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Changes in the cultural landscape and their impacts on heritage management : a study of Dutch Fort at Galle, Sri Lanka

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1. History, Overview and the World Heritage Project

The chapter focuses on the historical background of Galle Fort, its current condition, the fort's World Heritage recognition in 1988 and the progress of its World Heritage activities over the past 30 years. While the first part of the chapter discusses developments in the colonial landscape of Galle Fort and the associated community, the latter critically discusses the bureaucratic will behind its World Heritage recognition.

1.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF GALLE FORT

1.1.1 PRECOLONIAL GALLE

Although the fort at Galle—despite the local labour and building materials responsible for its construction—is a colonial product, literary and archaeological evidence indicate that Galle was an important port city even before the colonial encounters. The city's economic prosperity, beauty and fame are mentioned in Sinhala *Sandēśa* poems¹⁴ of the 14th to 15th centuries CE, particularly in the *Parevi Sandēśaya* (“The Pigeon’s Message”) and the *Mayura Sandēśaya* (“The Peacock’s Message”).¹⁵ Galle, one of the natural ports

of the south and a minor port during the historic period, gained prominence with the rise of the kingdoms in the southwestern regions of the island after the 12th century CE (Siriweera 2003).¹⁶ In general, the island’s strategic location within the east-west international shipping passageway has made it important to Indian Ocean transit trade from the earliest times (Prickett-Fernando 2003; Siriweera 2003). The earliest recorded visitor to the city is Ibn Battuta, the famous Arab navigator, who reached Galle in 1344 (Kuruppu and Wijesuriya 1992). Tennent has identified Galle as the port into which Chinese vessels sailed; it was known as “Lolle” (Emerson Tennent 1860). This is further confirmed by the Galle Trilingual Slab Inscription (in Chinese, Tamil and Persian), dated 1409 and erected by General Zheng He, who was sent on a naval expedition to the Coromandel by the Chinese emperor Yongle (Willetts 1964).¹⁷ Thus, Galle was an important harbour for Indian Ocean commerce prior to the arrival of the Portuguese on the island in 1505.

“valuables,” and thus the poem implies that all valuable goods are abundant in the markets of Galle, which demonstrates the prosperity of the city. In the *Mayura Sandēśaya* (“The Peacock’s Message,” c. 1390), the peacock messenger is requested “not to hesitate to see the beauty of Galle, which is greater than all cities of the world”: *Nāllē kotanakath lova mulullē; Gāllē siri daku nova pākillē* (Kaviswara 1910 [c.1390] 84).

¹⁶ The kingdoms shifted to the south after the fall of Polonnaruwa Kingdom, the second kingdom of the country, after the invasion of Kalinga Magha (1214 CE).

¹⁷ The Chinese text of the inscription records donations bestowed on the shrine of the Buddhist temple in the mountains of Ceylon, while the Persian version records donations to a Muslim shrine and the Tamil text indicates donations to a Hindu temple (Gunawardana 2003). Wereke (2003), who discusses the political dimensions of Zheng He’s arrival based on Chinese sources, states that Zheng He stopped in Sri Lanka and received a hostile reception from the regional ruler Alagakkonara, whom he then captured and brought to the Chinese court. Alagakkonara was pardoned by the emperor, but local sources are silent on this event. Although Chinese sources identify Alagakkonara as the king of Sri Lanka, this must have occurred during the period of King Buwanekbahu V (1372–1410), who was usurped by Alagakkonara and reduced to a *de jure* status (Werake 2003).

¹⁴ This genre of Sinhala poems, composed between the 14th and 16th centuries CE, revolves around the sending of a message by a messenger, especially a bird; the works were influenced by the classical Sanskrit poem, the *Meghadūta* (“The Cloud Messenger”) of Kālidāsa.

¹⁵ The reference in the *Parevi Sandēśaya* (“The Pigeon’s Message”), written by the erudite monk Totagamuwe Sri Rahula in the 15th century CE, reads as follows:
“*Sarā soñdin maha sayuratha mulullē*
Perā rāgena ran mini mutu siyallē
Sarā tubū men salpil udullē
Purā mēsiri dāka yāgan Gāllē” (Rahula 1925 [15th century CE], 64)

(The markets are shining [almost] like all the gold, gems and pearls obtained by exploring the entire ocean. See the full beauty [prosperity] of Galle and fly ahead.) The idea of *ran-mini-mutu* or “gold, gems and pearls” in classical Sinhala literature implies

1.1.2 THE PORTUGUESE OCCUPATION

Foundation of the Fort

Although it is generally accepted that the colonial history of Ceylon begins with the unintentional arrival of the Portuguese in the bay of Galle in 1505, literary evidence strongly suggests that the port of Colombo, not Galle, was the first place of landing. According to the account of Fernão de Queirós,¹⁸ which was later followed by Dutch chronicler Valentijn,¹⁹ Don Laurens D’Almeida,²⁰ the son of Francisco D’Almeida and Viceroy of Goa, was blown off course by a storm on his way to the Maldive Islands, and accidentally entered the bay of Galle (Queyroz 1930 [1680s]; Valentijn 1726 [1978]).²¹ The earliest Portuguese accounts of Ceylon, as identified and elaborated by Silva, are a letter written by King Manuel to Pope Julius II in 1507, along with the later accounts of Portuguese chroniclers João de Barros (1552), Gaspar Correia (1550s), Fernão de Queirós (1680s) and three local versions of the story: *Sītāwaka Hatana* (The War of Sitawaka; c. 1585), *Rājāvaliya* (Genealogy of Kings; mid-16th century) and *Mahā Hatana* (The Great War; late 17th century) (Silva 2009). Of the seven accounts, only Queirós mentions that the Portuguese landed at the port of Galle, while the local versions identify the place as the port of Colombo, as also claimed by João de Barros. According to archival and literary sources, Galle Fort was built much later than the first encounters with the Portuguese and the erection of Colombo Fort. However, there is a debate over the exact period in which the fort was founded by the Portuguese.

According to the accounts of Antonio Bocarro,²² the fort was constructed on the orders of Mathias

de Albuquerque, Viceroy of Goa (1591–1597), in 1589 (Bocarro 1635 [1996], 38). Abeyesinghe, who refers to Queroz, Couto, Ribeiro and other sources, states that Mathias de Albuquerque reported the completion of 12 forts (*fortes* or *fortalezas*) by 1597, and Galle was among them (Abeyesinghe 1966, 28).²³ Based on Portuguese sources, Pieris states, “the erection of the fort at Galle is referred to in the letter of the City of Goa to the King, dated 1595” (Pieris 1913, 552).²⁴ In a letter addressed to the king of Spain and Portugal by Captain Antonio Martins, who for many years had been a prisoner of [King] Wimala Dharma (1591–1604),²⁵ the fort is described as small, made of palm trees and earth, and could easily be destroyed by the sea (Pieris 1913);²⁶ Pieris notes, “The date of the letter is uncertain, but it must have been written between 1605–1612” (Pieris 1913, 552). The construction of the fort was carried out by Smarakon Rāla, a local leader placed in charge of the districts of Galle and Matara by the Portuguese (Pieris 1913). The erection of the fort has been cited as a work that the king of Spain had been urging for the previous eight years (Pieris 1913).²⁷ However, (1913), Samarakon

23 Franciscus, who quotes F. H. Vos’s “Old Galle,” also mentions the fort was built in 1589 on the orders of Viceroy Mathias de Albuquerque (1983, 32).

24 *Documentos Remettidos da India ou Livros das Monções*, 4 Thomes, published by the Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa, Lisboa, 1880–1892. III, p. 105, quoted by Pieris (1913, 552).

