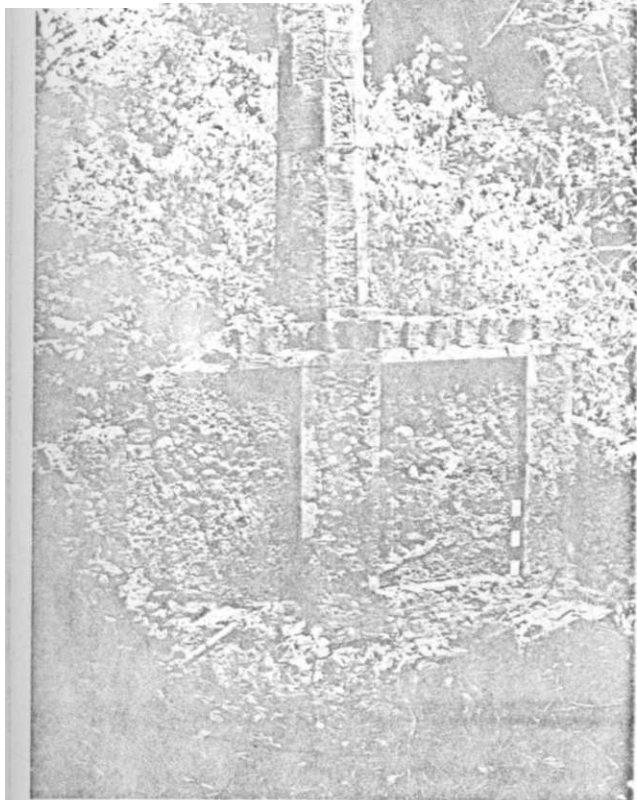
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in the past the shaft might have been plastered. Another grave compound with an octagonal pillar was built to the east of the first, but this has now fallen.

Kirkman could say little about the earliest mosque at Kilepwa, other than the width to depth ratio was 2:5 and that its orientation was 5°. He felt that this structure and two of the houses were built about the beginning of the 15th century. One of these has two long front rooms, behind which, at the rear of the house, were two small rooms flanking what appears to be a central store. The second structure has toilet facilities in the centre of the building and, if the plan is complete, single large rooms to the north and south. A third house illustrated by Kirkman was felt to date about half a century later than the previous houses and mosque. It was a building of three long rooms, one behind the other. At about the same time a second mosque was raised over the position of the earlier mosque. This mosque had an eastern verandah and southeastern washing facilities, with a mihrab that Kirkman described as consisting of "an arch with three square-edged orders and flat capitals, set in a pilaster frame topped by an architrave" (1952:179). I believe I located this structure west of the tombs, but the building is so ruined that no details could be recorded. Although Kilepwa continued to be occupied throughout the 16th century, the scarcity of late Ming sherds would appear to indicate that the population of the area was smaller or poorer.

Hgangani

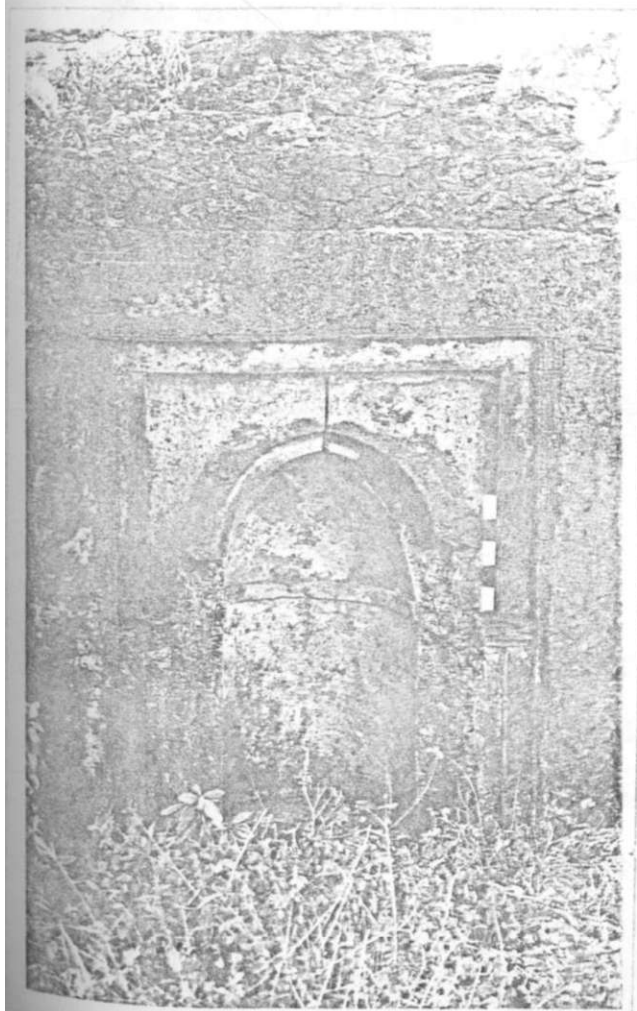
Kgangani is the site of a mosque southwest of Gedi, near the upper reaches of Mida Creek. The mihrab was drawn



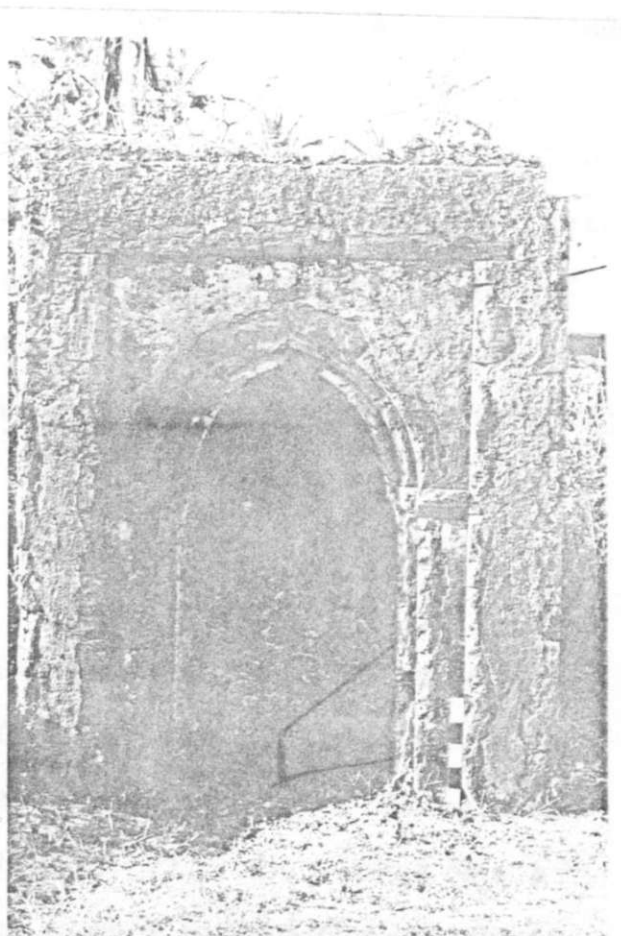
39. Pillar tomb at Kilepwa



40. Mgangani mihrab



41. Mosoue at Mida Creek



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Kiburugeni mosaeue

and discussed by Garlake (1966:73-74, Fig. 62), who saw strong stylistic associations with Somali mosques of the 18th century. Kirkman also noted a Somalia connection with this mosque (1961:113, Pl. II4). A few piles of rubble nearby suggest that there might have been a few stone structures other than the mosque, but the area of settlement, if there were stone houses present, must have been small.

Mida Creek

On the north bank of the entrance to Mida Creek is a small mosque, which has been discussed and the elevation of the mihrab of which has been drawn by Garlake (1966:62-63, Fig. 22). Much of the cut coral from the jambs below the capitals is now missing, but Garlake's drawing shows a single arch order rising from an inner pilaster with its own capitals which, like the main capitals, were rebated three times. There was a plain inner architrave frame within which, below the capitals, were three recessed orders to the inner pilaster. Around the apse was a single course offset at the height of the capitals. The arch was stilted. The other walls of the mosque have fallen, but sections of the roof show the ceiling was made of coral tiles.

Kiburugeni

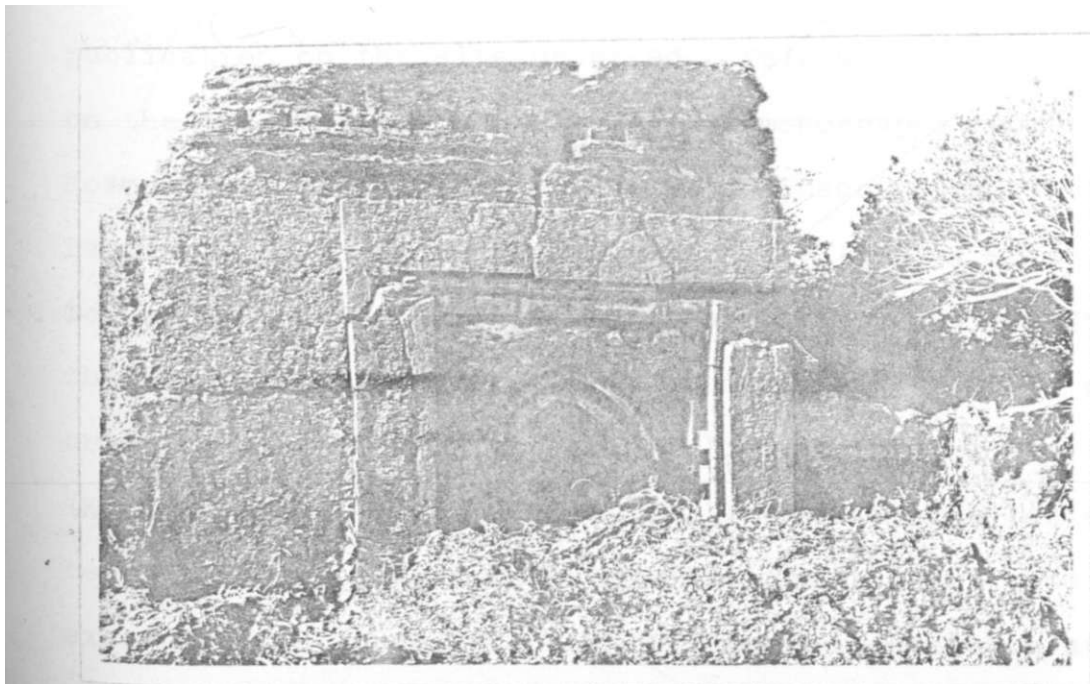
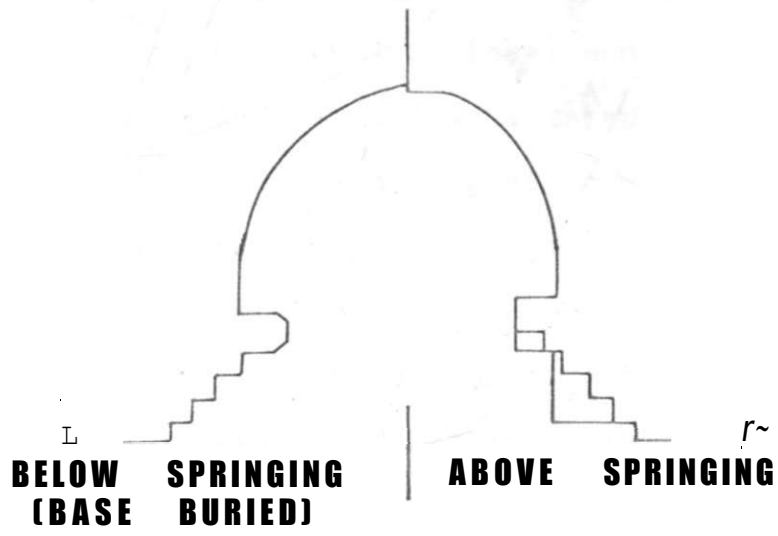
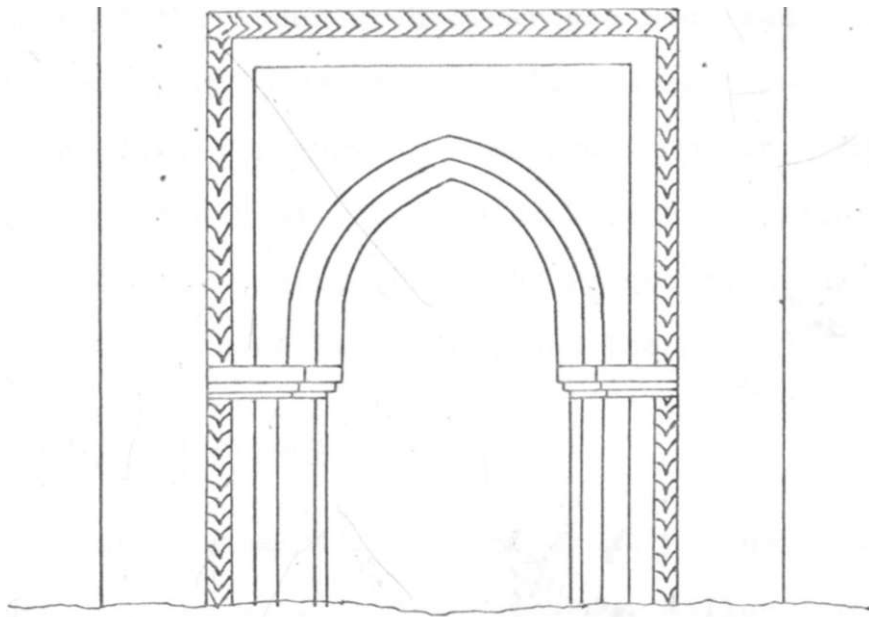
At the southwest end of Blue Lagoon, near Watamu, are a mosque and two tombs named for the area, Kiburugeni. The plan of the mosque and tombs and an elevation of the mihrab were drawn by Garlake (1966:61, Fig. 7)* The mihrab has a plain architrave, with two arch orders within the spandrels. At the apex of the arches is the small terminal "coast nick."

The arches rise from capitals rebated four times, below which are plain jambs. All walls except the qibla have fallen, but the orientation may be recorded as 6° . At the northeast corner abutting the mosque is a large tombstone tomb, with three single recessed panels below a frieze of niches. The tombstone is flanked by masonry piers ending in square pyramids. In the facade of the tombstone are recesses for three bowls or dishes; it is almost certain that about half a dozen 11j.th century Chinese blue and white porcelain sherds now in the Gedi Museum came from this tomb. As the mosque predates the tomb, a late 11|th or early 15th century date for the mosque seems appropriate, corroborating Garlake's dating of early classic mihrabs. Behind the large tomb is a smaller one, with a single panel on the eastern side and a small tombstone above. Like the mosque, their orientation is approximately 6° .

Watamu Kosque

Northeast of Kiburugeni, overlooking Blue Lagoon, rests a medium-sized mosque on a small knoll on land once owned by a man named prichard. The mosque had eastern and western rooms, but all walls except the qibla have fallen. There seems to have been a central row of columns down the middle of the musalla, with transverse archways between the pillars and the walls, supporting, in the northern bays at any rate, the longitudinal rafters on which rested the flat roof.

The accompanying illustration shows a plain architrave with two inner architrave members, an outer herringbone course and a plain inner course. Within the spandrels are two slightly stilted arch orders; the inner arch rises from its own capital above a chamfered pilaster. Both the main capitals and the



43. WATAMU MOSQUE

capitals of the inner arch order are recessed three times. Inside the apse there is a single course offset at the height of the capitals; otherwise the apse is plain. This is a developed classic mihrab in Garlake's classification, as are the Mida Creek mosque, the Great Mosque at Gedi, the Mosque by the Sea at Jumba la Mtwana, and the mosque at Takwa.