25 King Wimaladharmasūriya I (1591–1604) was originally known as Konappu Bandara. He fled to the Portuguese when King Rājasingha I killed his father, who had been left in charge of Udarata (Kingdom of Kandy) after its conquest by Rājasingha I. Konappu Bandara was baptized by the Portuguese as Don João da Austria and he gained reputation at Goa for his skill in the use of arms. Don João was sent to Kandy as commander-in-chief to install D. Philip Yamasinha Bandara, the nephew of the late king of Kandy, on the throne. The new king, however, died soon after, and Don João, who had accompanied the Portuguese force from Goa, seized power, drove out the Portuguese force and ascended the throne under the name of Wimaladharmasūriya (Abeyesinghe 1966, 13). He denounced Christianity and converted to Buddhism. As king, he also received the first Dutch envoy, Joris van Spilbergen. Baldaeus describes the king as a bold and experienced warrior, a discerning statesman who respected the treaties and contracts entered into with foreign kings and princes, except for the Portuguese, who were jealous of his power in Ceylon (Baldaeus 1672 [1960]).

26 Later authors also confirm that the initial “fortalice” was made of palm trees and mud (Paranavitana and De Silva 2002; De Silva and Beumer 1988).

27 *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, 6 fascic, ed. by J.H. Da Cunha Rivara, Nova Goa, 1857–1877, pp. 108, 217, quoted by Pieris (1913, 287).

18 *The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon* (c. 1680).

19 François Valentijn’s (1666–1727) *Description of Ceylon* was originally published in 1726. He was a Dutch minister attached to the Dutch Reformed Church in the east.

20 Also known as Dom Lourenço D’Almeida.

21 While Queyroz (1930, 177) states that D’Almeida reached the port of Gale, Valentijn mentions that they anchored in the bay of Gabalican (1978 [(1726)], 258). Galle was known to the early Portuguese writers as Gabiliquama (as noted by the translator of Valentijn (1978 [(1726)], 258).

22 Bocarro (1594–1643), appointed chronicler of Portuguese India and keeper of the state archives, was the author of the *Livro das plantas de todas as fortalezas, cidades e povoações do Estado da India Oriental*, which contained description of the lands, fortifications, revenues and expenditures of the Portuguese Empire in the East.

was called to assist in Denawaka before the task was completed (Pieris 1913).

The fort built by Samarakon Rāla was “pulled” during the time of Portuguese Captain General Constantine de Sa,²⁸ and the “present site was selected in spite of the advice of many experienced officers” (Pieris 1914, 287). *Constantine de Sa’s Maps and Plans of Ceylon* (1929) strongly supports the idea that a standard fortification was built during his first term in office (1618–1620).

“This fort, the bulwarks and the breastwork which are all entirely built of stone and mortar, have I had built for Your Majesty, at the time that I was general of the island for the first time...” (Reimers 1929, 60).

However, some authors mention that the fort was founded after the siege of Colombo Fort (1587–1588) by King Rājasingha I of Sitawaka (1581–1593),²⁹ with the aim of total expulsion of the Portuguese from the island (Franciscus 1983; De Silva and Beumer 1988; Diessen 2008).³⁰ As Franciscus states, “the fort was actually a ‘retreat’ and not a ‘fort’ in the accepted sense of the word” (Franciscus 1983, 32). It can be assumed that this idea applies to the earlier fort constructed by Samarakon Rāla.

Overall, it seems plausible to suggest that the Portuguese founded standard fortifications in the first quarter of the 17th century.

The Architecture

Diessen provides two maps of the fort taken from the Portuguese map book *Beschrijving en Caarten van den Eijlande Cijlon* from circa 1628, which appears to contain the oldest available maps (Diessen 2008, 170-1).³¹ According to Reimers, who published a collection of maps, including these, under the name *Constantine de Sa’s Maps and Plans of Ceylon*, the work was commissioned by Constantine de Sa (Reimers 1929).³² The materials used in building the fort, its size, structure and security measures are recorded in Reimers’s work, although the plan lacks some details:

“... All the work of the fort is of earth. Its town is 3,000 fathoms³³ in circuit, its bay and coast 2,830, and the neck of the land 160 fathoms, as the plan shown. There lie there 3 bulwarks, each so great that 8 pieces of cannon of the heaviest calibre can play from it; it has also on the seaside on the barren coast a breastwork from which also 8 great pieces can play and prevent the enemy from landing any men there” (Reimers 1929, 60).

Although the work places the construction of the fort between 1618 and 1620, Constantine de Sa’s first period, considering the evidence from the earlier, more rudimentary phase of the fort’s construction, this can be identified as the erection of standard fortifications which chiefly had a military function.³⁴ This is further confirmed by the construction of a “large warehouse which could store sufficient food and ammunition for a long siege” (Reimers 1929, 60). Antonio Bocarro’s accounts are also evidence of this more developed phase, which included a warehouse with “sufficient ammunition” (Bocarro 1635 [1996], 38).

28 Constantine de Sa e Noronda, Captain-General of Ceylon from 1618–1620 and 1623–1630 (Reimers 1929).

29 The siege of Colombo, the Portuguese stronghold under the command of Rājasingha I, who is known for his extreme bravery, is viewed as one of the country’s most patriotic wars against the Portuguese Empire. Rājasingha came close to victory and was only thwarted by his inability to prevent Portuguese reinforcements from coming in from India (Silva 2017, 159). However, the Dutch replaced the trading post of Colombo and expanded their territories, which gave rise to the local saying *iṅguru deela miris gattā wagē* (“receiving chilies in exchange for ginger”). The name Rājasingha, literally meaning “Royal Lion” (or the Lion King), was given to him after defeating Vidiya Bandāra at Palanda at the age of 16, when he was the nominal head of the army of his father (king) Māyādunnē (Silva 2017).

30 According to De Silva and Beumer (1988), although the Portuguese had established a small trading post in Galle, it was not until 1588, when Rājasingha I laid siege to Colombo, that the Portuguese withdrew to Galle and built this “fortalice.” Diessen (2008) also mentions that the construction of the fort began in 1590, after the siege of Colombo, but only when the Portuguese regained power over the kingdom of Kotte.

31 These plans have been published by several other authors, including De Silva and Beumer (1988), Paranavitana and Silva (2002) and Parthesius and Anderson (2007).

32 According to Reimers, this collection of plans of Portuguese fortifications on Ceylon was prepared on the order of Don Diego de Castro, the viceroy of Portugal (Reimers 1929, 51). De Silva and Beumer (1988, 153) mention that the plans were commissioned by Constantine de Sa. This collection of maps was also published by P. E. Pieris (1926) under the name *Portuguese Maps and Plans of Ceylon*, 1650; however, the latter work contains only maps without any information.

33 One fathom equals 1.8 metres.

34 This contradicts the hypothesis of Diessen (2008), who dates this collection to circa 1628, the second period of Constantine de Sa.

A fort (*fortalesa*) of rectangular shape is shown in the Portuguese map book *Beschrijving en Caarten van den Eijlande Cijlon* (c. 1628, Fig. 1); this was built on the small, projecting arm of land on the eastern side of the peninsula, which is marked “*sitio da fortalesa*” in Fig. 2. Defensive walls with three bastions built across the neck of the peninsula, various streets and Flag Rock to the southwest can also be identified in Fig. 2. The bulwarks (bastions) were named after the saints of the Portuguese: San Lago facing east, Conceycao in the middle and Santo Antonio facing west (Pieris 1914, 287; Kuruppu and Wijesuriya 1992, 31). According to Paranavitana and De Silva, the major objective of the construction of the rampart with three bastions was to guard the harbour (Paranavitana and De Silva 2002, 109). Nelson’s *The Dutch Forts of Sri Lanka*, a detailed study with plans of the Dutch forts in the country, provide a brief description of the location and nature of these Portuguese structures: “It was upon that small projecting arm that the Sinhalese settlement was placed and it was there that the Portuguese built their first fortification. ... So when the Portuguese came to defend the town that had grown up on the peninsula they built a wall across the neck and strengthened it with three rounded, flat-sided bastions, one at each end and one near the centre” (Nelson 1984, 48).