Gedi (National Monument)

For the casual visitor the Great Mosque, six smaller mosques, the Palace, numerous houses, pillar tombs and forested setting make Gedi National Monument perhaps the most interesting and attractive site on the coast of Kenya. For the professional archaeologist or historian interested in the coast of eastern Africa, Gedi is one of the two or three most important sites on the whole coast, both for the quality, quantity and preservation of its remains, and for the fact that it was the first intensively studied site on the coast. The archaeological work at Gedi began under the direction of James Kirkman in 1908, and in that year his first publication on the site occurred. This was followed by a paper on the House of the Dhow (1956) and monographs on the Great Mosque (1954), the Tomb of the Dated Inscription (1960), the Palace (1963), and the Houses and Walls (N.D.). His guidebook to Gedi ruins is now in its eighth edition (1975)* In addition, the excavations at Gedi formed much of the basis for summary articles and books on the archaeology and history of the coast (Kirkman 1956, 1957, 1961+, 1975), as well as the basis for ceramic and architectural comparisons with sites subsequently excavated and surveyed. Gedi architecture has been studied by Garlake (1966). Needless to write, I have little to add

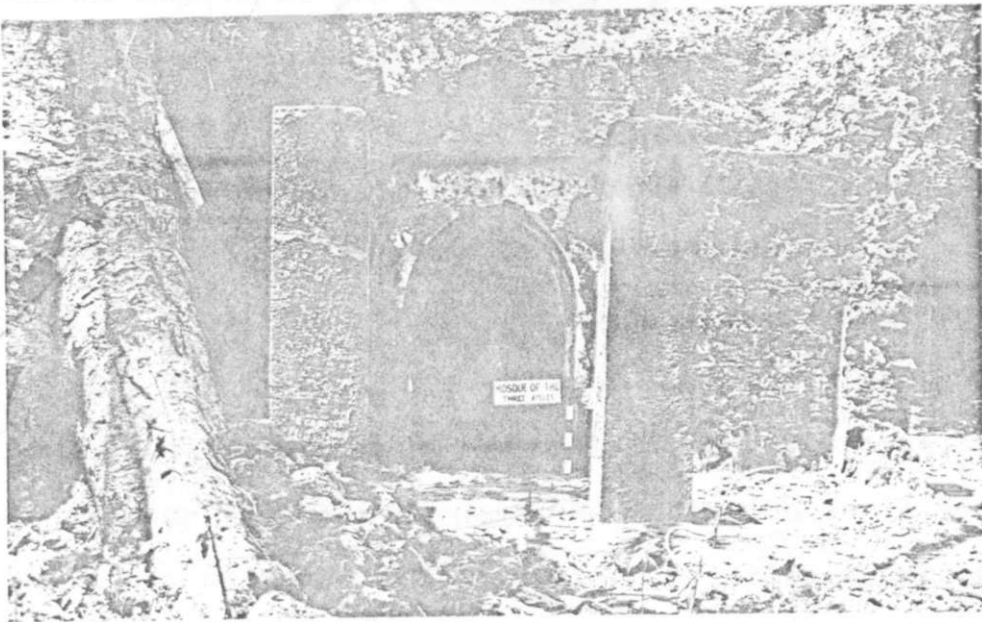
to what has already been written about Gedi, but here follows a brief description of what is seen at these magnificent ruins.

Gedi is a 45 acre walled site located several kilometres from the nearest access to Mida Creek or the Indian Ocean. Excavations were concentrated in the north-central part of the site, where one of the most imposing structures is the Great Mosque (Kirkman 1954, Garlake 1966: pgs. 21, 24). The mosque as it stands is the third of three mosques at this location. The first, about which little is known, was built about the middle of the 15th century; then, about half a century later a mosque similar to the present mosque was built. The present mosque dates to about the middle of the 16th century. This is a large congregational mosque, with three rows of six square pillars, subsequently divided in two by a wall across the fourth line of pillars from the front of the mosque. The well, conduit and cistern were located at the northeast corner of the mosque outside an eastern verandah; on the west there were a verandah and courtyard. The mihrab is Garlake's developed classic type: a panel across the lintel of the architrave; a herringbone inner architrave frame and plain inner spandrel frame; two inner arch orders rising above a chamfered pilaster with its own capital; and three arch orders from the spandrels to inner arches. The arches were stilted, and the apse, pilasters and spandrels were decorated with bowls. To the right of the mihrab was a three-step masonry minbar.

There are six minor mosques at Gedi: the Mosque of the Long Conduit, the Mosque of the Three Aisles, the Small Mosque, the Mosque of the Sarcophagi, the Mosque Between the Walls, and the Mosque on the South Wall (Kirkman N.D.:26-32A, Garlake



44. The Mosque of the Long Conduit at Gedi



45. The Mosque of the Three Aisles at Gedi



46. The Small Mosque at Gedi

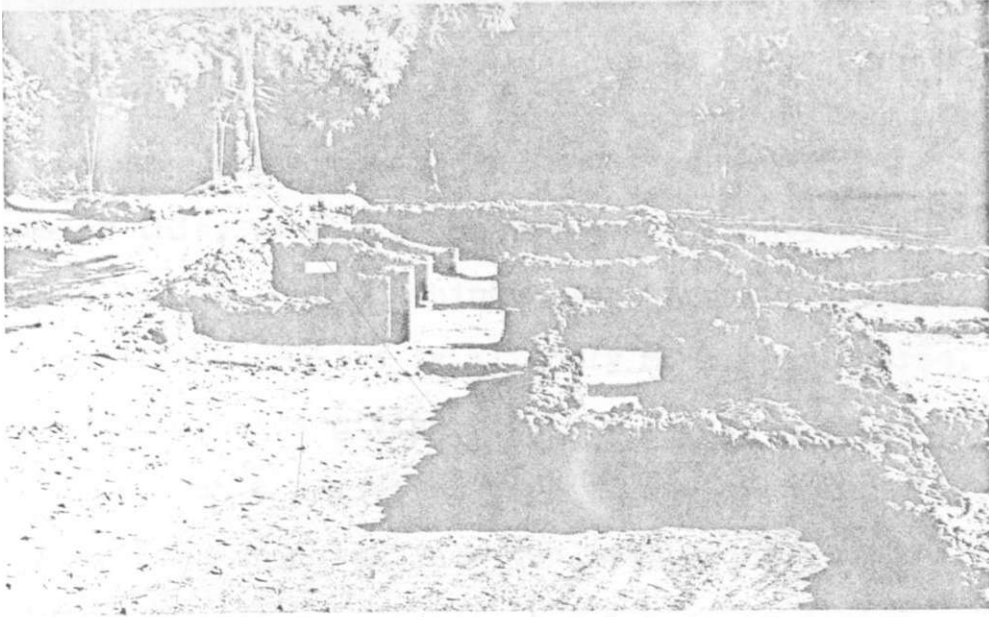
1966:Figs.7-10). Garlake was able to make plans of all or a portion of all of these mosques, but only the mihrabs of the first four mosques still stand. In plan, the Mosque of the Long Conduit, with its row of two central pillars, eastern and probably western anterooms, eastern court and ablution facilities, and southern enclosures for burials, was the most complex of the Gedi minor mosques. All of the mosques had a single central row of one, two or perhaps three pillars, except the Mosque of the Three Aisles, where two rows of pillars left an unobstructed view of the mihrab. All of the mosques had eastern ablution facilities, again with the probable exception of the Mosque of the Three Aisles, where these seem to have been on the west. The Mosque on the South Wall had an eastern verandah and court, on the south side of which was a unique southern room. The Mosque of the Three Aisles had an eastern anteroom that is now destroyed, as well as the aforementioned west court and ablution facilities. The Small Mosque had a little eastern ablution court only. The long Mosque Between the Walls was designed with an eastern anteroom and eastern ablution court; the Mosque of the Sarcophagi appears to have had a verandah between its eastern anteroom and court.

Mihrab design in the Gedi minor mosques is as similar as their floor plans. Of the four mosques with surviving mihrabs, three and probably all of them had plain architraves; all had two arch orders (although the Small Mosque had an added archivolt) with two or four member capitals, recessed from top to bottom, below which the jambs were recessed once or twice. The apses were plain, and none of the arches is stilted, although the small upward-turning nick appears at the apex of the arches

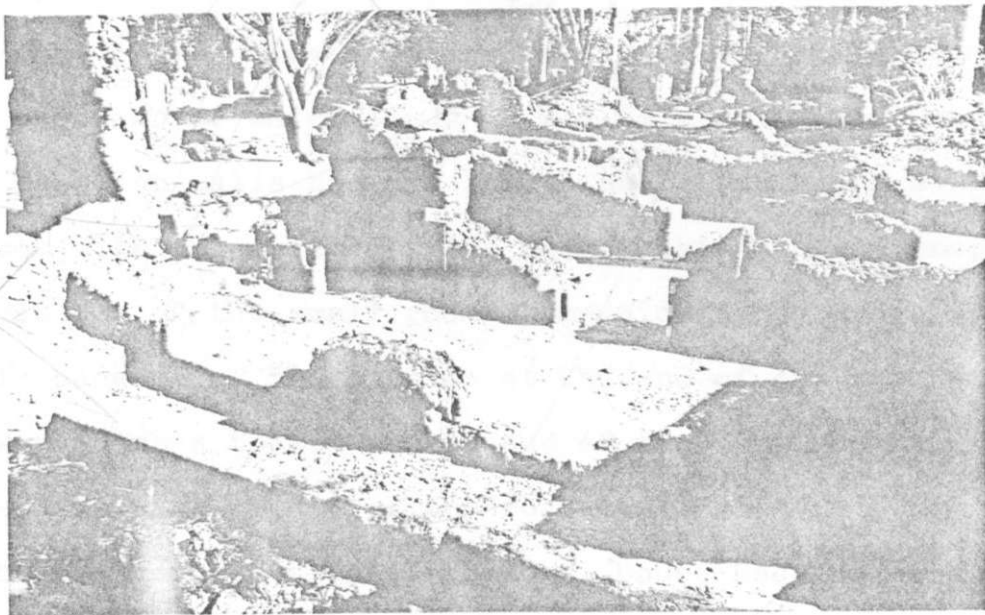
of the Mosque of the Sarcophagi. These are typical early classic mihrabs in Garlake's classification, and all probably date to the 15th century.

The apparent complexity of the house groups at Gedi are really elaborations of a few standard house plans (Kirkman 1957:fig. 2, 1975; Garlake 1966:Fig- 76). The units combined to make up the Gedi houses are: forecourts and domestic courts; long rooms, usually spanning the width of the house; small rooms, based on the division of a long room; store rooms, usually at the rear of the house or at the end of a suite of small rooms; toilets of the typical coast type; lobbies and entryways, essentially small rooms for the passage from one area to another; and passageways, usually long corridors from a street to the entrance of the house. Reference to the Gedi houses will be by name, except for the houses of the palace and Palace Annexe complexes, where they are identified by Garlake's numbers (1966:Fig. 76). The following discussion of the **Gedi** houses is not exhaustive, but it indicates the designs advanced based on combinations of the units listed above.

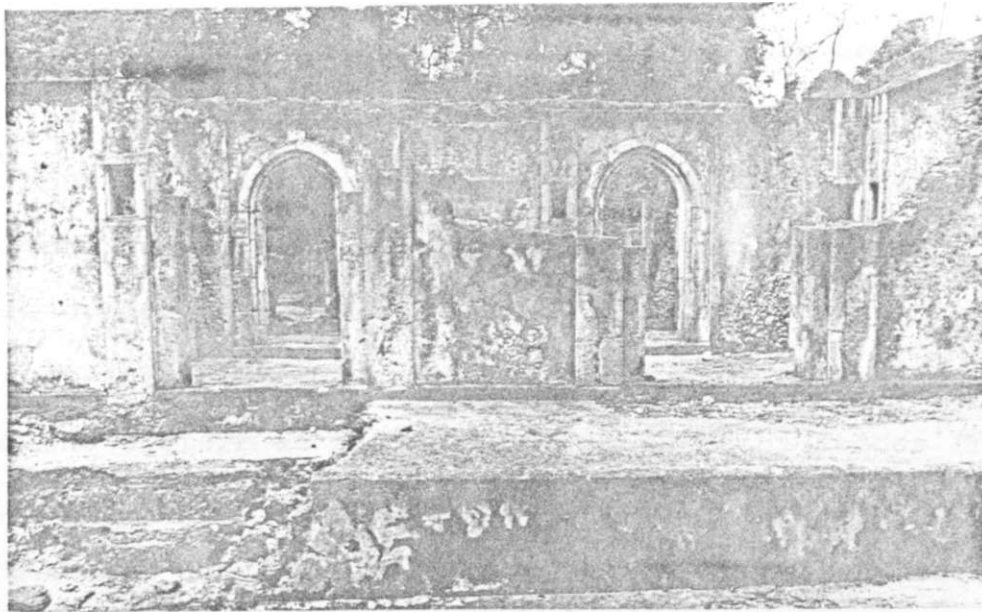
The House of the Two Rooms illustrates one of the most simple plans, a forecourt leading i\$to two long rooms, one behind the other, with a toilet at the end of the front room. A slight variation on this plan is seen when the toilet was shifted out in front of the house, as in house 17 of the Palace Annexe. An obvious elaboration of this design is a suite of three long rooms, with the toilet at the end of the first room or in the courtyard before the house, as in the House of the Forcelain Bowl, the House of the Ivory Box, or in the southern Units of the House of the Double Court (Kirkman 1956). Another elaboration was the division of long rooms into



47. The House of the Porcelain Bowl at Gedi



48. The House of the Cowries at Gedi



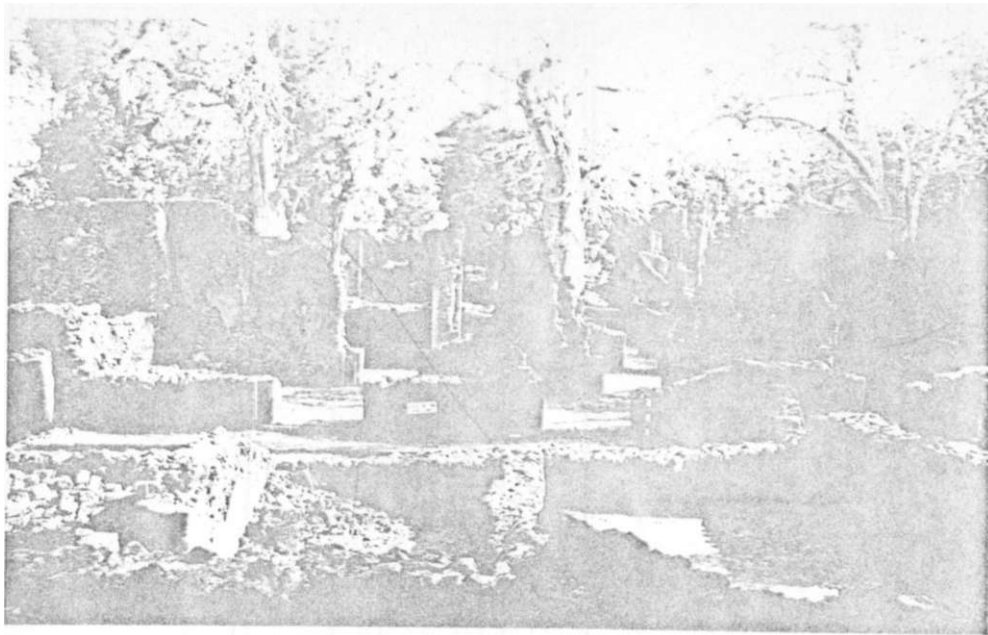
49. The central house of the Palace complex at Gedi

small rooms or storerooms. The House of the Scissors is an example of this, with a forecourt leading into a long room with a toilet in front, behind which were two small rooms. The House of the Cowries is slightly more complicated, with two entrance lobbies giving way to a forecourt, from which a long room with a toilet at the end was entered, followed by another long room and then two small rooms and a store behind. The House on the Wall has a similar design. In contrast, the eastward-facing House on the West Wall has a single long room followed by two suites of two small rooms, one of the rear of which leads to a side court. The House of the Fanellea Walls has two large forecourts and a single long room with two suites of two rooms behind; here, uncommonly, the first two of the small rooms communicated by a doorway, possibly because of the latrine at the end of one of them. There were also a toilet at the end of the long room and a store at the side of one of the rear small rooms.