The first statement corresponds to the earlier fort built by Samarakon Rāla and discussed above. The only remaining edifice of these Portuguese constructions is the “*fortalesa*” marked in Fig. 1, which is currently known as *Kalu Kotuwa* (“Black Fort”) in Sinhala (Fig. 3). It was developed by the Dutch, who renamed it *Zwarte Bolwerk*³⁵ (“Black Bastion”). The Portuguese defensive wall with three bulwarks underwent several modifications during the Dutch occupation.

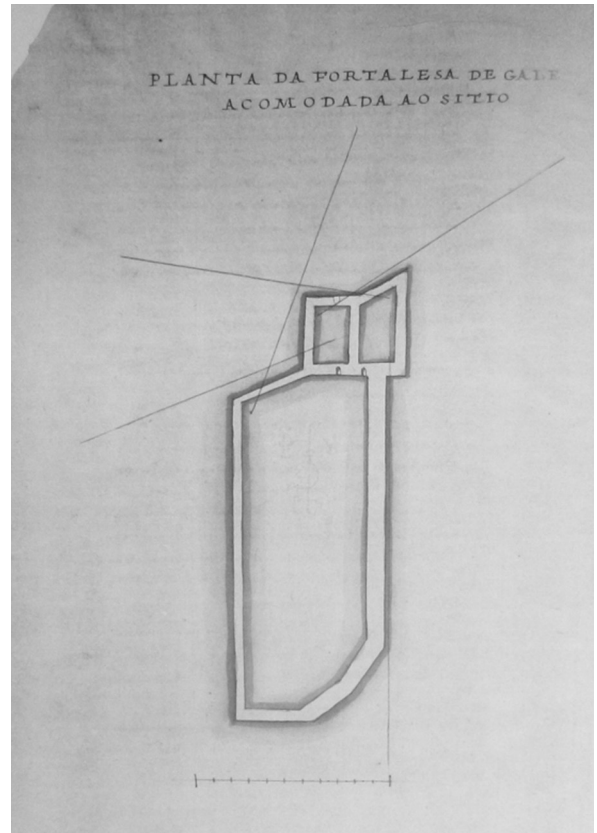


Fig. 1 Ground plan of the “*fortalesa*” from the Portuguese map book *Beschrijving en Caarten van den Eijlande Cijlon*, c. 1628 (Diessen 2008, 170).

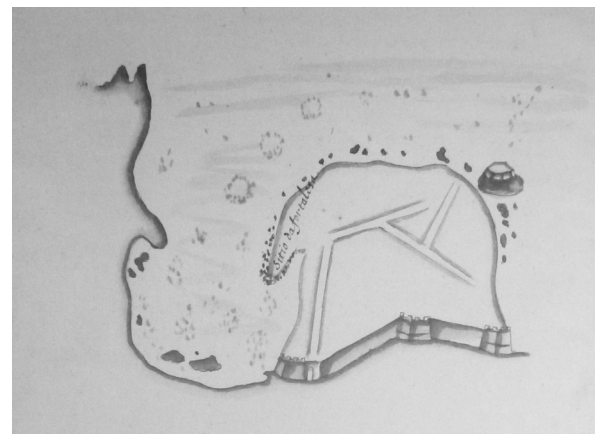


Fig. 2 The fort’s location in the peninsula, secured by the defensive wall, from the same map book (Diessen 2008, 170).³⁶

35 “*Zwarte Bolwerk*,” according to Diessen (2008, 181).

36 These plans were also published by Reimers (1929, 35-5), De Silva and Beumer (1988, 153) and Paranavitana and De Silva (2002, 109-10).



Fig. 3 The Black Fort, 2016.

The map of Galle by Pedro Barreto de Resende, the cartographer of Antonio Bocarro's work (1635),³⁷ is one of the earliest Portuguese maps of Galle Fort (Wagenaar 1994, 67; Parthesius and Anderson 2007, 91). His map depicts three major landward bulwarks with the *fortaleza* and the city, which is completely filled with buildings, including three churches named St. Domingo, St. Pedro and St. Francisco (Parthesius and Anderson 2007). The Portuguese map book *Plantas das fortalezas, pagodes & ca. da ilha de Ceilão*, from circa 1650, also includes two plans (Figs. 4–5) similar to those in the above-mentioned work, *Beschrijving en Caarten van den Eijlande Cijlon*.³⁸ Although this work was produced roughly two decades after the first work, there is not much difference between the plans, except for the buildings on the streets and the entrance in the defensive wall, as shown in Fig. 5. However, it can be discerned that the Portuguese maps of the fortress are limited when compared to the sources from the time of the Dutch occupation.

Portuguese Colonial Policies and the Fort Community

Galle has been identified as one of the three principal Portuguese fortresses on the island, together with Colombo and Jaffna (Codrington and Hocart 1939, 128). While the fort provided security for that part of the island, it also served as an administrative centre. According to Antonio Bocarro, the fort additionally had under its jurisdiction 272 villages, which were owned by Portuguese (Bocarro 1635 [1996], 39). The function of the forts changed with the Portuguese colonial policies, and Galle too underwent these changes. Initially, the fort was seen primarily as a military instrument (Abeyasinghe 1966, 59). The plan the Portuguese adopted in order to pacify the country and to check the defensive inroads of the king of Kandy was the construction of a large number of forts (Abeyasinghe 1966, 27).³⁹ Based on Portuguese sources, Abeyasinghe states that this earlier policy of fortified towns continued with an important difference after 1605 (1966, 59).

³⁷ *Livro das plantas de todas as fortalezas, cidades e povoações do Estado da India Oriental.*

³⁸ The date "1650" is noted in pencil on the title page of this work, which is currently at the Library of Congress.

³⁹ Some of these forts were merely wooden stockades, while more permanent ones were built of brick or stone (Abeyasinghe 1966, 27). Based on Portuguese sources, Abeyasinghe states that the Portuguese had planned to conquer the island with a modest budget (1966, 59).

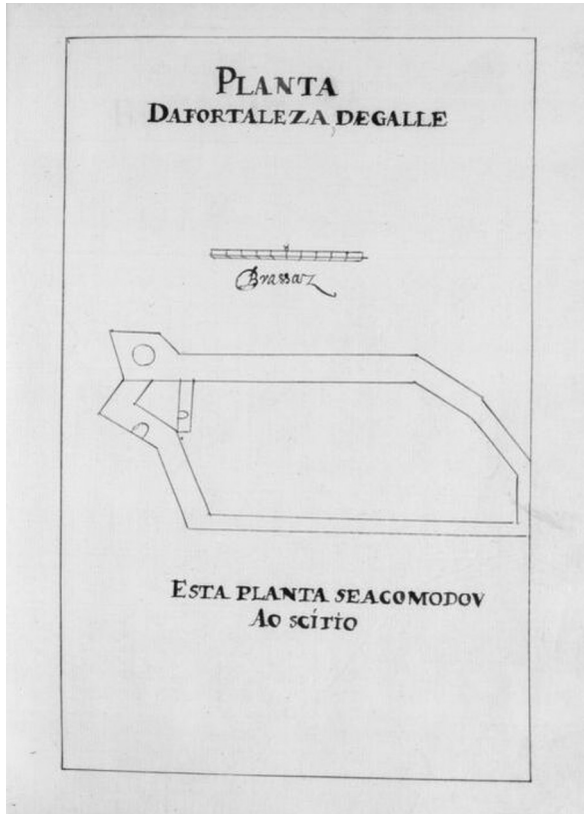


Fig. 4 Ground plan of the *fortaleza* of Galle from the Portuguese map book *Plantas das fortalezas, pagodes & ca. da ilha de Ceilão*, published c. 1650 (Library of Congress).⁴⁰

The fortified town was to be the key to the whole conquest [of the island] and the central institution for its achievement (Abeyasinghe 1966, 60).⁴¹ Natives, particularly chiefs, were encouraged to live inside the forts with their families, and the objective behind this new policy, which effected a radical change in patterns of village life in Ceylon, was to ensure the loyalty of the native population (Abeyasinghe 1966, 59).⁴² The settlement of the Portuguese on the island was facilitated by allocating lands to the colonists

40 Available at: <https://www.loc.gov/resource/g7754am.gct00189/?sp=26>, under the Digital ID <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g7754am.gct00189> (accessed 1 October 2018).

41 *Documentos Remettidos da Índia ou Livros das Monções I*, ed. R.A. Bulhao de Pato, pp. 58-59, as noted by Abeyasinghe (1966, 60).

42 *Ibid.* "With their families within a fortified town and under constant surveillance, the Sinhalese menfolk were unlikely to revolt" (Abeyasinghe 1966, 59).

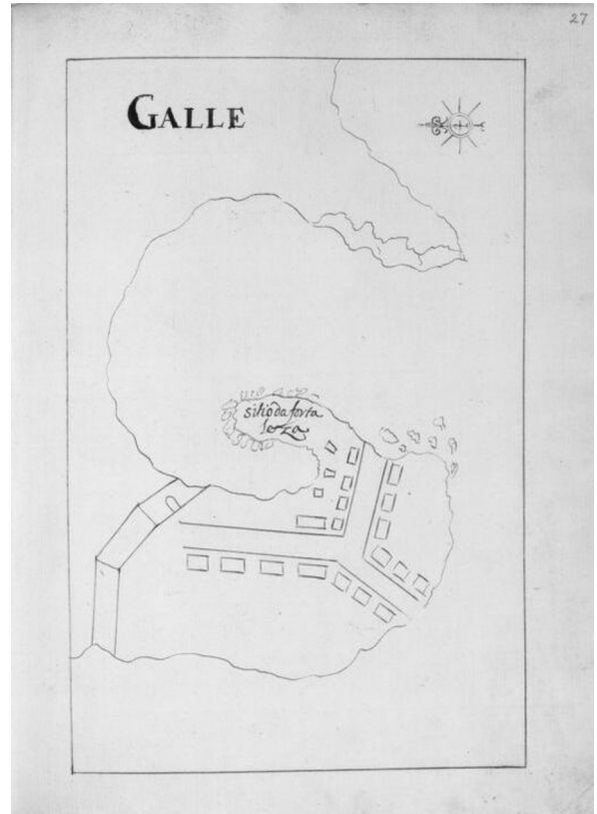


Fig. 5 The fort's location on the peninsula, from the same map book (Library of Congress).⁴³

(Abeyasinghe 1966, 59). The colonist population was further strengthened by Indian Christians, and having natives live among the land-owning Portuguese or Indian Christian community established within the fortified town was part of the grand vision (Abeyasinghe 1966, 59-60).

There is evidence that the Portuguese population at Galle remained low during the inception of this policy. A contemporary *tombo*⁴⁴ reveals that the towns of Galle, Kalutara and Pandura did not even have 50 Portuguese settlers in total (Abeyasinghe 1966, 62). Antonio Bocarro states there were two hundred inhabitants in Galle Fort, 70 "whites" and 130 "blacks" (1635 [1996], 39). An increase in the Portuguese population of the fort was observed by

43 Available at: <https://www.loc.gov/resource/g7754am.gct00189/?sp=29>, under the Digital ID <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g7754am.gct00189> (accessed 1 October 2018).

44 Also *thombo*, the term mainly refers to land deeds or "land *thombo*," while "head *thombo*" contain population statistics.

Ribeiro, who served in Ceylon from 1640 to 1658.⁴⁵ According to him, 262 Portuguese families lived in the fort (Ribeiro 1685 [(1999) 35]). In 1726, Valentijn stated that the church of the fort offered Dutch services in the morning and “Cingalese” in the afternoon, implying that the Sinhalese also resided in the fort during the Dutch occupation (Valentijn 1726 [1978]). This was further confirmed by Heydt⁴⁶ in 1744, who notes that the fort had a mixed population, including natives (Heydt 1744 [1952]). Therefore, it can be assumed that although the Portuguese colonial policy did not bring about instant results, it had a long-lasting effect on determining the fort’s multiethnic community and turning the fort into a living space.

1.1.3 THE DUTCH OCCUPATION

Dutch Colonial Policy and the Conquest of Galle Fort

Dutch colonial policy on the erection of forts in the colonies was different from that of the Portuguese, which was elaborated earlier. In 1602, the Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC, Dutch East India Company) was formed by amalgamating a number of competing Dutch trading companies with the aim of gaining a trade monopoly on East Asian spices, whose trade had been under the control of the Portuguese (Jayasena and Floore 2010). As the Netherlands was at war with both Spain and Portugal, the newly founded VOC was granted the mandate to conquer land, build forts and maintain an army in order to protect trade from these hostile countries (Jayasena and Floore 2010). This policy was the major reason behind the remarkable development of the Galle Fort under the Dutch occupation.

Unlike the Portuguese period, the Dutch period of Galle Fort was documented extensively by contemporary (Dutch) chroniclers and VOC records. Joris van Spilbergen was the first Dutchman to write about Galle. He was the leader of the expedition sent by the House of Moucheron

in Zeeland on 5 May 1601, upon receiving the news that there were profitable opportunities for trade in Ceylon (Paranavitana and De Silva 2002, 29).⁴⁷ Spilbergen’s map of the island of Ceylon includes Point de Galle with their three ships and the caption “Here is where we first sighted land: we sailed forward to Matecalo” (De Silva and Beumer 1988, 22-3).⁴⁸

In May 1602, Spilbergen met Wimaladharmasūriya I (1590–1604),⁴⁹ the king of Kandy,⁵⁰ who was treated with the greatest courtesy, in light of the Dutch need to drive away the Portuguese (Abeyasinghe 1966, 44) (Fig. 6).⁵¹ In November of the same year, another Dutch fleet came to Batticaloa under Vice Admiral Seebald de Weert, who also met the king, causing the Portuguese to fear a possible attack on Galle by the Dutch (Abeyasinghe 1966, 44). The possibility of attacking Galle Fort was discussed with De Weert, and the king requested that the Dutch sail to Galle immediately (Pieris 1913, 394). The plan was foiled by the murder of De Weert by the Kandyan courtiers due to his insult of the queen (Baldaeus 1672 [1960]; Pieris 1913; De Silva and Beumer 1988).⁵²

47 Spilbergen was issued the VOC charter nearly a year after he set sail (Paranavitana and De Silva 2002, 29; De Silva and Beumer 1988, 468).