The most complicated of the Gedi house designs were based on a nucleus of a long room and suites of small rooms, with the addition of lobbies, passageways, side chambers and domestic courts. The central house of the Palace complex, house I, is an example. Behind the Audience Court is a typical house of a long room and two suites of two small rooms, with a store between the two rear rooms. The design is complicated, however, by access to a group of rooms and courts to the east and, at one time, to the west and south*. The House of the Cistern is similarly complicated by access from two rear small rooms to further rooms and a court to the east. One of the most complex domestic structures at Gedi is the House of the Sunken Court, although the nuclear unit of court,

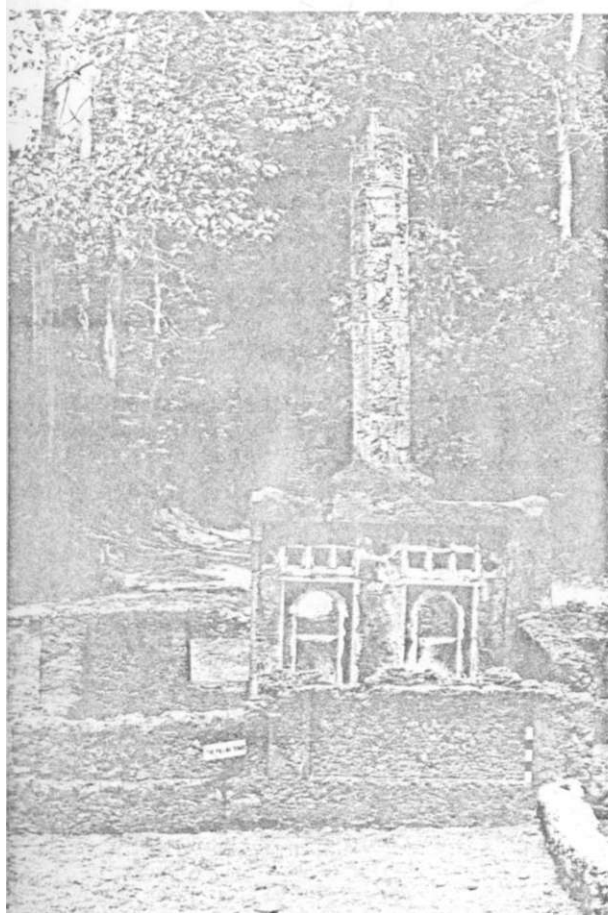
long room and suites of small rooms is clearly recognizable, "This house faces east, and there are two transverse rooms to the south, opening onto another large court. At the northwest corner of this court are three small rooms and a latrine, probably a small house unit, although it is clearly a part of the larger house. Perhaps it, and the similar eastern *chambas* of the two houses previously discussed, were for married younger children, or for domestic help*

House 18 of the Palace Annexe, and probably the House of the Iron Lamp, may be considered double houses; houses, that is, which display an imperfect sort of axial symmetry such that the more private central parts of the house could be approached from opposite directions. An eastern court gave entrance to a long room at the Palace Annexe house, whence entrance to two small rooms, one later converted to a toilet, was gained. There was also a western court, from which a long room and a side room were entered. Access to the eastern part of the house was through this long room, into one of the small rooms mentioned above. To the north, the western long room gave access to another long room with a toilet at the end, and also led to a large, square court, on two sides of which were small houses, again perhaps for domestics. The House of the Iron Lamp was entered through a narrow courtyard, with a lobby and latrine at the end of it, or later directly into the first long room from a western entryway and lobby. Behind were two suites of two rooms, and a store; behind these were another two long rooms, one with a toilet at one end. Kirkman showed no access from the last room to the courtyard to the south (1967:Fig. 2), but Garlake does (1966:Fig. 76), in which case it would be a double house.



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50. Gedi, the House of the Iron Lamp



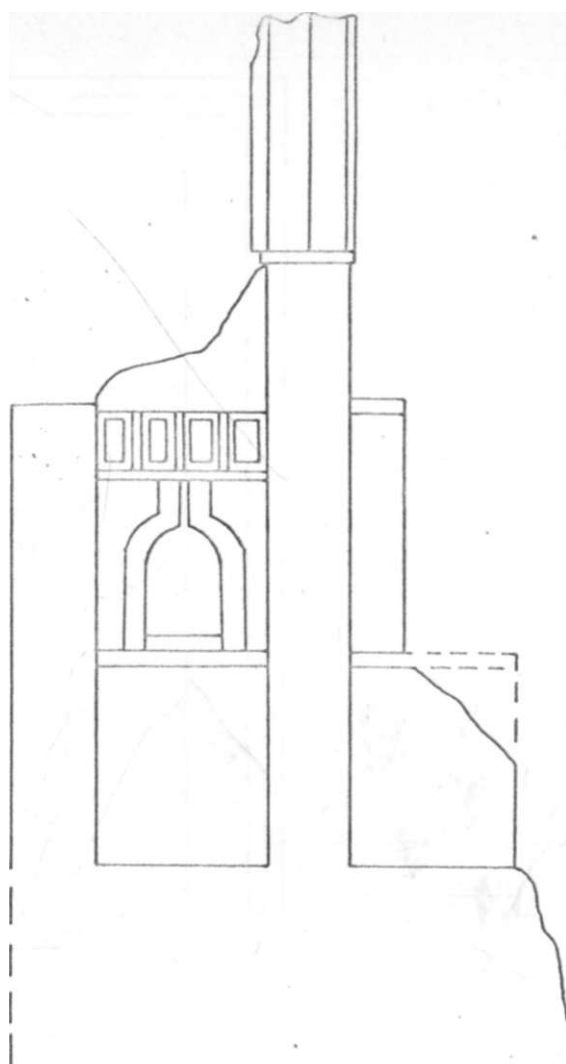
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51. The Pillar tomb at the
palace



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52. The Tomb of the Fluted
Pillar

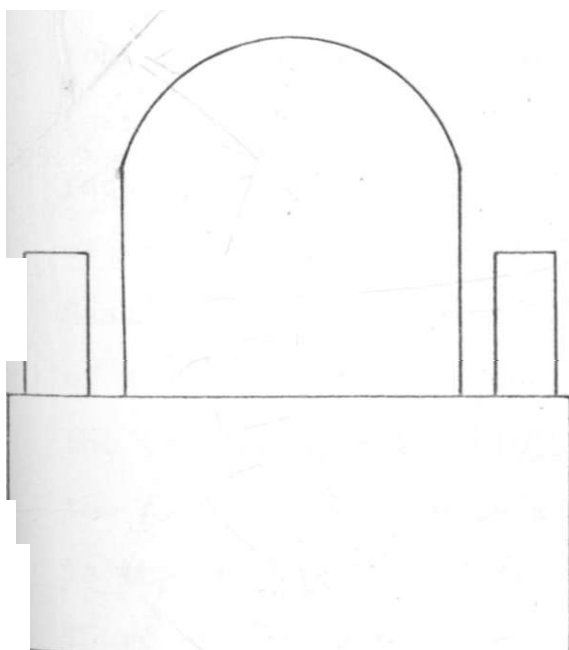
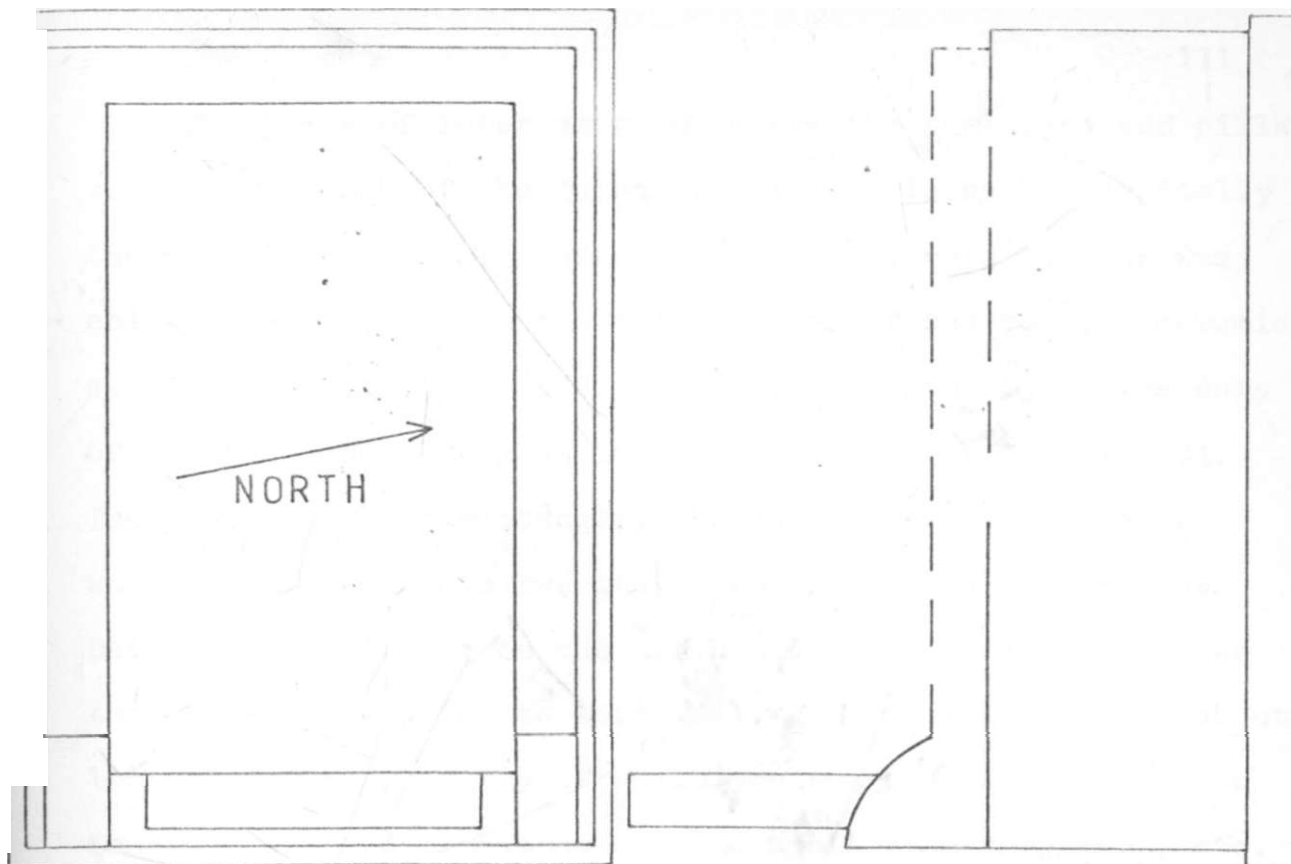


FLUTED PILLAR TOMB AT GEDI



TOMB OF THE DATED INSCRIPTION

METRES



**GEDI TOMB
OF
SHARIF HASAN**

METRES

The tombs of interest at Gedi are the tombstone and pillar tombs. The Tomb of the ~~Dated~~ Inscription is archaeologically the most important of these tombs, because here Kirkman was able to isolate, below the sealed floor of the tomb, a ceramic sample that must date to before A.H. 802, A.D. 1399, the date of the tomb known from an inscription on its facade (1960). The tomb is a long rectangle, the 33 square metre area of which is divided into two grave compounds; the Tomb of the Dated Inscription is on the north side, and could be entered through a doorway in its west wall. The wall itself was about 1.6 metres high, on top of which, on the east side, rose the famous inscribed tombstone and two smaller masonry monuments. Near the House of the Dhow in eastern Gedi is a large tombstone of more common coastal design, with basal curb, plain wall, inset wall cornice with "ears" curving up to end on the east facade, and large tombstone set slightly back from the plane of the wall facade. This is said to be the tomb of Sharif Hasan Saidi bin Abculla, and Kirkman heard that a date of A.H. 1011, A.D. 1602 could once be read on the face of the tombstone, but by 1956 only traces of the inscription in the plaster could be seen (Kirkman 1956). He noted that this is the only tomb at Gedi with which a name may be associated. There are other tombstone tombs north of the Mosque of the Sarcophagi, and panelled tombs at the Mosque on the South Wall, at the tomb group of the palace, and at the Great Mosque.

Architecturally the most striking tombs at Gedi are the three standing pillar tombs. One of these is located at the Great Mosque, one at the Palace and one near the town wall north of the Great Mosque. These tombs share certain aspects of facade design which suggest close stylistic relationships.

These are the narrow single recessed panels on the east face of each tomb, above which are three, in the case of the pillar tombs at the Great Mosque (Kirkman 1954:Fig* 3A) and at the Palace (Kirkman 1963:Fig. 9, PI. VII), or four, at the Tomb of the Fluted pillar, single or double recessed square or almost square niches. The latter two tombs also have arched windows at the top of each panel. The whole wall facade of the Palace tomb is slightly inset, making a kind of single large panel; this is an unusual feature, as is the base or plinth upon which the hexagonal pillar rests. - The mosque tomb is unusual for its socle or pedestal before the central pilaster of the tomb facade. Its pillar is octagonal. The fluted pillar of the third tomb is actually an eight-sided star; below, the panels are odd in being divided in two by a single course of cut coral below the base of the arched window, the panels below being plain. Kirkman thought this tomb might be the earliest of the three pillar tombs, and dated the mosque tomb about 1500 and the palace tomb about half a century later (1954[^], 36; 1963). The construction sequence of the major Gedi tombs might thus have been:

Tomb of the Dated Inscription and Fluted Pillar Tomb earliest, then the tombs at the Mosque of the Sarcophagi, followed by the pillar* tomb of the Great Mosque and then the Palace tomb, and finally the tomb of Sharif Hasan, if the rumoured inscription date is to be believed.

Gedi was probably founded in the 13th century and clearly reached its apogee in the 15th century* Kirkman thought that the hiatus in occupation observed in the 16th century might have been the result of the punitive expedition from Mombasa to Malindi in 15[^]9, to punish the latter for aiding in the

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attack on the former. Possibly it was re-inhabited following the Zimba raid of 15⁹, or about this time, until the early-years of the 17th century.

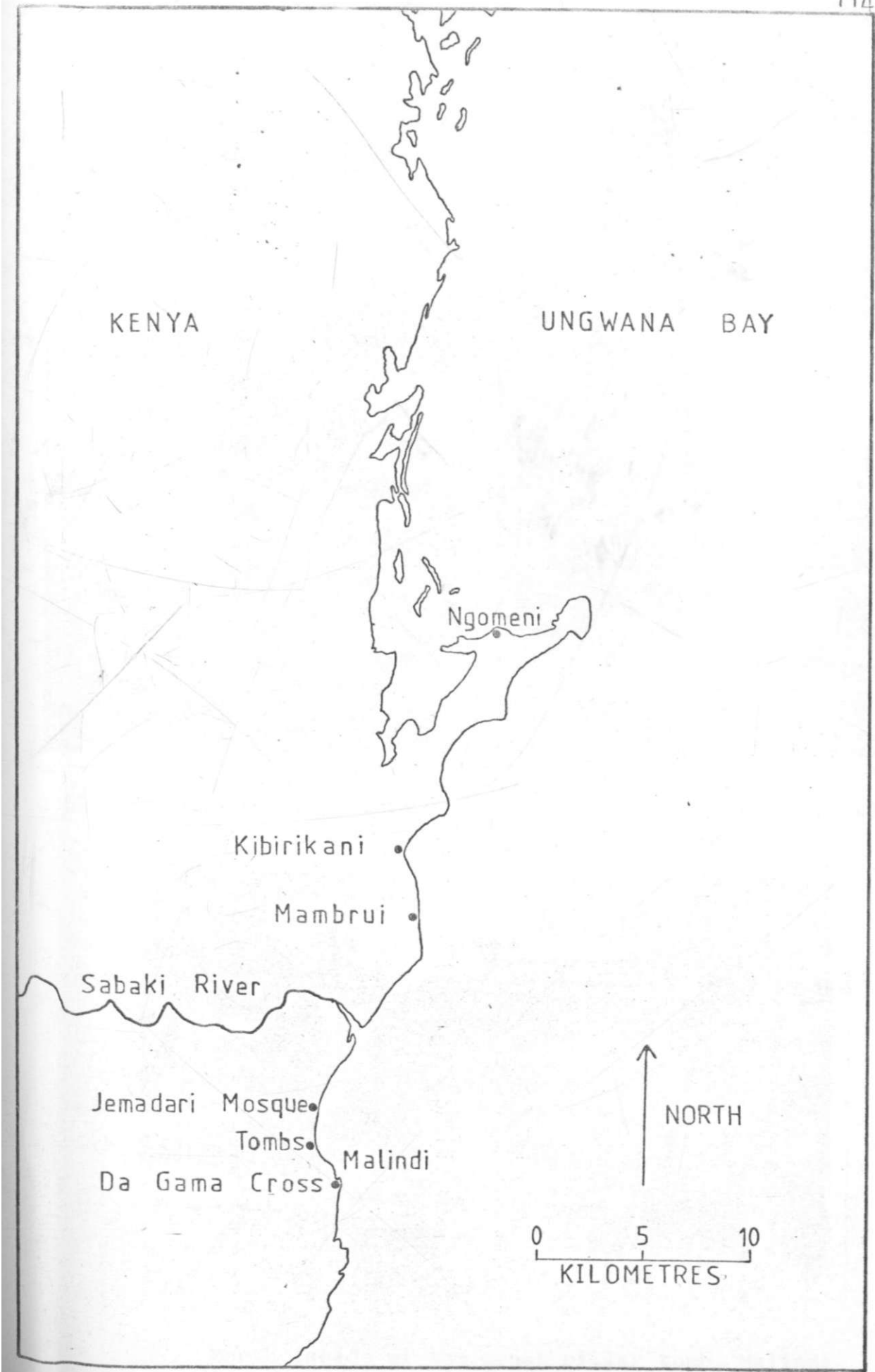
The orientations of some of the structures we recorded at Gedi (sometimes slightly different from Kirkman's readings) are:

The Great Mosque	12°	Mosque Pillar Tomb	12°
Mosque of the Three Aisles	5°	Fluted Pillar Tomb	
Mosque of the Long Conduit	12°	Sharif Hasan's Tomb	10 ⁰
Mosque of the Sarcophagi	5°	Sarcophagi Tombs	5°
Mosque Between the Walls		Dated Inscription	12 ⁰
Mosque on the South Wall	e ^c		
Small Mosque	12°		

/
•Kalindi

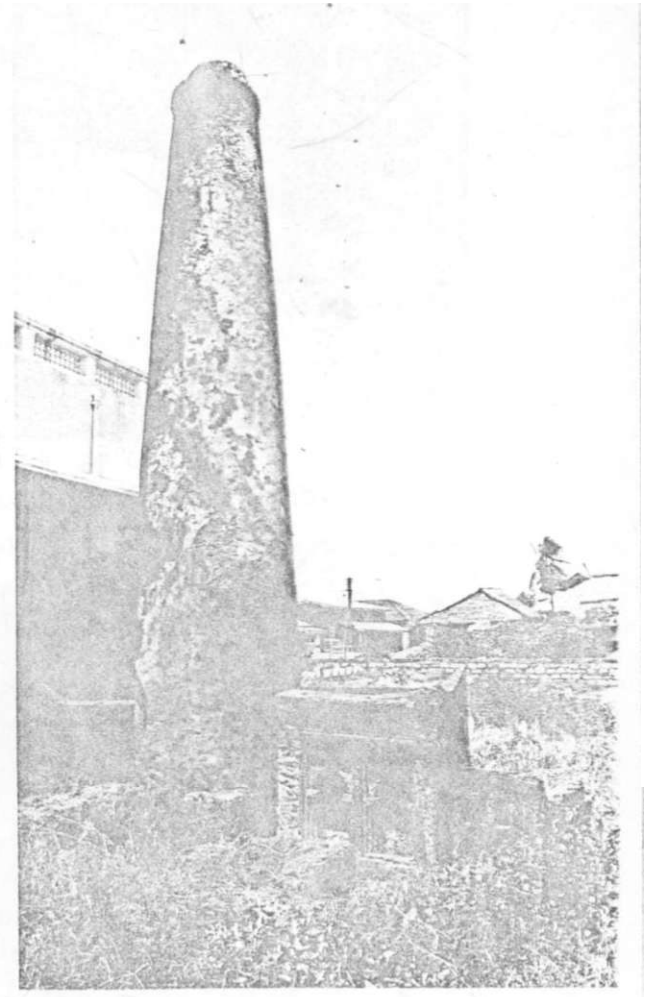
Although Malindi is one of the most historic old towns on the coast of Kenya, few monumental antiquities survive in the area. Those that survived include, from south to north: a south mosque, the Da Gama Cross, portions of a Portuguese chapel, the famous pillar tombs and the Jemadari Mosque.

I have not visited the south mosque, which is shown on the 1:50*000 series maps, and which was reported by Sassoon in July 1975⁸³ being located on Gregory plot. The Da C-ama Cross has been discussed by Kirkman (19&1|: 91 -92, Pi. 10). This monument was brought by Da Gama from Portugal and set up in Kalindi; possibly it was moved to its present location, at the end of a coral projection into the sea south of the town, a few years later. Today the cross is seen as a large monument with the small cross atop a large, flat-topped cone of masonry built on a circular pedestal. Along the seafront





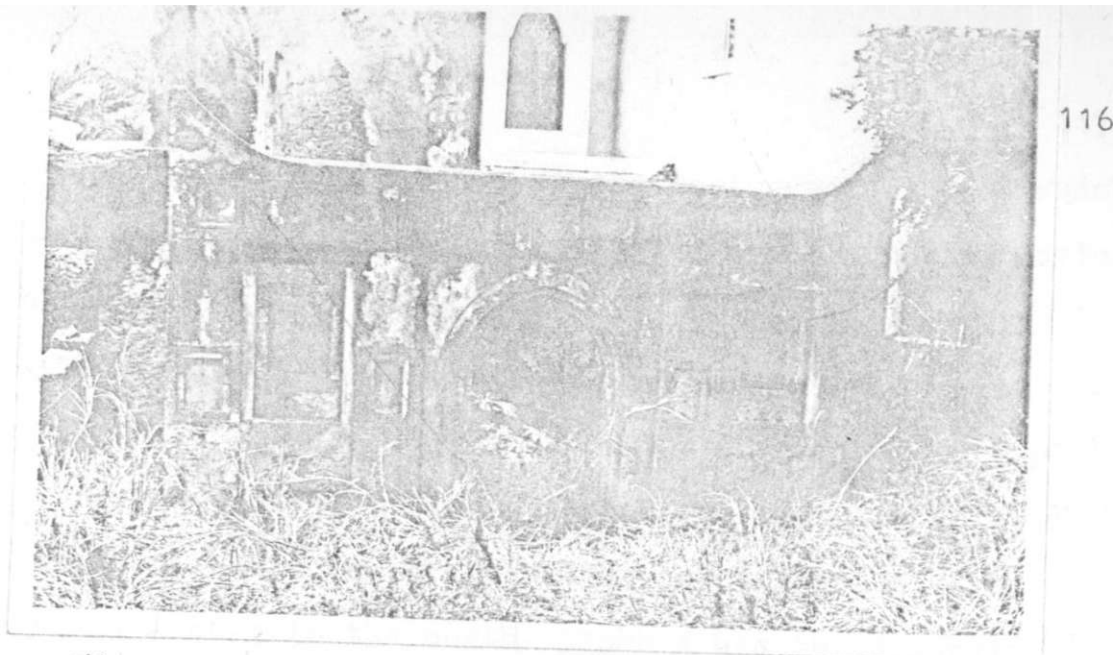
53. Da Gama Cross, Malindi



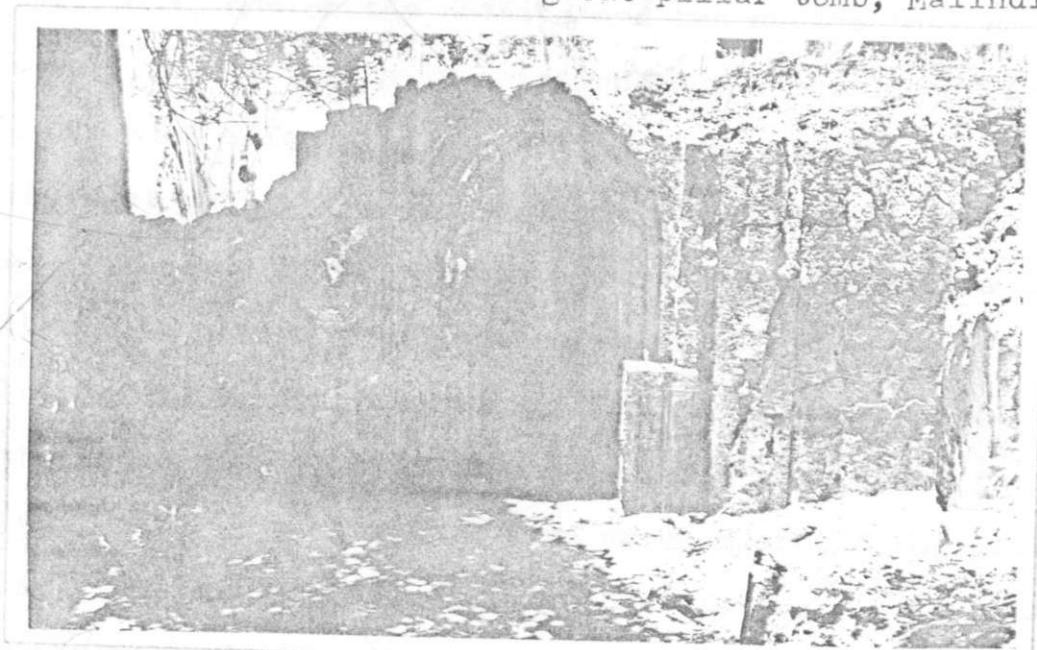
54. Great pillar tomb, Malindi



55. North facade of the great pillar tomb, Kalinai



56. West facade of the great pillar tomb, Malindi



57. Jemadari Mosque, Kalindi



58. Ruined mosque at Kambrui

to the north are the remains of the Portuguese chapel, "which Kirkman suggested was the site visited by St. Francis Xavier on his way to India in 1512 (Kirkman 1961:92).

The pillar tombs of Malindi were the subject of a special study by Kirkman (1958), who concentrated on the large pillar tomb and the small compound to the north. In the early 15th century were built the great pillar, an enclosure wall, and the small tomb A to the north. Tomb A has three surviving inscriptions, one on the outside and two on the inside of the east wall, but

a fourth inscription on the outside of the west wall has been effaced (Kirkman 1958:Figs. 11-18). On the inside of the west wall are two panels of geometric designs in cut coral. The facades of this tomb were decorated with a total of 11 bowls, some of which were recovered in the course of Kirkman's excavations there, and form the basis of the dating of the tomb. Later, perhaps in the third quarter of the 15th century, the Trails of tomb B were erected around the great pillar. The east facade of this tomb has two panels with inset false archways, above each of which were two niches, shallowly recessed twice, that once contained bowls. On the north face shallow double-recessed rectangular panels form a basal frieze, above which is another row of panels, these with inset arches. A frieze of small bowls, similar to that on the front facade, crosses the top of the wall face. This frieze crosses the west face as well, but below there is a central arched doorway flanked by windows and double recessed niches. The profile of the top of the wall turns slightly upwards at each of the four corners. Taken together, these facades constitute one of the most complex tomb designs in Kenya. To the east is a tomb with a smaller pillar (Kirkman 1958:Figs.6,7).

The Jemadari Mosque is on the north side of Malindi, near the sea and the present golf course; the plan and elevation of the mihrab of this mosque has been presented by Garlake (1956:Figs. 29, 30). The mihrab design is interesting for its highly stilted multiple arch orders; its panelled jamb blocks, decorated with cable pattern mouldings on the **faces** and returns; the inner trefoliolate arch above chamfered **pilasters**; the spandrel frame with its single course of cable pattern moulding; its fluted apse and semi-dome, separated by a string course; and its plain architrave pilasters (Garlake 1966:65). Although the east side of the mosque is buried and the south side has fallen, the plan of the mosque was probably the six room type: musalla flanked on each side by anterooms behind which, on the south side, were three smaller rooms. Garlake felt that this mosque was probably built before 1593, when the Sheikh of Malindi moved to Mombasa, and that thus this mosque was an early southern example of his neo-classic mihrab type. I find this assumption for dating the mosque doubtful; whereas the mosque might certainly date to the 16th century, it might also be a somewhat later example of a type diffused from the area where these mihrabs are most numerous: Pate and the Lamu archipelago.

Mambrui

Mambrui is about four kilometres north of the mouth of the Sabaki River. It is a pleasant contemporary community that is of interest to archaeologists because of the ruined mosque and tombs there. The most interesting of the Mambrui tombs was studied by Kirkman (1958), a large tomb with a decagonal pillar about 1.6 metres wide and 5*5 metres high.

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In a frieze around the top of the shaft were set ten late King blue and white porcelain bowls and plates, one alternating with the other, of late 16th century date. These bowls and plates are in slightly worse condition today than when Kirkman photographed them over 20 years ago (1958:Figs. 33~M); plate Ko. 9 has been removed to Fort Jesus, and I don't know where bowl No. 10 may be. On top of the shaft was a dark olive coloured celadon jar, the base of which survives in the masonry of the pillar. Adjoining this tomb on the north is a compound with a large tombstone on its east wall and, like the enclosure of the pillar tomb, with a doorway in its west walls. Nearby is another tombstone tomb, which once had a circular coral boss set in the centre of the tombstone; although the stump of this boss remains, the carving has been destroyed.

The old Kambrui mosque is located on some high ground just above the beach, east of the cemetery. The musalla of this mosque was spanned by transverse ogival archways supported by two sets of two columns. Ablutions were taken from a long cistern in a southern room, while the main entrance to the mosque was through an eastern anteroom. The miirab was framed by a panelled architrave with single arched niches in each pilaster. Above jamb blocks capped with a carved coral cornice rose seven or eight stilted arch orders shaped of plaster. There was an inner arch, probably a trefoil made of cut coral blocks. Leading from the musalla out to the west was a single square headed doorway, while in the north end of the west wall was a niche or a window.

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Kibirikani

Kibirikani is a mosque site located at the rear of Sheshale Bay-about three kilometres north of Mambrui, at a point where a channel sometimes washes water into the sea but at high water is itself filled part way up stream by the sea, The mosque is located several tens of metres from the beach, in dense bush on the south side of the channel. The mihrab and a few walls on the southwest side stand, including a small cistern, from which perhaps the site takes its name. The qibla is a plain pointed arch of cut coral with a plain apse, in the style of the Kongo Mosque and the Munge mosque by the sea. If there are any other surviving structures at Kibirikani the bush screened them from us.

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Ngomeni

Ngomeni is located on the north side of an arm of land jutting toward the sea, which offers a protected, if shallow, harbour. The old site is supposed to be east of the present settlement, about where the Italian aerospace Centre is now built. Kirkman wrote that the old settlement was said to have been washed away by high tides or the flooding of the Tana River, although he reported the ruins of a house (1961+28^-85Ja- in the 1975 Port Jesus Newsletter Sassoon reported that there was said to have been a small, narrow mosque and some other buildings in the area, again rumoured to have fallen into the sea. We found an old well in the sand on the beach-, hut we were not able to find ceramics for a collection,' although in a personal communication Sassoon wrote that the **Port** Jesus Museum has a magnificent celadon bowl from Ngomeni.