48 Matecalo can be identified as Baticaloa, on the eastern coast of Sri Lanka.

49 See footnote 25.

50 Kingdom of Kandy or Udarata, the monarchy situated in the mountainous areas in the central part of the country, was absorbed into the British empire in 1815 by the Kandyan Convention (*Udarata Givisuma*) between the British and the chiefs of the Kandyan Kingdom that deposed King Sri Vikrama Rājasīngha. According to Abeyasinghe (1966, 12), “the full name of this kingdom was Kanda uda rata i.e. the country on the hills. The Portuguese shortened it to Candea, using that name for both the kingdom and the capital, Senkadalala Nuwara.” According to the British sailor Robert Knox, who spent 20 years of captivity in the Kandyan country, the city was known by the locals as “Mauneur, signifying the Chief or Royal City” (Knox 1681 [1989], 22). The city is currently known as “Mahanuwara” in Sinhala. Knox further states that the term Candy, as it was generally called by the Christians, probably derives from Conde (Kanda), which signifies “hills” in the Sinhala language, as it is situated among hills (Knox 1681 [1989], 22).

51 “He [the king] offered them a fort in his territory, declaring in the hyperbolic language characteristic of diplomatic dealings of the time, ‘I, my queen, prince and princess will carry on our shoulders the stones, lime and other things’” D. Ferguson, *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society XXX*, p.384 as noted by Abeyasinghe (1966, 44).

52 The king who was to meet Vice Admiral De Weert before laid siege to Galle was warned by his ambassador to be on

45 However, Captain João Rebeiro’s work was originally published in 1685, long after his 18-year stay as a Portuguese soldier in Ceylon.

46 Johan Wolfgang Heydt was a surveyor attached to the VOC. He was in Galle during his stay in Ceylon from 1734 to 1737 (Wagenaar 2014).



guard. Thus, the king refused De Weert's invitation to board and inspect the Dutch ships. De Weert then invited the king to visit the shore and view the ships, which too was refused by the king, convinced that something was afoot. Angry at king's decision, the Vice Admiral refused to assist the king in war against the Portuguese. The king asked De Weert to do as he had promised, and said he needed to return to Kandy, since his queen was alone as his half-brother Senarath had marched to the frontier and he too had to join the main forces soon. At this point, the drunken Admiral incautiously said, "Oh, as for the empress, she would never be at a loss for men," and added he would not sail to Galle if his majesty would not honour him by visiting the ships. According to Baldaeus (1672), the king, who was a "hasty and cruel man," was now boiling with rage and indignation at this unseemly answer, and hastily started up from his seat, saying, *Banda lapa mebal* — "Bind this dog" (*bāndapan mē ballā*, in modern colloquial Sinhala). With this command, four nobles tried to secure the Vice Admiral, who shouted violently to his men for help. Meanwhile, a courtier gashed De Weert's head with a sword while the admiral tried to reach his sword. None of the courtiers dared to communicate this to the king, except for the Prince of Uva. The king, who was much surprised, asked why didn't they secure the Vice Admiral. The courtiers replied that it was impossible, since the Vice Admiral had tried to reach his sword. The king, realizing that what had happened could not be undone, also ordered De Weert's men to be killed, which was recorded by Baldaeus (1672) nearly 70 years later: "Well then,

Fig. 6 King Wimaladharmasūriya I meets Joris van Spilbergen, 1602, from *Historiael Journael*, 1605 (De Silva and Beumer 1988, 34).⁵³

Nearly four decades later, King Rājasingha II of Kandy (1635–1687) came to an agreement with the Dutch on expelling the Portuguese by capturing their forts, followed by the decision for a joint attack on Galle.⁵⁴ However, the Dutch preferred

since he is dead, dispatch the rest likewise that they might partake the same reward with their master." The order was carried out immediately, sparing only one youth from Vlissingen, who was taken into king's service. The king, who had left for his palace at Kandy after the incident, sent a note in Portuguese to the captain of the ship: "He who drinks wine is not good. God has done justice. If you desire peace, peace. If you desire war, war" (Baldaeus 1672 [1960], 36-8; Pieris 1913, 394-5; De Silva and Beumer 1988, 38-9).⁵³

The portrait has been reproduced from the copy in the first edition of the *Historiael Journael*, 1605, published by Floris Balthasar in Delft (De Silva and Beumer 1988, 468).

⁵⁴ The treaty of 1638 states that the forts captured from the Portuguese would be garrisoned by the Dutch only "if His Majesty

a surprise attack without the assistance of the Sinhalese (Goonewardena 1958). Rājasingha was prepared to assign the Dutch a monopoly on the island's cinnamon trade in return for aid against the Portuguese, as well as reimbursement of the cost of the campaign (Silva 2017, 172). In March 1640, Galle was captured under the command of Vice Admiral Willem Jacobsz Coster before the arrival of Rājasingha's troops, who arrived only in time to take part in the plunder (Goonewardena 1958, 37). According to Valentijn, Coster received the ships from Haarlem, Middelburg and Breda with 400 men on the 11th, and stormed the city on the 20th without waiting for the emperor's men, who were "loitering" and late to arrive (Valentijn 1726 [1978], 324). Goonewardena (1958, 52), who quotes Queyroz, states that the king accused Coster of having attacked Galle before the time they had agreed upon. Thus, the king was still dissatisfied with the Dutch, and Coster, who had followed the king to Kandy in the hope of bringing about a better understanding, was murdered by the Sinhalese on his way back (Codrington and Hocart 1939). The Dutch retained Galle (and also Negambo) under their control on the grounds that Rājasingha had not paid them for the expenses incurred in these expeditions (Goonewardena 1958; Silva 2017, 173).⁵⁵ The reason behind this was the belief of the

thought it fit." However, the Dutch copy omitted the vital clause "if His Majesty thought it fit," which led to misunderstandings between two parties. As per the agreement, Trincomalee (Fort Frederick) was to be handed over to the king as soon as he gave the Dutch ten elephants to meet the cost of the capturing the fort; after its capture, Colombo was to be demolished. All other forts would be garrisoned by the Dutch until the king paid all the expenses incurred by them in his service; when all the expenses were paid, the king would assign the Dutch one fort (Goonewardena 1958, 37). Codrington and Hocart's version includes a few variations: "when the Portuguese had been completely expelled from Ceylon the Dutch should retain only one fort, but that they should hold Negombo and the other forts until all the expenses of the war had been paid, and that Colombo, when captured, should be demolished unless the king decided that it should be kept as a fortress, in which case it was to be garrisoned by the Dutch" (Codrington and Hocart 1939, 119).

⁵⁵ In January 1641, the senior merchant, Marten Vinck, brought a statement of the Dutch expenses to the Kandyan court. The king particularly objected, and refused to pay the expenses of the monthly salaries of the men who had been left in garrison in Trincomalee (Fort Frederick), because this had been garrisoned against his wishes, or to reimburse the loss of the cargo ship Rarob, which wrecked off Negambo in 1640. Although the loss of the Rarob and part of its goods was calculated at 87,000 florins in the expenses presented to the king, the actual loss is recorded as 41,135 florins in the Galle trade books (Goonewardena 1958).

Batavian authorities that these two forts were the "keys to the most fruitful cinnamon lands of the island of Ceylon."⁵⁶ The Dutch naturally expected great profits from these conquests, and attributed only secondary value to Colombo, the centre of Portuguese power (Goonewardena 1958). King Rājasingha closely blockaded Galle by land in 1642 (Codrington and Hocart 1939).

Galle was the VOC's first major possession, and it remained their administrative centre until the capture of Colombo in 1656 (Paranavitana and De Silva 2002, 109). The Galle Commandment was one of the three large provinces into which VOC territories of Ceylon were divided, the other two being Colombo Province and the Jaffna Commandment (De Silva 1953, 8). The Commander of Galle was the third highest-ranking official, while the Governor and the Commander of Jaffna respectively held the first and second ranks (Schrikker 2007, 42). Against this background, Galle Fort developed as a port city and the administrative centre of the Southern Maritime Province, which was well known for the finest cinnamon on the island, the VOC's main trade interest.

Development of the Urban Landscape

It was the Dutch who were responsible for the expansion and development of the fort over the next 156 years into the form we see today. Although the sources on the Dutch occupation are abundant, only the major developments are discussed here, based on the ancient plans, descriptions of contemporary writers and secondary sources. *Ceylon: Grote atlas van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie IV* by Diessen (2008) shows the gradual developments of Galle Fort by means of plans that are currently in the National Archives and other institutes in the Netherlands. Paranavitana and De Silva's *Maps and Plans of Dutch Ceylon* (2002) also include several plans of Galle Fort. De Silva and Beumer (2008) describe the fort according to ancient paintings and the descriptions of Dutch as well as Portuguese sources.

⁵⁶ Goonewardena (1958, 37), based on the manuscript *Overgecomen Brieven en Papieren*, Kol. Arch. 1034 (1638) at the Kolonial Archief section, the Algemeen Rijksarchief (National Archives) in The Hague.

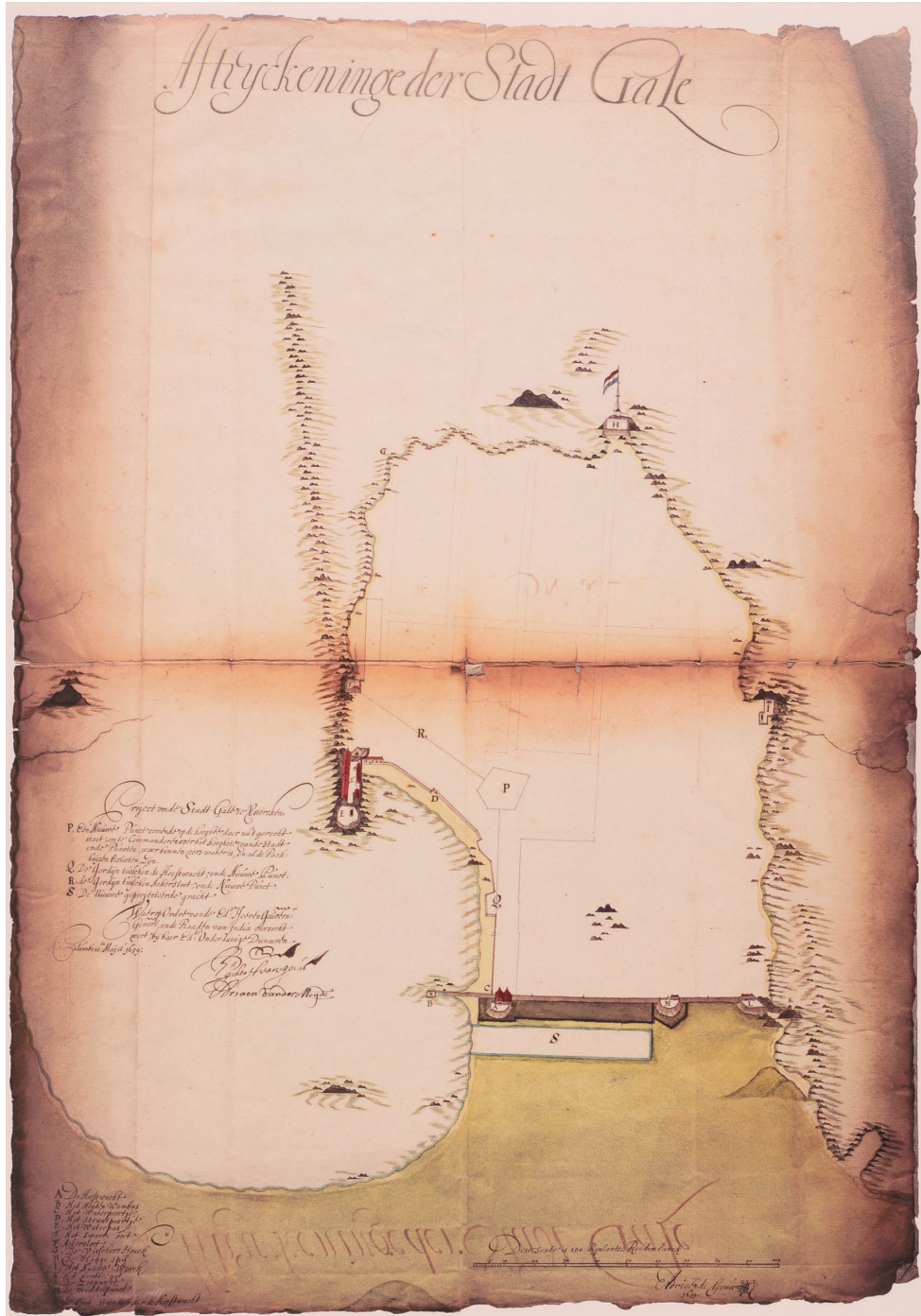


Fig. 7 "Depiction of the Town of Galle" by Adriaen de Leeuw, 1659 (Diessen 2008, 171).⁵⁷