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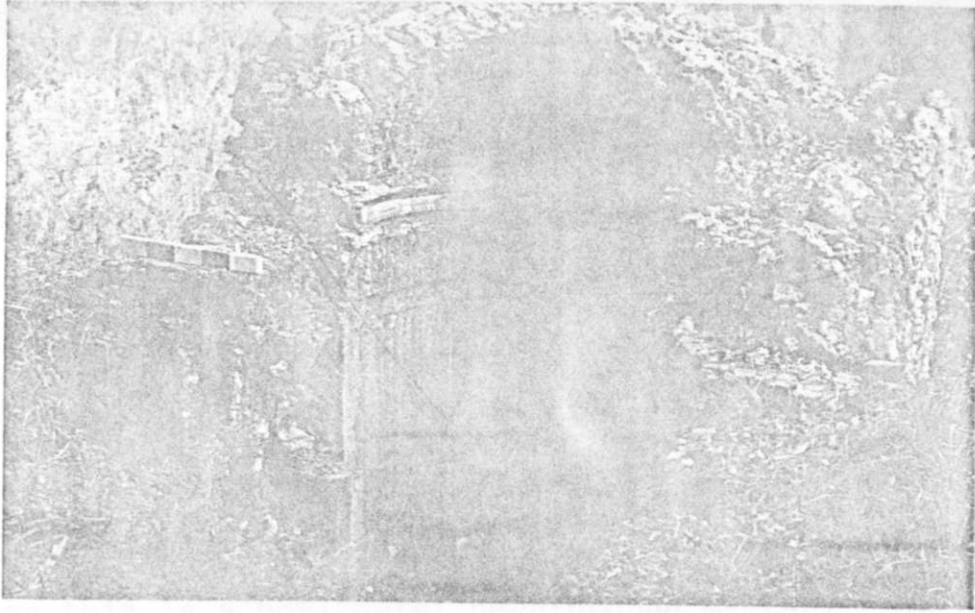
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Appendix Is
Archaeological Sites North of the Tana River

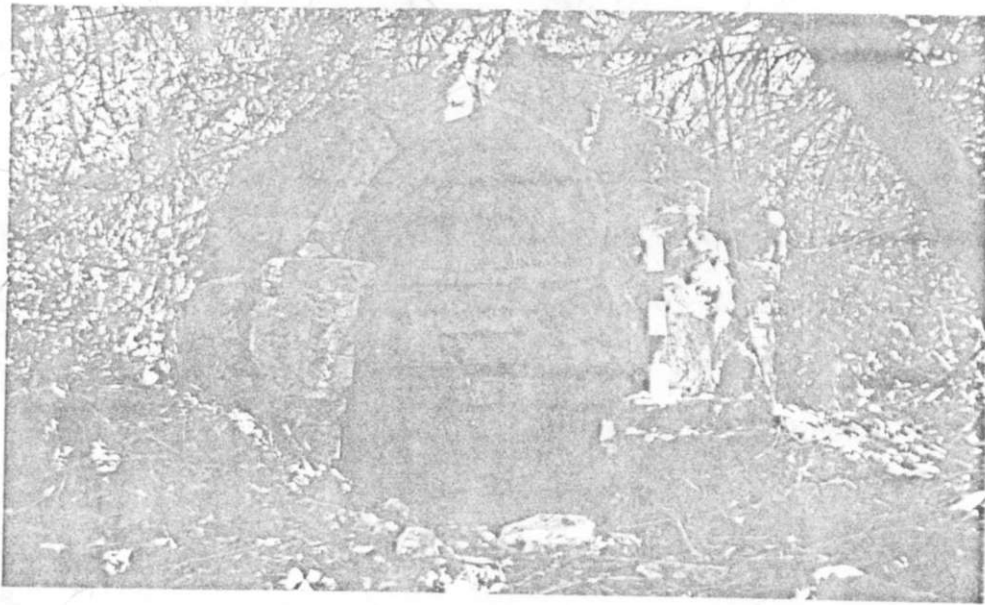
In my report of November 1978 to the National Museums of Kenya, which described most of the coastal sites north and east of the Tana River in Kenya, some areas and sites received more detailed coverage than others. There I concentrated on the older and larger sites, I have now visited many of the smaller sites in the area, and with this appendix I intend to extend the coverage of the archaeological sites of the north Kenya coast to include those I have visited since the first report. Still a few probably quite minor sites remain to be visited, including: Kau; Witu Sultan's palace, said now to be completely obliterated; Kito, a pottery site southwest of Al Fama reported by Sassoon in the Fort Jesus Newsletter of December 1974; Sita Perbe or Majalyani Hill northeast of Al Fama, located without comment on a museum survey map; Ukanga; Abder Rahman Twili; and the ruined structure, perhaps a mosque, at Kiangawanda. There are doubtless a few other minor ruins about which I do not know. For the locations of the sites I do know, discussed below, see the maps in my previous monograph, or the Kenya Government survey maps.

*Luzia

There are supposed to be two mosques at Luziwa, or Uziwa, within a town wall (Kirkman 1974:296); one of the mosques is said to be the "southern" type, with a view of the mihrab unobstructed by a central row of pillars. Today the area is being cultivated and those sections which are not cultivated



59. Luziwa



60. Kiponozi



61. Mosque at Al Famau

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are covered in thick, high bush. As a consequence of this, I saw no traces of i town wall or second mosque, if they still exist. The fallen walls of the other mosque are buried up to about a quarter of their original height. The apse remains, although the top of the facade of the mihrab has fallen and the bottom is buried. The bottom of the apse is fluted, above which is a plain course, and then a strip of vertical fluting. Above this is a horizontal herringbone member, from the back of which rises a similar course, creating a vertical herringbone spine up the back of the semi-dome. The remaining surface of the top of the apse is fluted. A chamfered pilaster may be seen at the side of the apse, near the ground, as can some cut coral courses of the jamb shaft orders. Luziwa is famous for⁷its iron slag, although we did not pick up any in the course of our short visit there. We retrieved a thick piece of light blue celadon, a blue Islamic monochrome and a dark brown stoneware sherd.

Me a

The site of Mea is located at the edge of a mangrove channel into which are eroding many potsherds. We collected only a gray sherd of a dish of Chinese origin, a fragment glazed green on a red body, possibly Portuguese, and two pieces of ribbed glass, from a flask. The only standing remains found were a few low walls and several tombs. Two of these were square, one of which had a high tombstone that has fallen. Another was a low step end tomb with narrow walls, measuring about 1.5 by 2.5 metres.

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Kea

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Kimbo

Kimbo, like Mea, is located on a channel lined by mangroves. The undulating ground and ceramic scatters indicate a settlement area. Two wells may be seen, one of which has a long conduit extending from it, presumably to a mosque, of which nothing remains. There is a cistern nearby, not related to the conduit or, probably, to the mosque. In the bottom is a Chinese blue and white bowl with a blue line around the rim and a bare circle in the bottom. All of the two score pieces of broken pottery that we found suggests a 19th century date perhaps extending from the late 18th century to the early 20th century. These pieces are European blue and white and polychromes, Indian black on red earthenware types, and late Chinese blue and white.

Kiponozi

Kiponozi is located farther inland than Mea or Kimbo, south of Karaweni Swamp and the end of the Mto wa Kimbo. The most notable structure at Kiponozi is a very large mosque that once had very high, substantial walls, which have now mostly fallen. There is a large well and room to the west, which might have housed the ablution facilities. The mihrab was once ornate, but, like the Luziwa mihrab, once again the top of the facade has fallen and the bottom is buried. The apse is of cut coral, fluted at the bottom. Above there is a plain course and then a herringbone course; above again is a wide plain space, perhaps to accommodate a Koranic verse in paint. A plain offset course is above, and the top of the semi-dome is fluted. In front of the great mosque are several large tombs, one of which has a tombstone that rises over 2

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metres on top of the vail* The tombstone once held a single dish near the top, and it is possible that the wall below was panelled.

Nearby is a smaller mosque, completely broken down except for a plain apse, slightly pentagonal in plan. The structure survives only as a low pile of stones. There is also in the area a rear room of a stone house with an arched doorway and what might have been a store in the west end. The building had a pitched roof. There must have been a large number of people in the area to support such a large mosque, but there are no surface indications of it: no uneven ground indicating a settlement, piles of stones or ceramic scatters.

Al pamau

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The site of Al pamau is located at the base of the line of high coastal dunes that parallel the coast in this area; the site is on the landward side of the dunes. The ruins consist of a mosque, a grave compound, a standing wall, and a hill covered with many potsherds, from south to north respectively. All the walls of the mosque have fallen, but portions of the mihrab remain. The facade of the mihrab is falling away from the apse; from the former, at the level of the capitals, it may be seen that there were two plain courses of spandrel frame and at least three and probably four arch orders, all of cut coral. The apse is plain above and below a herringbone course set between two plain members, set at about the level of springing.

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The compound is located several tens of metres north of the mosque. It is approximately 10 metres square and about 1.5 metres high, with a door in the south side. It is

oriented \-t north, and is almost certainly a grave compound. To the north again the remains of a structure can be found, but only a low, broken wall now stands. The wall is on the southern edge of a hill that is covered with a fairly dense scatter of local pottery, but I saw no imported pieces.

Mpekaton

At Mpekaton we found only a small step end tomb of four risers, turning the corners at the ends, measuring about 1.5 by 2.5 metres, at the location where "Mpekaton Ruins" are supposed to be.

Mkunubi

One of our museum survey maps shows a ruined mosque at Mkunubi, although the Kenya Government survey maps do not indicate ruins there. Neither our guide nor anyone at Mkunubi had heard of this mosque, and I assume that if it once existed, it does not now.

The mosques of Luziwa, Kiponozi and Al Fama, with their use of delicate herringbone courses, fluting and, where evidence is available, multiple arch orders and chamfered pilasters, point to a closely related tradition, probably both temporally and culturally. Luziwa was inhabited in the late 16th century, when the Portuguese Captain of Malindi took refuge there briefly (Kirkman 1961: 75) and it is mentioned in 1635 in the inscription over the entrance to Fort Jesus as being in allegiance with and paying tribute to the Portuguese. Kirkman wrote that it is mentioned up to the end of the 17th century. He also stated that Ma and Kimbo were both recently inhabited; whereas this may be

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true of Kimbo, I saw no evidence of recent occupation of Mea. Stylistically, I would not think the mosques in question to be older than the 17th century, but this is based only on impression, not formal analysis. Kirkman wrote that the settlements were aligned with the larger island towns, Mpekatoni to Lamu and Ukanga to Siu, and that these two settlements were looted in 1856 during the conflict between Zanzibar and Siu (1961:75). Kirkman mentions house remains at Luziwa, and there were probably ruined houses at Kimbo; otherwise, the lack of stone house clusters at these sites suggests a pattern of dispersed settlement, or clusters of mud and thatch houses leaving few traces.

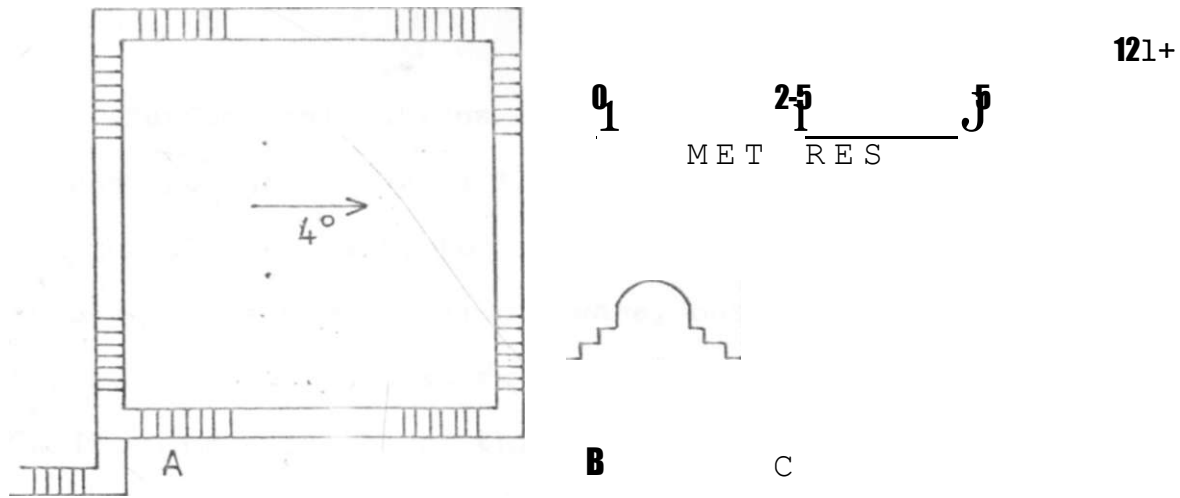
Kipungan'i

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At Kipungani, on the southwest side of Lamu Island, are a ruined mosque, some tombs, and scatters of pottery. The mosque stands to its full height, though in bush; it was probably a three-aisle "southern" type. The mihrab was wide and deep, and appears to have been removed from the mosque. At the south end of the mosque was the cistern for ablutions, fed from a five-sided well southeast of the mosque.

There are two tombs at the edge of the sea at Kipungani, one of which is a large square tomb with probably seven-riser step ends. The west, seaward side of this tomb has collapsed, and only the northeastern corner of a tomb that once abutted it to the south still remains. There is a second group of tombs about 50 metres northeast of the beach tombs; one of the

se (tomb B) has a stepped east facade, another (C) has curving raised projections or "ears" as its only superstructure. These first four tombs were oriented 4°. On the inside east



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Kipungani tombs, based on sketches

wall of tombs B and C is a single niche, probably for the burning of incense. Behind these tombs are two smaller enclosures with pitched ends, as in illustration E. Southeast of Kipungani are three more tombs, two of which are illustrated as D and P.

Old Kipungani appears to have been a little south of the present village, or at least that is where the most dense refuse concentrations occur. The sherds of our three score and some surface collection are almost all 18th and 19th century blue and white Chinese porcelains. There were a few 19th century European pieces, but only a single late Islamic flionochrome. It appears Kipungani is a recently established

Surface ^{*}collections a little farther south, however, along the shore, reveal that the Kipungani area was visited in the distant past, for there were found three unmistakable pieces of Sassanian-Islamic ware, one of the earliest Islamic ceramics found in eastern Africa. Since my last report was written more pieces of this ware have been found at the site just south of Lamu Ginnars, on the other side of the island. The Lamu Museum is now in possession of 1k pieces of Sassanian-Islamic pottery from that site, and I have seen more pieces that came from there that I have not been able to obtain.

Matondoni

At Matondoni are three mosques, all of which are still in use. At the north end of the Riyada Mosque is a tomb which had a one metre wide octagonal pillar, a section of which can still be seen on the ground northeast of the tomb* The east face had two single recessed panels and on the north face there were three; on top of the wall the step ends were set on a building course, a rare feature found at Ishakani and Dondo. In front of this tomb is another, interesting for the roof of makuti that covers the tomb, resting on the top of the five-riser step ends. About 80 metres south of the mosque is a small tomb with four-riser step ends; on the east wall was a small tombstone, with an inscription too eroded to read. West of the mosque is a recent stone tomb with four piers on each of the side walls and a high central pier on the east and west walls, the purpose of which is to support a makuti roof over the structure. There is a wooden door in the east wall. It was built by the grandson of the deceased, on the mother's side, and is the object of visitation

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62. Tomb roofed with thatch, Riyada Mosque, Matondoni



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63. Modern "panelled" tomb, Matondoni



61|. Tombs at Msikiti wa Nuru, Matondoni

for prayers.

West of the lisikiti va Kuru is a group of five old tombs and a more recent mausoleum. The old tomb farthest north, although broken on the east side, appears to have been quite similar in style to the Kipungani tomb labelled D. About a metre to the west is a 16-sided tomb, with a 16-sided domed roof. The tomb is about 2.3 metres high, its circumference measures 7*7 metres, and there is a low door on the east side. To the west again are two octafonal tombs, one of which has collapsed. The roof of the one that survives is eight-sided. It is about 2.5 metres high and 6.33 metres around. The fifth tomb is a small enclosure with the walls sloping slightly upwards at the corners.

About 15 metres south of the first tomb is another modern compound, with four prefabricated perforated slabs set in the north wall and two set in the west wall, giving a sort of panelled effect. There are three piers on the side walls and a central pillar on each end, to support a thatch roof. The mausoleum is entered through a wooden door in the north wall, and inside a low enclosure with the walls pitched at the short ends marks the spot of the burial. The modern tombs at Matandoni are interesting because they show modern trends in the ancient tomb-building tradition: the use of blocks instead of coral rag as the wall fabric; the specialized "panels" in the tomb just mentioned; the use of piers and pillars to support roakuti roofs; and the thatch roof itself, which might suggest that some of the ancient tombs were so covered.

Near the sea is a ruined house, with two central and two transverse flanking chambers. The rear central area is divided

into a latrine and a small private room. On the wall opposite the front door/is a single square niche, above which were three tiers of arched niches, probably 15 niches wide. There might have been a plaster niche flanking the front door.

A ceramic collection made along the beach comprised Islamic monochromes, Chinese porcelains and European wares. Red bodied late varieties predominated among the former; among the porcelains none seemed to be as early as the 17th century. The European wares were 19th century or more recent.