57 Nationaal Archief, Den Haag.

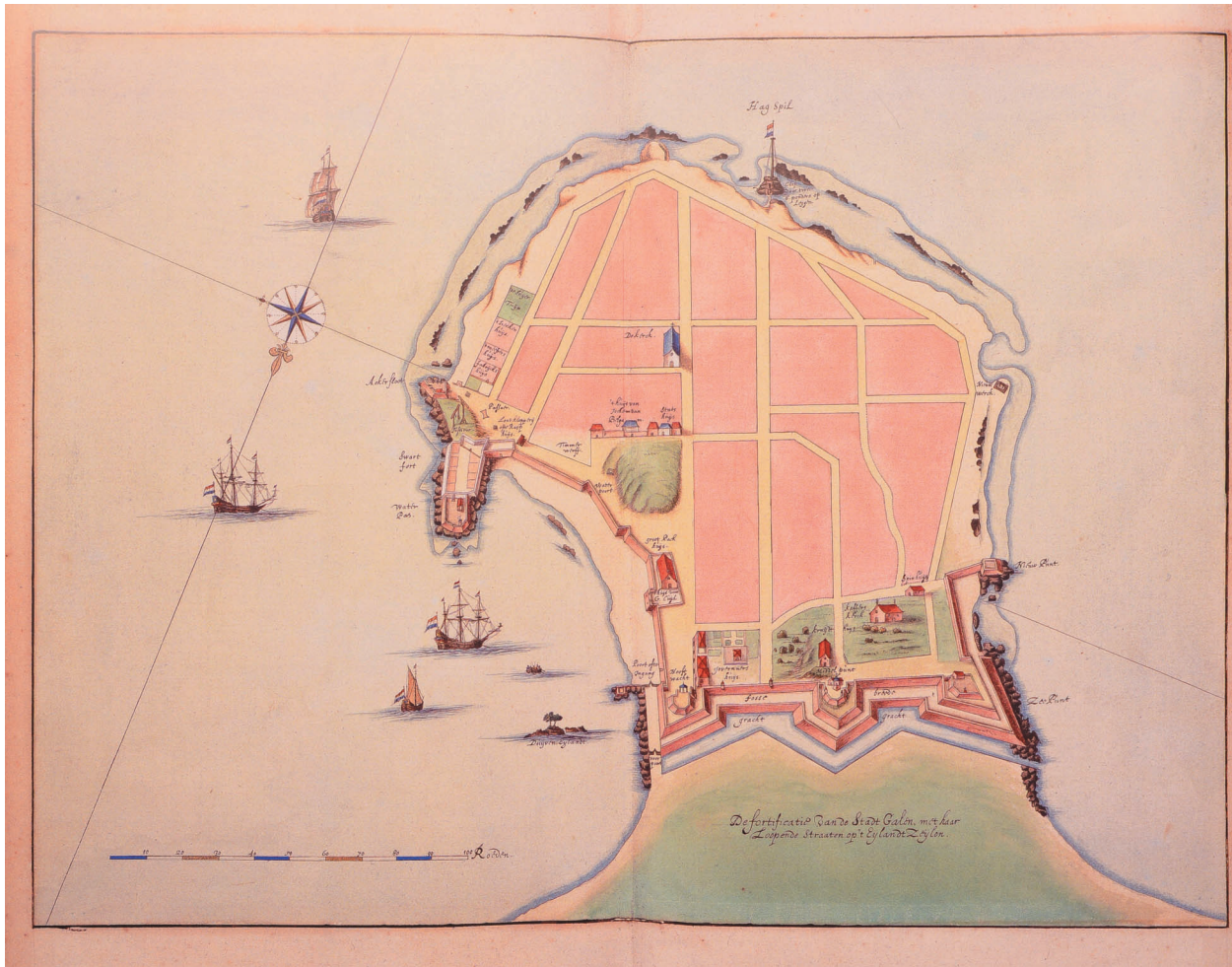


Fig. 8 "The fortification of the town of Galle, with its street plan on the Island of Ceylon" by Johannes Vingboons, c. 1665, drawn for the *Atlas of Laurens van der Hem* (Diessen 2008, 172).⁵⁸

The rampart is the major physical feature that determined the shape of the fort. Adriaen de Leeuw's 1659 map, "Depiction of the Town of Galle," shows the rampart at an early phase, when it extended only from the Portuguese Fort (Zwarte/Swart Fort) on the bay side to the end of the three major bulwarks (Fig. 7). After 1640, the Portuguese defensive works were first restored and renovated, without any radical modifications, following the Portuguese pattern (Diessen 2008, 171). While Nelson (1983) mentions that the Dutch closely

followed the Portuguese pattern, Oers (2002) states that the urban pattern of Galle reveals a Portuguese origin. It is clear that the geographical features of the peninsula were the major factor in determining the shape of the fort, which was characteristic of Portuguese forts, while some of the Dutch forts in Ceylon had their own distinctive plans, such as Jaffna and Star Fort, Matara.

These ideas parallel those of Ribeiro, who states, "the only alteration made by the Hollanders after their occupation was to build the bastions in the modern style and enlarge and deepen the moat" (Ribeiro 1685 [(1999) 35]). The moat and the modernized main front of the fort, from 1659, are clearly visible in the next map by Johannes Vingboons, from circa 1665 (Fig. 8).

Wagenaar (2014), who states urban development in Galle under the VOC had been a continuous process

⁵⁸ Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Atlas Blaeu Van Der Hem 39.06.

since the 1640 conquest, further mentions that, although the typical characteristics of Portuguese colonial settlement were retained in the beginning, these were removed soon after. The removal of cloisters and churches were some examples in this regard. It took decades, however, until typical Dutch features came into existence (Wagenaar 2014, 148). Letters addressed to the governor-general show that a hospital and an orphanage were established as early as 1646 (Pieris 1929, 133), which shows the foundation of “social services” in early Dutch urbanization.

Further development of the fort can be discerned in the above-mentioned “The fortification of the town of Galle,” drawn by Johannes Vingboons (Fig. 8). This plan shows the new Akersloot Bastion, located just south of the Portuguese Zwarte Fort, which was named after the birthplace of the Vice Admiral William Jacobsz Coster, under whose command the town was captured in 1640 (Diessen 2008, 172). Another new bastion (marked as “Nieuw Punt” and later known as Aeolus Bastion) can be seen on the left side, and a further extension of the rampart up to this point can be identified from the plan. The street grid, which covers the whole peninsula, two churches and several buildings on the plan, illustrates the expansion of the city in its developing phase. Despite these visible developments, Ribeiro notes, “the inhabitants called it a city, but it was merely a fortress” (Ribeiro 1685 [(1999) 35]).

“The fortress of Galle was built on a point of land with the sea on two sides; on the north was a steep line of rocks, and there it had no other defence. On the south side was the bay, protected by a palisade of pointed beams; while a line of ramparts with its moat and three bastions cut across the land side from sea to sea, with a gate and drawbridge in the middle; the position was well protected with this fortification” (Ribeiro 1685 [(1999) 35]).

Baldaeus,⁵⁹ in his 1672 work, mentions that these dangerous rocks (which were originally to the south) and rough sea resulted in the wreckage of the Dutch ship *Hercules* (Baldaeus 1672 [1960], 127).⁶⁰ Nearly



Fig. 9 “Town of Galle,” anonymous (1675–1685) (Diessen 2008, 173).⁶¹

50 years later, Valentijn also confirmed the rocks and strong currents, as well as the VOC’s efforts to avoid these dangers (Valentijn 1726 [1978], 113).⁶²

In contrast to Ribeiro, in 1672, Baldaeus stated that “the fort is well built in an elevated locality, has good stone built houses and churches, fine gardens and deep and splendid wells” (Baldaeus 1672 [1960], 127). This more developed phase of the fort can be seen from a map drawn by an anonymous cartographer between 1675 and 1685 (Fig. 9).

This plan shows the extension of the fortifications on the western side of the peninsula by two additional bastions, from new point Aeolus to the Flagstaff point called “the New Work” (Diessen 2008, 172).

Galle Harbour Development Project was a main interest of the Department of Archaeology, which was agreed to by the Sri Lanka Ports Authority, as discussed in sub-chapter 7.7.3.

61 Centrale Bibliotheek Rotterdam, 86 L 9.

62 A shot was fired to warn ships not to sail further, and a pilot sent on board who knew how to enter the bay while avoiding dangerous rocks (Valentijn 1726 [1978], 113).

59 Reverend Phillipus Baldaeus (1632–1671) stayed in Galle for one year before he was appointed as the Dutch *predikant* who was responsible for converting the Tamil communities in northern Ceylon to the Dutch Reformed Church (Baldaeus 1672 [1960], viii).

60 Preserving the *Hercules* shipwreck amid the proposed



Fig. 10 The date 1669 (MDCLXIX), shown on the VOC monogram above the inner archway, indicating the completion of the work.

The old wall has been straightened and provided with new gates with warehouses above and beside it, which were completed in 1669 (Diessen 2008, 172). The date 1669 (MDCLXIX), shown with the VOC monogram above the inner archway of the current gateway from the harbourside, shows the completion of the first stage of work (Kuruppu and Wijesuriya 1992, 32) (Fig. 10). The bulwarks are no longer called the Hoofdwacht (Main Guard), Middelpunt (Middle Point) and Zeepunt (Sea Point), but have been assigned new names: De Maen (The Moon), De Son (The Sun) and De Ster (The Star) (Diessen 2008, 172). Valentijn, who described the fort in 1726, uses both the old and new names, demonstrating the prevalence of the old names several decades after the introduction of the new ones (Valentijn 1726 [1978], 113-4). The map illustrates the city's expansion over

the whole peninsula, with the majority of buildings facing the streets. Open spaces are retained in the middle of the land plots, which are covered by the houses in streetward direction.

The Dutch fortified the whole town according to the plan drawn by Jan Christiaensz Toorzee in 1698 (Diessen 2008, 177) (Fig.11). The completion of the Flag Rock, Utrecht and Aurora bastions can be seen in this plan. Valentijn's assessment of the city can be viewed as a further improvement on the description of Baldaeus:

“Within the city, which is built with regularity and neatness, but is about half as big as Batavia, there are many moderately wide streets (some of earth, some with grass growing), many beautiful stone buildings, some moderately large churches, beautiful wells in most houses and outside the city (as also here and there within), very beautiful gardens and courtyards ...” (Valentijn 1726 [1978], 114).