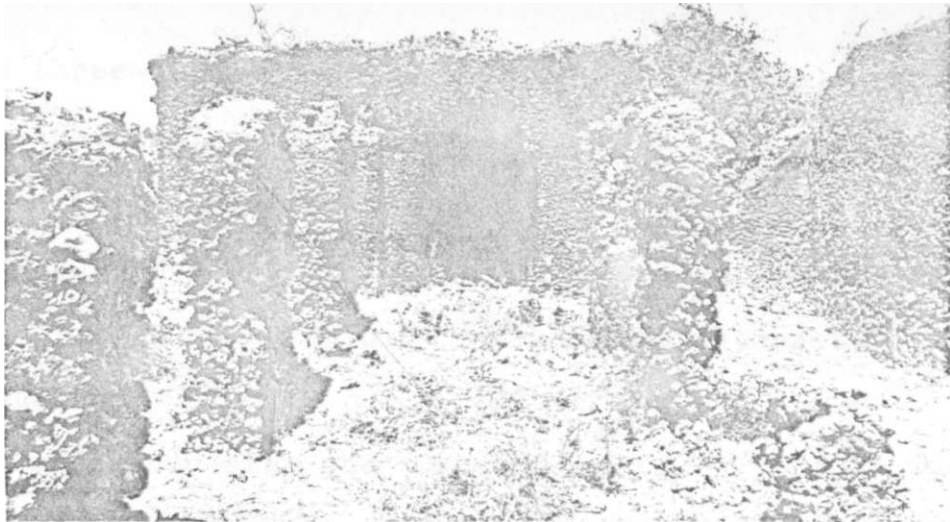
Atu, Fate Island

Atu is located about half way between Chudwa and Siu, but 'off the main trail to the east, almost at the edge (within about 100 metres) of the high water and mangrove line. At Atu are a mosque and an interesting group of tombs. The mosque had two rows of two piers, creating three aisles, with the ablution chamber to the south. The mihrab is curiously recessed into the walls, and the apse is squared; next to the mihrab was a stepped masonry minbar. The musalla was entered through a single doorway in the east wall, or through the southern room; the western wall has fallen.

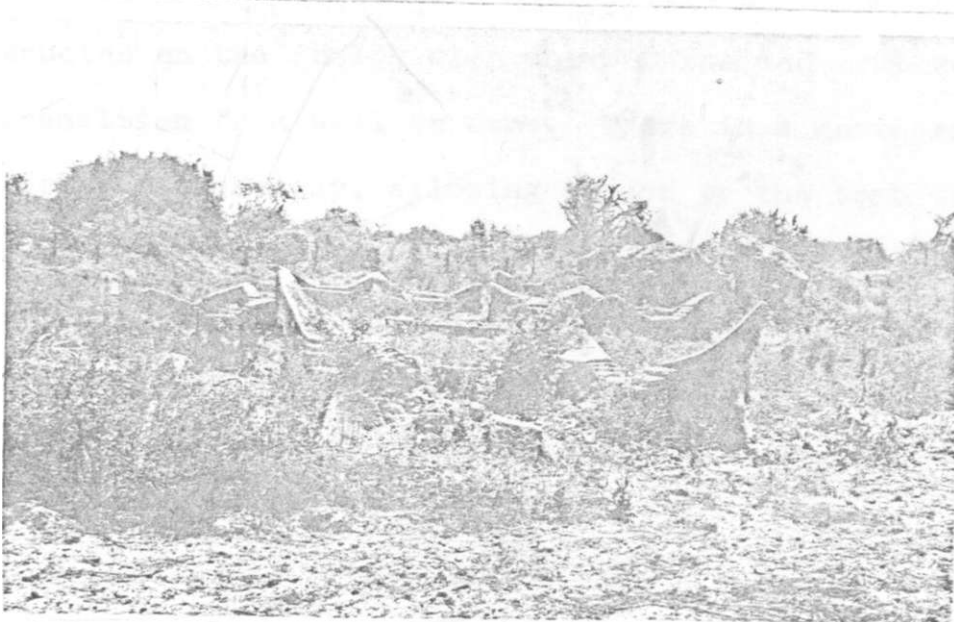
About 150 metres or less south of the mosque are the tombs, labelled from the easternmost:

A. A three-step end tomb, 2.17 metres on the east and 3.16 metres on the north side, orientation 5*

B. A four-step end tomb, 1.00 metres on the east and 3.50 metres on the north side, orientation 5* This tomb is notable for its steep sloping and inward curving corners above the steps.



65. Atu mosque



66. Atu tomb B



6?. Atu tomb C in the foreground, D, E, and F behind

C. A three-step end tomb, 14.23 by 2.02 metres, orientation 10°
It is interesting for its small tombstone on its long east wall,
with an inset inscription,

D. A four-step end tomb with two plain enclosures to the
east. Tomb D measures 11.40 by 2.70 metres, east to north,
orientation 355*

E. A wide four-step end tomb, measuring 5.70 by 2.75 metres,
orientation 357^

F. This is a tomb domed with a truncated pyramidal roof,
constructed on the inside with three corbelled members making
the transition from wall to dome. There is a northern
projecting entranceway, allowing access to the tomb through
a square-topped outer doorway and an arched inner doorway.
In plan the tomb thus resembles a small mosque, but with an
exit through the flat-topped apse. Except for this curious
appendage this tomb resembles some of the tombs of Pate and
Siu. Its orientation is 5*

G. A four-step end tomb south of tomb F, 3.43 by 2.69 metres,
orientation 352?

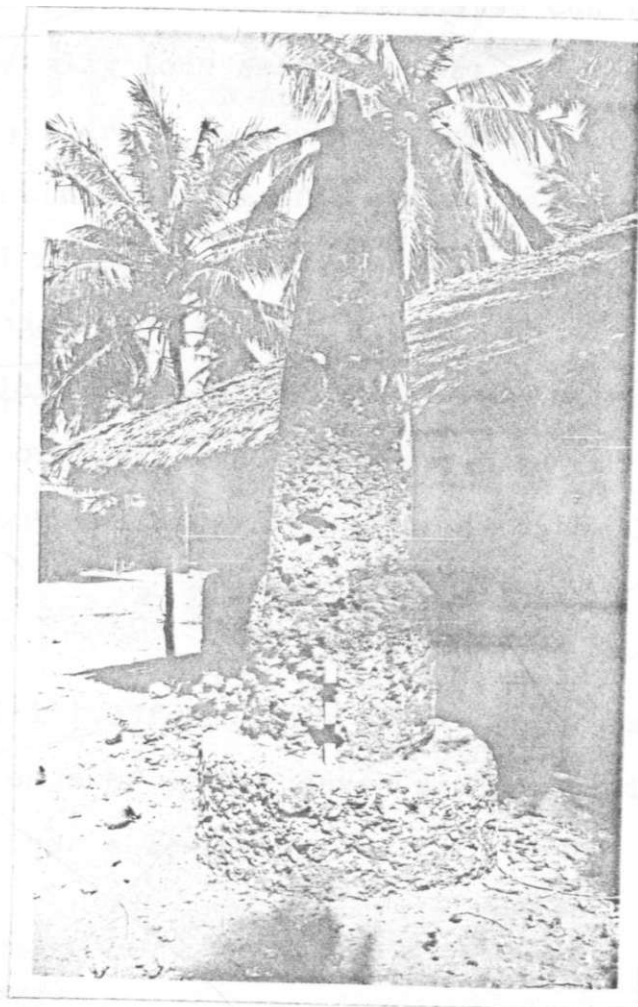
The facades of the tombs are low in relation to the widths
of the walls, which are rarely over about 65 centimetres.
Except for tomb B, published by Allen (197k:Fig. 8), the step
ends at the corners and their risers are also relatively low,
the latter sometimes as low as 5 or 6 centimetres.

Chundwa

The well known Chundwa (Standard Swahili, Tundwa) mosque
illustrated by Garlake (1966:Fig. 61) is located a little way
out of the village on the Faza trail. It is interesting for
its 18 shallow and narrow arch orders and the recesses for



68. Ruined mosque at Chundwa



69. The pillar at Chundwa

over 50 bowls in the north wall. portions of two of these bowls remain, both 18th or 19th century types. The mihrab and qibla wall of the mosque still stand, but the west and most of the east walls have fallen. Its orientation is 357.

In the town is Chunawa pillar, a round tapering column about four metres high (Allen 1971: Fig. 7)- A bench or base at the bottom has a diameter of 1.7 metres, while the base of the main body of the pillar is 1.1 metre across. Three masonry shafts with open spaces between them hold the top section above the body of the pillar, and on top is a conical finial.

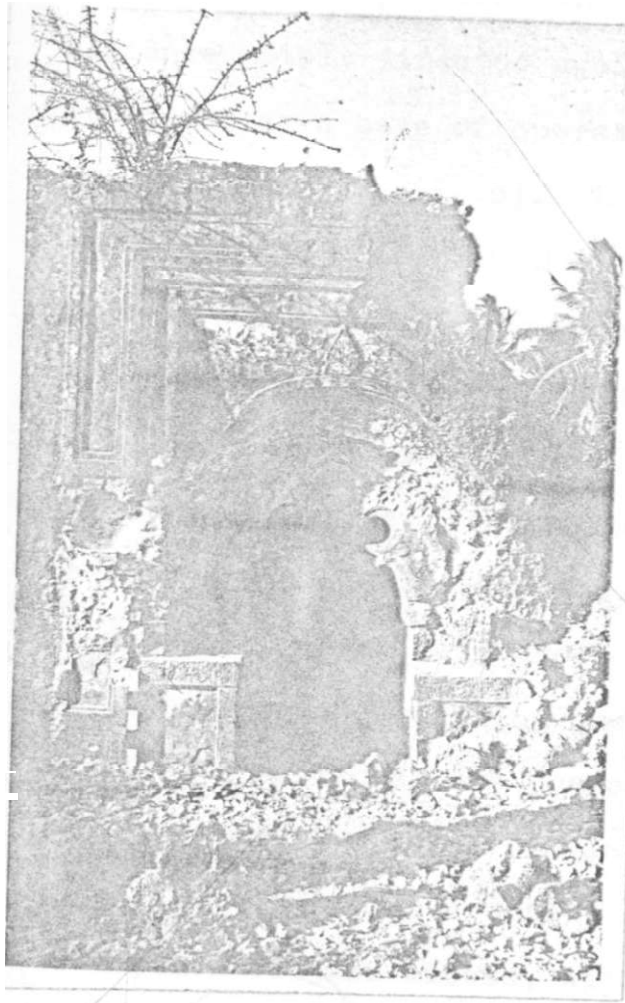
Near Chundwa, just at the edge of the town on the side of the paza road, is a cemetery with step end tombs, some of which have unusually long east facades. East of town on the Kizingitini trail are a mosque and tombs. The mosque is much broken down, but the bottom of the apse was decorated with narrow vertical recessed panels, while the semidome had designs of arches, circles, and a pinwheel of four spokes, all in low relief. Some of the tombs nearby were uninteresting step end types or plain low enclosures, but one was a panel tomb in which one panel was left open as a small window.

Kizingitini

At Kizingitini I found only two stone tombs, one of which had step ends of six or seven risers, making a high superstructure over a low wall.

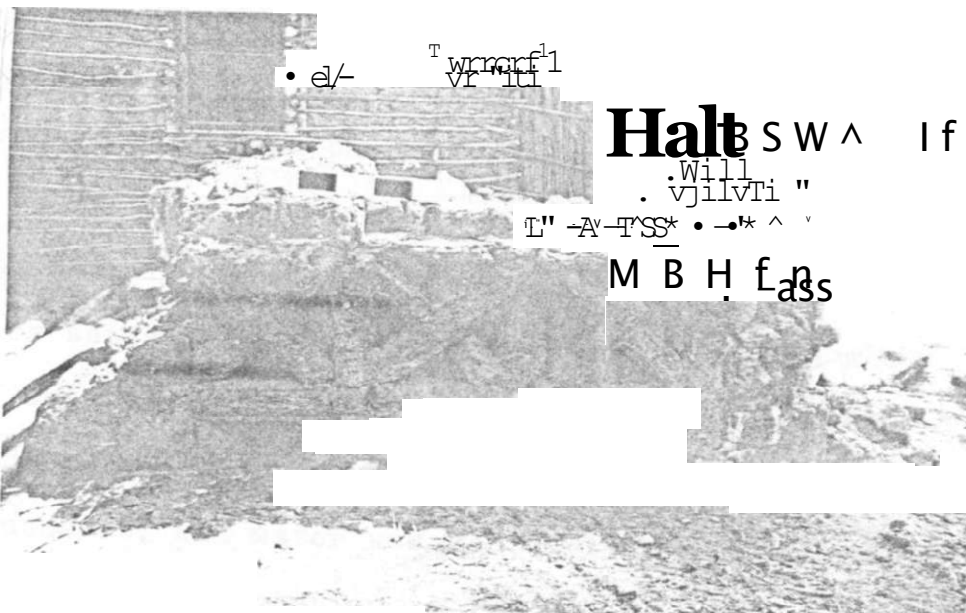
Faza

Faza entered written history with its support of the Turk Mirale (Amir Ali?) Bey in 1586, for which action the town was destroyed by the Portuguese the following year.



70. Shala Fatani. Mosaue r'za

71. Ruined mosque at Paa



72. Decorated tmb at Paa

Faza subsequently became an ally of the Portuguese, an alliance mainly directed against pate; in the 19th century it served as a base of operations of the Zanzibaris against Siu (Kirkman 1961: 65-66). There were a Portuguese chapel and a fort at Faza, but their remains are not known. The Swahili ruins include three mosques and some tombs. The musalla of the mosque of Shala Fatani was entered through an eastern anteroom or through a southern ablution chamber (Gardake 1966: Figs. 33, 3i»; PL. XI). Two rows of two octagonal piers supported the roof, leaving an unobstructed view of the mihrab, and two more piers upheld the transverse ogival archways separating the ablution chamber from the musalla. The mihrab was framed in an architrave with doubly recessed panels, with a single arch-shaped niche in each pilaster. There was a double inner spandrel frame rising from panelled jamb blocks, with an inscription across the face and reveal of the cornice of each. Inside the spandrel frame was a raised archivolt and three arch orders, highly stilted and elliptical in shape, and an inner trefoil arch. The apse is fluted below the spring line of the inner arch, above which there are several corbelled members and a central herringbone spine with vertical fluting radiating outwards from it. Carvings shaped like a spear tip or a heart were set above the inner trefoil arch and above the apex of the archivolt. The front and rear walls stand but the west and half of the east walls have fallen. The well was to the southeast, and water was sent into the mosque through a conduit. The mosque orientation is 1°.

South of the Shala Fatani mosque is another mosque, rj.eh broken down, which used to have southern ablution facilities.

North of this ruin is a cemetery, with several low step^{en}(*) tombs and low enclosures. One tomb had a short (ca. 1.8 metre) tapered pillar erected, but I could not distinguish to which tomb it belonged. Another seems to have been a low dome[^] type, set over walls roughly square.

To the east is another fine ruined mosque, entered through an eastern anteroom, with ablution chamber to the south, the Shala patani mosque, this one also had three aisles, two rather than four octagonal piers shortened the length of its musalla; and, like the other mosque, ogival archways provided entrance to the ablution chamber. The mihrab is fine, having a barely salient architrave of adjacent continuous rectangular panels (it is possible that these were only pilasters not a complete architrave, for the facade is destroyed above the spandrels). The jamb blocks are panelled as well, above which rise a spandrel frame and archivolt, inside of which were three arch orders and an inner trefoliate arch, now destroyed, which rose from its own chamfered pilaster. The⁰ apse has vertically extended panels below springing of the inner arch, above which are five offset courses of plaster. The top of the semi-dome is destroyed. The stilted **semicircular** arches are nicked at the top. There was a wooden lintel above the spandrel frame. In each pilaster is a single square niche. The central piers and one ogival archway still stand, but the side and rear walls have fallen. The qibla and parts of the north wall stand. Its orientation is 347.

Nearby a large mosque with a similar mihrab has recently fallen into disuse. This mosque has four central piers in¹ two rows, and was entered through ogival archways from eastern and southern rooms. There is a recessed minbar and a **tower**

for the call to prayers, the latter reached through an external stairway entered from the east room, The roof of the **musalla** will collapse unless it is attended to. On the east side the mosque is approached by high, broad stairs.

A tomb nearby this last mosque has a unique facade. Unfortunately the east side is destroyed, but on the north and west may be seen two rows of panels in which are diagonal crosses. The west side has six such panels, above which was a frieze of niches; on the north facade there might have been a system of alternating plain and crossed panels on the top row. The south side might have had a single lower large panel, above which were several smaller panels. The tomb measures 2.23 metres on the west, 3.00 metres on the north; the crossed panels are about 50 centimetres wide by centime^{tres} high.

Our surface collection from Faza included a few pieces of scraffiato, some celadon, numerous Islamic monochromes, Persian blue and white, Islamic polychromes, Chinese blue and white from the 15th to 19th century, Japanese blue and white, Indian black on red earthenware, imitation celadon, and 19th century European wares.

Ndau

On the east side of the town there is a ruined mosque that appears to be rather recent, lacking a mihrab, which from the lack of rubble around would appear to have been dismantled. On the northwest side of town are five or more tombs. Two were approximately square; one, measuring about 2.75 metres on a side, had seven-riser step ends. Two of the tombs simply had gently sloping walls, upwards from the centre

toward the corners. Another is a low step end tomb in the bush. Mention should be made of the two large mosques in Ndu still in use, which have earned the community the nickname "Cairo." Ndu would appear to be a rather recent settlement.

Kiwaiyu

I saw only a single tomb on Kiwaiyu, and no ceramic scatters, although I did not search the whole island.

Ashuwei

On the mainland north of Kiwaiyu the first site is Ashuwei, a settlement just recently abandoned, probably in the 1960's. The single mosque is broken down except for the north wall, which contained a very plain mihrab, perhaps simply a plain round arch, without cut coral. East of the apse is a minbar of four steps. The cistern was at the south end. The ruins of a few houses may be seen, and the graves of a child and an adult, both dated AH. 1377, A.D. 1957-58. The site is located on a hill above a mangrove-choked channel.

Mvinden and Ras Uwari

Although I have used the name Mvinden to refer to the pillar tomb and town ruins at the north end of the little bay, Uwari or Ras Uwari is probably the preferred name for the old ruins, following Kirkman (1957, 1958)«

' The name Mvinden can then refer specifically to the recently abandoned settlement at the south end of the bay, and the two ruins will not be confused any more than they now.

Sendeni

Some confusion arises as to the name of this place, which has been called both Sendeni and Simambaya." As Simambaya is also the name of the opposite island, I prefer to follow Allen's suggestion that the mainland site be called Sendeni and the island site Simambaya. The mainland site of Sendeni is another of the recently abandoned sites of the northern Kenya coast. The site is located on a tidal channel and comprises a fine little mosque, house remains and some graves. A note on the mosque by Smith (1973) is incorrect in two important points that a comparison with the present description will reveal: the roof is not supported by transverse arches, and the plan of the mosque, drawn from memory, is inaccurate. Sendeni mosque was entered through an eastern courtyard or through a southern ablution chamber, which is separated from the main room by a single pier. Southeast of the mosque is the well, connected to the building by a short conduit. In the main chamber four octagonal pillars create three aisles of three bays. The original rafters were squared beams, but repairs to the western aisle and central bays were carried out with rounded poles. These are supported on joists between the columns, and between the columns and walls. The joists over the front two columns are supported on platforms of wood over carved beams sticking out of the columns. The carved ends of these beams seem to represent some sort of aquatic animals, possibly turtles or fish.

The mihrab is framed by a janelled architrave with one niche in each pilaster. There is an inner spandrel frame, and three arch orders rising from jamb blocks panelled on

the face and reveal. There is an inner trefoliate arch rising from its own chamfered pilaster. The apse is plain below four corbelled members, above which there is a central axial spine. To the east is a recessed minbar, notable for the access to it through the mihrab or from the main chamber of the mosque. Smith read the date A.H. 1212 (A.D. 1797-8) on the jamb block of the mihrab.

Nearby there was a small grave, that of a patima binti Mote, who died in A.H. 1369, A.D. 1949-50. The tombstone on the larger grave of Kalima binti Abhudi bears the date A.H. 1378, A.D. 1958-59.

Simambaya

I have not visited the island site, and thus present information on it kindly supplied to me by James Allen:

The island site lies in a hollow on the ridge of the island almost opposite, but slightly to the south of Rubu, from which it can be reached by boat. It appears to be a later site than the others--perhaps 16th, 17th or even early 18th centuries--and was probably built with lime doused in sea-water, with the consequence that very little has survived. There is a tomb with shallowly-stepped corners and two small blue-and-white Chinese bowls (chipped) and the remains, very slight, of some plasterwork on a cistern containing another, not immediately identifiable bowl. Hardly anything else was discernible in the thick bush although several sherds of coarse blue-and-white pottery were found. While the site might repay further investigation some time, I doubt if it is suitable for either preservation or excavation on any scale and do not recommend that it be gazetted.

The earlier sites with which he compares Simambaya are the like of Shee Jafari and Omwe, not sites such as Sendeni and Rubu, which is now deserted.

Rubu

Rubu is located on a fine little shallow bay, protected

ror* heavy seas by the island opposite. It is a community recently deserted, the previous occupants having moved across to Si; mbaya, even though they have to return to Rubu by boat for water. A stone mosque survives in good shape, but all the mud and thatch houses have collapsed. There is a cluster of baobabs at Rubu that suggests there might have been an earlier settlement there, but we found no ceramic evidence of this.

Rubu is the type of community suitable for the study of how fast a mud and thatch community disappears. Still enough remains of the houses for a rough plan to be made of the site, the condition of each structure could be recorded photographically, and the site is open enough that air photographs could record the settlement pattern. If such records were to be made now, Rubu could be re-examined every five or ten years, giving us information about how fast such settlements disappear into the ground. In 50 years Rubu might survive as the site of a single mosque only, similar to other coastal sites, such as the sites of the Mda Creek area, Knarani, Vipingo, Kongo Mosque or Pongwe to name just a few, when in reality Rubu was a community of mud and thatch structures with a single stone mosque. Senaeni and Ashwei could be brought into such a study as well.

Kungamuni

Not much can be seen on Kungamuni Island today. What I believe to be the pillar tomb mentioned by Prins (1967:30) and Kirkman (1961+:53) is little more than a ruined pile of masonry today. Piles of rubble inland from the tomb indicate the area of a village, but high grass precluded observation

of the nature of the mounds. There are more tombs to the south, although during our visit the thick vegetation kept us from finding them; subsequently, however, members of our staff have re-located the tombs, but I have not been back to view them. One of the three pieces of pottery we picked up at Kiungamuini, south of the village remains, was a Sassanian-Islamic sherd; another was the rim sherd of a local bowl or jar, with cross hatching closely incised under the rim, a type so often found associated with Sassanian-Islamic types. We also collected a Sassanian-Islamic sherd from the beach at Kiunga, in the area in front of tombs B and C.

Appendix II;Swahili Regalia of the South Kenya Coast

Lengthy formal ceremonies had to be completed for a diwan to be enthroned at Vumba Kuu, and some of the props used in these ceremonies came to be associated with, and symbolize, the authority of the aiwans. The candidate, for example, was invested with a silver chain worn above the right knee, wore wooden sandals, was carried on a special bedstead, was crowned with a skullcap and turban, was covered with an umbrella, and was accompanied by his ceremonial horn, or siwa. Music was an important part of the ceremonies, played on cymbals, drums and horns; at other times the drums might be beaten for feasts, births or deaths of important persons, or when praying for rain. Some of these items have survived, although some of them have seen better days. A short carved ivory siwa, illustrated by Dickson in 1921, survives at Vanga. It was said to have been presented to Diwan Hasan in the mid-18th century at Ozi, perhaps the gift of the ruler of Pate. The end of the siwa is missing, it has suffered from being used as a chopping block, and the carving has mostly weathered away.

In addition to the ivory siwa there are three drums at Vanga, none of which is of particularly great age or fine workmanship. Perhaps the most interesting is a large cylinder with crude drawings by low relief incisions of star or flower design, diagonal lines and zigzags in registers around the drum. The ends are missing and the wood of the drum is fragile. A second type stands about waist high on three feet; it was thus beaten on the top only on a leather covering which was held onto the drum by pegs on the side. A third drum now



73. Ivory siwa at Vanga



7k• Carved drum at Vanga



75• The drums at Wasini

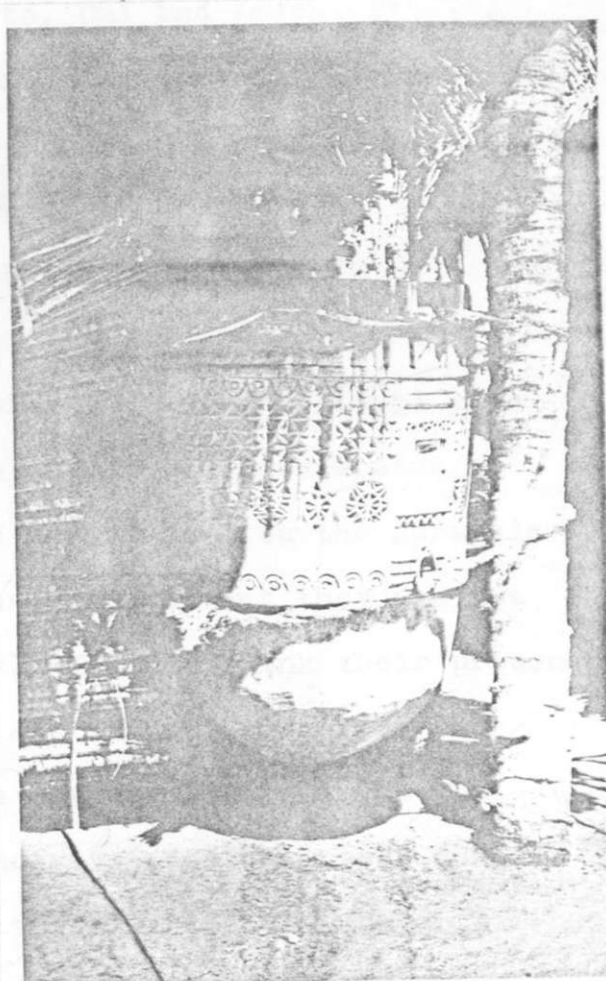
stays at Ngowa near Vanga in front of what appears to be a deserted house falling to ruin. This drum is a plain long two-ended variety, with a plaited cord between the two ends.

Three of the nicest drums on the south coast are now kept at Wasini in the possession of Saggaf bin Hassan bin Rasir, grandson of Sayyid Nasir bin Alau bin Diwan Kikambala, who was selected to be diwan but died in 1885 before he was enthroned at Vumba Kuu. These three drums are illustrated by Dickson (1921: pgs. 3, i) • They were carved in the early 19th century, presumably on the models of the drums of Kwana Ghambi Chandi Ivoo (Ivor) of Vumba Kuu, which were inherited by the diwan of Vanga on the occasion of the Kazrui Governor of Mombasa's ruling that there would be divans at both Vanga and Wasini. A wooden horn was also made, which, if it still survives, I did not see. Two of the drums are the two-ended type, carved with four adjacent registers on each side of a central plain area. On one drum the inner registers are a narrow line of semicircles or crescents, followed by a register of a chain design, then a register of flowers, and finally, on the outer edges, registers of undulating leaves or waves. The first three registers on each side of the second drum are similar to those of the first drum, but the outer registers of this drum have squares inscribed in circles. The third drum is a one-ended type with a little three-legged stand at the other end. There are two handles carved with animal shapes on each side of a wide panel carved with flowing floral designs. Below the handles, in a second wide register, are vines or tree designs, while rotating the drum ninety degrees reveals a quadrilateral design.

Another arum of this type was found at the village of Shirazi.. The decoration on the sides of this drum were in panels rather than registers, the designs within carved as stars and circles, or as latticework.



76. The single-ended drum
from Wasini



77. The Shirazi drum

Appendix III:
An Acheulean Site near Mombasa

The earliest site on the coast is an Acheulean site at Mlongwe, on the southern side of Port Reitz where an arm of the sea extends up an old erosion channel*. The site has been briefly reported by Kato, Oni and Adachi (1977). The earliest rock outcrops in the Mlongwe area are Jurassic shales and limestones, overlain by the Magarini sands (Caswell 1953)*. These last were divided into a lower fluviatile member, dated to the Upper Pliocene or Lower Pleistocene, and an upper member of aeolian origin, probably of Middle Pleistocene age. In the Malinoi area Thompson (1956) gave the lower sands, clays and pebble beds separate status as the Marafa beds. The artifacts come from atop the Jurassic shales or from the silts and sands above, but they are not reported atop the nearby ridges. I would think their presence on top of the Jurassic beds is due to deflation from the upper member; and the site thus dates to sometime in the middle of the Pleistocene. Handaxes, side scrapers, cores and flakes may be collected at the site today, made of a brown shale that displays good qualities of fracture for making artifacts. Kato *et al.* think there may be Levallois flakes present; indeed, it is on the basis of the presence of Levallois artifacts at the base of the upper member in the Malindi area that the Magarini sands are dated to the Pleistocene (although the Marafa beds have been shown convincingly to be Pliocene age). I think there may be a small tool component of quartz present, although I saw no pieces that were undeniably artifacts, and quartz pebbles occur in the Marafa beds naturally.

Appendix IV: List of Archaeological Sites
of the Coast of Kenya

This list of sites of the Kenya coast is the most recent and most comprehensive yet attempted. In it I have tried to include all sites with standing remains or sizeable ceramic scatters on or near the coast, either visited by me or known to exist from reliable sources. If common usage did not suggest the way to spell the name of a site, I have followed my own preferences.

A number of problems face one who tries to make a list of sites on the coast. These include whether to list adjacent ruins of different types as separate sites or as different areas of the same site; how to number the list, in part depending on the answer to the former question; what to include in the list; and what to exclude from it. A basic question is what constitutes an archaeological site, which may be a single monument, a scatter of pottery, or a sprawling ruin. Willey and Phillips (1938:18) considered a site must be "fairly continuously covered by remains of former occupation, and the general idea is that these pertain to a single unit of settlement." Several sites on the coast are composed of two distinct locations, the old settlement area and outlying groups of tombs. As the tombs almost certainly belonged to the old occupation area nearby, they are undoubtedly aspects of a single unit of settlement and are thus considered as single sites on the list. The fact that a site might comprise two or more distinct locations means that it might have two or more names associated with it, which poses a problem of nomenclature and how to number the list. I have used a system

that applies separate names and numbers to individual sites while assigning letters and separate map references for different areas of what I consider to be the same, site, Ishakani, for example (Number 1 on the list), comprises a settlement area and two outlying tomb groups; thus Ishakani is given a number (1), and the three loci of the site are designated A, B, and C. Sometimes the outlying areas have names associated with them, causing confusion in the nomenclature used for the sites. For example, one of the funerary suburbs of Omwe (number 5) is called Makubani, and in the past has sometimes been listed as a separate site; Shee Umuro (6) is the name of one of the tombs near a settlement area called Nyangwani; the large tombs some distance from Rwana (1+7) are known as Wanawali Saba; and a little way from Wasini is its associated Chambocha cemetery. For convenience I have listed Malindi and Mombasa as single sites. This might be justified for Malindi, but for Mombasa I have avoided deciding what should be considered separate sites, over what was obviously an extensive settlement area. Although I have given only 89 numbers to separate sites, I have considered 118 locations of ancient ruins on the coast worthy of separate map references and listings. The map references indicate the location of the sites as accurately as possible. They refer to the 1:50,000 series Kenya Survey maps, except for the extreme north, between Ishakani (1) and Ashuwei (II4), where the references are to the 1:100,000 series maps. The organization of the list is generally, but not strictly, north to south. For the larger sites, Pate, Ungwana, or Gedi, for example, the map references are to the centre of the area of the ruins.

121+

An asterisk (*:) marks sites where the location is only approximate, and a plus sign (+) denotes recent sites that have been abandoned in the last few years. Uncertainty as to the location of sites arises because: the maps are sometimes featureless, as at Kwana Mchama (1) or Shaka (16); I did not visit the site, Simambaya (10) for instance; or I was lost when I visited the site, as at Hurumuzi (83). The locations of the sites thus marked should be checked in future.

The decision of whether to include or omit what may or may not be a site was sometimes difficult. I used as a guiding principle that some sort of remains must still be visible for a site to be listed. For each of the 11 sites that I have listed but that I have not visited, I required two sources to document its existence, one of which could be the usually reliable Kenya Survey maps, although I accepted a few sites on the basis of one source if it was highly reliable. The sites that I have not visited are: Simambaya (10), Mtangawanda (21), Abder Rehman Twili (27), Ukanga (11), Kau (4+), the south mosque at Malindi (51S), the Shaka near Gedi (58), Kioni (62), some of the Kombasa ruins (68), **Twi** (69), and Shimoni (85). The only site among the above about which I have no idea of the ruins there is Ukanga, which is also the only site on the list entered on the basis of the Survey map reference only (the maps seem to be particularly good in showing the ruins in the Kipini-I-Ikunumbi area). Sites that I have listed but about which I have some doubt that they should be included are: Mpekatoni (39), where I only saw a single tomb, but where there may be, or might have been recently, more ruins; Ngomeni, listed as number 148 on the basis of several authorities and a fine celadon dish from there, but all

the remains of which seem to have been claimed by the sea; and Kioni (62), which probably survives today only as a pottery site, if it survives at all. Kiwaiyu was omitted because there was only a single tomb there and, so far as I could see, no other traces of early occupation. I do not think the scanty remains at Kizingitini warranted including it, and Mkunumbi was left out because I could find no trace of, or knowledge among the people there of, an old mosque listed there on one of our Kuseum maps. One of the Museum maps also shows a site called Sita Pernbe or Majalyani Hill near Al Famau (40), but nobody I know has ever heard of it. The Witu Sultan's Palace, located on the maps of the Kenya Survey, seems to have vanished, without anybody I know ever seeing it. There is evidence that there is a mosque in the Magogoni area, on the mainland across from **Mangwana** (21), but as I don't know its location or anything else about it except its probable existence, it is not listed. Also omitted is a site mentioned by McKay (1975:239) on **Funzi Island** off the south coast, that supposedly used to be a mosque, carried away by the sea, leaving only the footscrapers.

It takes years of effort by a number of individuals before a comprehensive list such as this can be attempted, and I am indebted to past workers in this field who have contributed so much to the present list. Special mention must be made of James Kirkman, James Allen and Hno Sassoon, all of whom previously made surveys of the coast of Kenya.

The sites are listed in alphabetical order following the main list.

Appendix IV: List of Sites
on the Coast of Kenya

	* Site	<u>Hp Reference</u>				
		- 1° 00' S				
1.	Ishakani: A. tmb group	170A	GJ	617	11*7	
	B. tmb group	it	it	822	11+5	
	C. main site	n	it	819	137	
2.	Kungamuni	ti	tt	780	058	(-^location, approximate)
3.	Kunga	170	GJ	769	073	
		- 1° 05' S				
k-	Kwara Khamu	it	tl	733	040	-if
5.	Onwe A. main site	tl	it	696	003	
	B. tombs	tl	it	692	00u	
6.	Shee Umuro A. main site (Kyangwani)	170	GH	690	987	
	B. tombs	ti	tt	667	985	
7.	Uchi Juu	n	tl	689	981	
8.	Shee Jafari	it	tt	672	966	
9.	Ribu	ti	tt	653	931	+ (=recently abandoned)
10.	Smambaya	it	ti	669	930	
11.	Sendeni	it	ti	638	920	+
12.	Uwari	it	ti	613	889	
13.	Kvindeneni	it	ti	602	879	+
	Ashuwei	tt	tl	583	858	+
		- 2° 00' S				
15.	Nau	160E/1	GH	1+57	777	
16.	Dn do	it	tt	222	753	
17.	Paza	ti	ti	31+7	730	
18.	Chunwa	ti	tl	350	705	
19.	Atu	it	it	328	681	

St©

Mp Reference

20.	Siyu: A., old town B. fort	180E/1	GH	292	677	
		it	ii	289	681	
21.	Manganda	it	ti	194	668	
22.	Shanga	ii	ii	304	646	*
23.	Kitaka	it	ii	227	634	
21+.	Pate	180/2	GH	221	635	
25.	Bui	ii	ii	206	656	
26.	Macha	ii	ti	187	541	
27.	Abae Reman Twili	ti	ii	091	571	*
	2° 15'S-					
28.	Takwa	180/4	GH	178	462	
29.	Kitau	ii	ii	136	456	
30.	Iaau: A. Monai B. Hidabu C. fort D. pillar tmb E. domed tmb	n	it	110	500	
		n	ii	116	486	
		it	ti	114	493	
		it	ii	111	489	
		it	ii	113	496	
31.	Ianu Dinner's site	ti	ii	124	474	
32.	She la	ii	ti	126	465	
33.	Matondri	n	ii	044	495	
31+.	Kipungani	it	ii	020	449	
35.	Me a	180/4	HH	955	426	*
36.	Kimbo	it	u	969	367	
37.	Kiponozi	n	ii	969	345	
38.	Uziwa	180/3	HH	929	406	
39.	Mpekatori	ii	it	869	321	
40.	Al Fama	u	ii	920	284	
41.	Ukanga	ti	ti	755	272	or 755 289

	Site	Map Reference
1+2.	Kito	180/3 HH 889 261
1+3.	Witu	179 A HH 589 361
1+1+.	Kau	ii " 598 253
2° 30' S		
1+5.	Ugwara	1873/1 HH 716 203
46.	Shaka	" " 752 181+
1+7.	Mwara A tmb group	" " 801 181
	B. main site	" " 790 176
2° 45' S		
1+8.	Ngweni	187/3 IG 332 691+
3° 00' S		
49.	Kibirikani	193/1 IG 282 587
50.	Mambu	" " 288 555
51.	Malindi: A. Jemaari mosque	" " 212 47b
	B. pillar tombs	" " 21+6 1+1+7
	C. Portuguese chapel	" " 251 1+39
	D. Da Gara Cross	" " 250 039
	S. south mosque	" " 251 1+16
3° 15' S		
52.	Gedi	193/3 IG 129 31+5
53.	Yamu mosque (Prichard's)	" " 125 291+
54.	Kiburugeni	" " 121+ 290
55.	Mda Creek	192 A IG 076 259
56.	Mgani	" " 107 338
57.	Kilepia	" " 075 302
58.	Shaka	
59.	Uombo	" " 056 239

Sit©	Map Reference
•3°30'S	
60. Kilifi	198/2 EF 953 985
61. Mnarani	ti " 936 900
62. Kioni	11 " 956 975
63. Kitoka	" 960 938
•3°45'S-	
64. Kinuni	198/4 EF 921 792
65. Kijipwa	ti " 904 743
66. Jumba la Mtwana	" " 855 641
67. Mtwapa	" " 847 634
4°00'S	
68. Mombasa: A. Fort Jesus	201/1 EF 754 512
B. Fort St. Joseph	" " 750 501
C. Hermitage Redoubt	" " 756 503
D. Redoubt	" " 746 495
E. Mbaraki pillar	" " 737 501
F. Coast General Hospital site	11 " 748 528
G. Mosque ruins at the hospital	" " 747 528
H. Mosque (?) ruins and graves at Allidna Visrara Sch.	11 " 751 528
I. Mosque ruins at end of New Nyali Bridge	" 743 534
J. Mosque ruins at Balu's Garage	11 " 753 514
K. Mazrui cemetery and mosque ruins	" " 752 514
L. Site of old Kilindini mosque	" 730 509
M. Cemetery on Abdel Nasser Road	" 11 748 526

121+

	Site	<u>Mp Reference</u>
68.	Mombasa. N. Sharifian cemetery (cont.)	201/1 EP 737 503
69.	Twi	" " 678 355
70.	Twiga	" " 657 316
71.	Kiima	" " 653 311+
72.	Kongo	201/3 EP 663 291+
73.	Diani	" " 651 256
74.	Ukunda	" " 631 259
75.	Galu	" M 61b 181
76.	palace of Mbrak bin Rashid al Mazrui, Gazi	" " 561 112
77.	Mosque near Gazi	" " 561 099
78.	Tinte	200A EP 551 061
79.	Minge mosque by the sea	202/2 EE 515 005
80.	Kunge mosque in the shambas	" " 510 018 K
81.	Shirazi: A. south mosque	" " 1+51+ 975
	3 north mosque	" " kSh 978
82.	Pogye	" " 375 962
83.	Huumuzi (Homuz)	" " 365 953 &
84.	Aleni	" « 319 91+9
85.	Shimoni (Maragoni, Kichangani)	" " 1118 866 *
86.	Wasini: A. town	" " U5 851+
	B. Chaboda cemetery	n M i 20 81+7 *
87.	Vanga	202/1 pp 242 853
88.	Maggi	n " 219 81+9
89.	Vimba Kuu	11 " 21k 81+1+

i|°15'S

The archaeological sites of the Kenya coast are listed below, with the numbers that are their position of entry in the main list.

Abaer	27	Kioni	62
Almani Twili		Kiponozi	37
Aleni	84	Kipungani	34
Alpana u	40	Kiima	71
Ashwei	14	Kitaka	23
Atu	19	Kitau	29
Bui	25	Kito	42
Chudwa	18	Kitoka	63
Diani	73	Kunga	3
Dondob	16	Kungamuni	2
Faza	17	Kongo	72
Gali	75	Iamu	30
Gazi, Mazui Palace	76	Iamu Ginney site	31
Gazi, south mosque	77	Maggu	88
Gedi	52	Malindi	51
Huumuzi (Homuz)	83	Manbu	50
Ishakani	1	Minda	26
Jimba la Mwana	66	Matondri	33
Kau	44	Mea	35
Kibifrikani	49	Mgani	56
Kiburugeni	54	Mda Creek	55
Kijipwa	65	Mnani	61
Kilepwa	57	Mombasa	68
Kilifi	60	Mpekoni	39
Kimbo	36	Mngawanda	21
Kinuni	64		

121+

tftwapa	67	Ukanga	
Munge mosque by the sea	79	Ukunda	1b
vunpe mosque'in the shambas	80	Ungwana	1+5
j/vindeni	13	Uwani	12
ftwana	07	Uyombo	59
Hwana Mchama	k	Uziwa	38
Ndau	115	Vanga	87
Kgomeni	1+8	Vumba Kuu	89
Omwe	5	Wasini	86
Fate	21+	Watamu mosque	53
Pongwe	82	Witu	1+3
Rubu	9		
Sendeni	11		
Shaka, near Kipini	1+6		
Shaka, on Kiaa Creek	58		
Shaga	22		
Shee Jafari	8		
Shee Umuo	6		
She la	32		
Shimoni	85		
Shirazi	81		
Siambaya	10		
Siyu	20		
Takwa	28		
Twi	69		
Tute	78		
Twiga	70		
Uchi Juu	7		

Appendix V; Gazetted Ruins and Monuments

The ruins and monuments of Kenya are protected under Chapter 215 of the Laws of Kenya, "The Preservation of objects of Archaeological and Palaeontological Interest Ordinance." Here follows a list of those ruins and monuments listed as protected under the Subsidiary Legislation chapter 215 as revised in 1962, considering the coastal sites only. The numbers are those of the sites of the main list in Appendix IV of this report.

1. Ishakani: the two mosques and the pillar tomb of the main group, and the two outlying tomb groups.
3. Kiunga tomb C only.
5. The main site and tombs of Mwwe
12. The pillar tomb at Ras Uwani
17. The mosque of Shala patani at Mazo
20. The fort, domed tombs, ruined **Jamia**, town wall and bastions of Siyu.
21. Pate
26. **Minda**
28. Takwa
30. The pillar tomb at Laiau
36. Uziwa
Ungwana
46. Shaka
Y
- kl.
- Both the main site and the tomb **U-c>up** at Kwana
50. The pillar tomb at Mambrui
- 51; All the Malindi monuments listed
- 5k. The mosque and tombs at Kiburugeni
55. Probably the Mida Creek mosque, although possibly **-the**

Jwalamu mosque, number 53 ^{is meant}

Kgangani

57. Kilepwa

61 Mnarani

63' The large mosque at Kitoka
jumba la Mtwana

67. Mtwapa .

A8. In Mombasa Port St. Joseph[^] two of the ^{the}
Mbaraki pillar, and the rui^{ns} of the Cat^{^1} >1 a^{*} n of
Kossa Senhora (which I have not listed); " & A detected.
(Twi)

72. The Kongo Mosque (Ruins at

73. Diani Mosque (Ruins at Di^{3*1^}

78. Tumbe

80. Munge mosque in the sharaba³

81. Ruins at Shirazi

Whereas it is admirable th^o the Govern^{^11 6} -e^{nya}
has seen fit to protect so many^o the fine[^] mo^{x1} find
I sites of the coast, recent surve^y have shown^{tra} ^ t^l e^{*} uins
are more numerous than were knoⁿ earlier. It^{*} rjejjt[^] Pinion
that, without doubt, the follows^s sites and ^ ^ K[^] %uld
receive protection under Chapter 215 of the

1. The remaining tombs at IshaK⁰ⁿ¹

3. The remaining tombs at Kiun6^a

b. The site of Mwana Mchama

6. The tombs of Shee Umuro

7. The site of Uchi Juu

8. The site of Shee Jafari

11. The mosque at Sendeni

16. The site of Dondo

Wamu mosque, number 53, is meant

56. Kgangani

57. Kilepwa^

K# ftnarani

The large mosque at Kitoka
jmba la Mtwana

67. Mtwapa

68. In Mombasa Port St. Joseph, two of the redoubts, the Kharaki pillar, and the ruins of the Cathedral of Nossa Senhora (which I have not listed), are protected.

72. The Kongo Mosque (Ruins at Tiwi)

73. Diani Mosque (Ruins at Diani)

78. Tinde

80. Mungu mosque in the shambas

81. Ruins at Shirazi

Whereas it is admirable that the Government of Kenya has seen fit to protect so many of the fine monuments and sites of the coast, recent surveys have shown that the ruins are more numerous than were known earlier. It is my opinion that, without doubt, the following sites and monuments should receive protection under Chapter 215 of the Laws of Kenya.

The remaining tombs at Ishakani

3. The remaining tombs at Kiunga

b* The site of Mvua Mvua

The tombs of Shee Umuo

7. The site of Uhi Juu

The site of Shee Jafari

^• The mosque at Sendeni

The site of Dumb

- the mosque on the road to paza and the pillar 0
 five mosque and tombs at Atu
 Shanga site
 30. Lamu fort and Lamu domed tomb
 32. The ruined mosque at Shela
 The Witu tomb of Ahmed Smba
 The small ruined mosque at Mombasa
 R 3. The Witu mosque, if it is the Mida creek mosque
 protected by law
 i63. The site of Kitoka, not just its large mosque
 64. the site of Kinuni
 65. Kipepe mosque
 68. In Mombasa, the mosque ruins and graves at All" Qj^g
 School, and the Kazrui cemetery and mosque ruin^ •
 79. Munge mosque by the sea pf¹
 66. The western mosque, the small mosque, the house
 wa Mwanyi Mkuu, the tomb of Sayyia Idar^3 and t/ie
 Chambocha cemetery at Wasini

Consideration should also be given to protecting
 following monuments and sites by law.

- | | | | |
|-----|----------------------------------|-----|-------------------------|
| m*0 | Shela: the Friday mosque | 76. | Gazi'* rne x vazrui J' |
| 33. | Katondoni: the mosques and tombs | 83. | Hurui ^{nuzi} : |
| 37. | Kiponozi: the mosque | 84. | The mosque at Aleni |
| | The site of Al Fana | 89. | The site of Vumba & |
| | The wall and gates of Galu | | |

I agree with Burrows (1975:Annex II) that surviving minarets
 ^ Perhaps whole mosques that are still in use should
 Ce rtain cases be considered for gazetting under Chapter 215.

litis mosque on the road to Faza and the pillar at Churawa

I the mosque and tombs at Atu

19-

\ z z t Shanga site

^0.

mm. fort and Iamu domed tomb

y*

The ruined mosque at Shela

The Wlu tomb of Ahmed Simba

JO The small ruined mosque at Kambui

lr 53 The Wamu mosque, if it is the Kida Greek mosque already protected by law

|63. site of Kitoka, not just its large mosque

6r*

site Kinuni

65

Kijepwa mosque

08.

In Mombasa, the mosque ruins and graves at Allidna Visram School, and the Kazrui cemetery and mosque ruins.

79. Kunge mosque by the sea

66. The western mosque, the small mosque, the house of Kwenji wa Mwini Mkuu, the tomb of Sayyia Idarus and the Charbaha cemetery at Wasini

Consideration should also be given to protecting the following monuments and sites by law.

3r. Shela: the Friday mosque

76. Gazi: the Kazrui palace

33. Katondoni: the mosques and tombs

83. Hurumuzi the mosque

8r*. The mosque at Aleni

37. Kiponozi: the mosque

89. The site of Vmba Kuu

no. The site of Al Fama

^ wall and gates of Galu

I agree with Burrows (1975:Annex II) that surviving minarets and

Perhaps whole mosques that are still in use should in certain cases be considered for gazetting under Chapter 215.

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