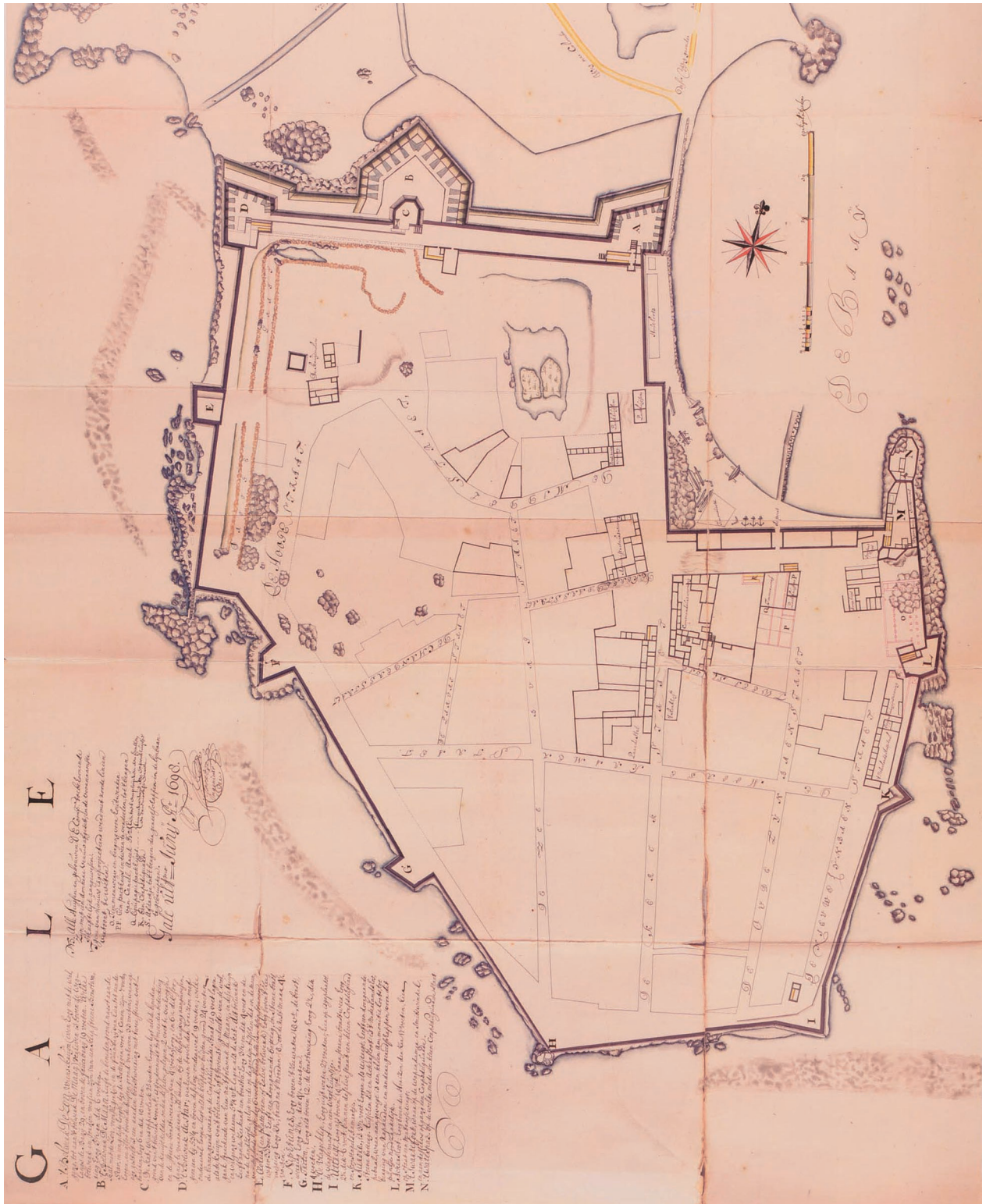


Fig. 11 Plan of "Gale" by Jan Christiaensz Toorzee in 1698 (Diessen 2008, 176).



Fig. 12 “Galle (as seen) from the causeway” by Caspar Steiger (c. 1730), with the Dutch flag hoisted at Flag Rock Bastion (Diessen 2008, 209).⁶³

His indications of the various buildings, such as the hospital, the Akersloot Bastion, the drawbridge over the moat, the church, the storehouse, the commander’s house etc., offer an example of the contemporary social, military and religious requirements, as well as those of the VOC. Steiger’s painting “Galle (as seen) from the causeway,” from circa 1730, shows the contemporary layout of the fortifications, the causeway and the moat, which provided an extra layer of security to the northern fortifications, as well as the Dutch flag hoisted at Flag Rock Bastion (Fig. 12 and Fig.13)

Diessen, who compares the previous plan, that of Jan Christiaensz Toorzee from 1698, with the map copied by P. Elias in 1790 from the original drawing by Major Engineer G. E. Schenck (Fig. 14),

⁶³ Also published by De Silva and Beumer (1988, 159).

concludes that the fort would undergo scarcely any further changes up to the end of the Dutch period (2008, 201). Although the bird’s eye view of the fort does not reveal drastic changes, the literary evidence shows that the fort had indeed undergone several modifications during this period, as will be discussed later.

Galle played an important role in Dutch religious policies, although these policies did not have as significant an impact on society as economic policies did. There were four main church bodies on the island, constituted into councils, and Galle was one of them (Arasaratnam 1958, 218).⁶⁴ The present Dutch Reformed Church or “De Groote Kerk,” which was located on Church Street, was consecrated in 1755 (De Silva and Beumer 1988, 166; Franciscus 1983, 34).⁶⁵ The church was built, according to tradition,

⁶⁴ The others were Jaffna, Mannar and Colombo (Arasaratnam 1958).

⁶⁵ It is said the church was built on the site of a Portuguese Capuchin convent demolished by the Dutch. According to Diessen (2008, 210), the space on the upper floor of the *Equipagepakhuis*



Fig. 13 Flag Rock Bastion, 2016.

as an offering of gratitude to God upon the birth of a daughter to Casparus de Jongh, who was Commander of Galle at that time (Franciscus 1983, 34).

By 1760, Galle had grown into a real town with military, economic and administrative functions (Schrikker 2007, 44). Many typical town institutions, such as orphanages, estate administration, garbage collection, civil militia, hospitals and so on, were copied from the model of the Netherlands (Schrikker 2007, 44). Three schools were established in the city under VOC administration. Two of them served Dutch children, while the other served Sinhalese pupils (Wagenaar 2014, 156). The Dutch introduced an intricate sewerage system, which functioned using sea water.

Despite the architectural, social, religious and educational developments under Dutch occupation, there is evidence that the town had turned into an unhealthy place by the end of the occupation. A memorandum written in 1784 for Van de Graaff,⁶⁶ by Arnoldus De Lij, reveals that at least a quarter of the garrison was infected with some contagious disease, which he called *de Gaalse ziekte* (“the Galle

sickness”) (Schrikker 2007, 61). Van de Graaff, the Commander of Galle from June 1794 to the following January, gave greater priority to the hygiene of the city. He decided to renovate the hospital, prevent sick cattle from being slaughtered for food, improved regulations on picking up garbage and banned prostitutes from the inner city (Schrikker 2007, 61-2). Furthermore, he took steps to secure clean water for the inhabitants from Unawatuna, the next bay to the east (Schrikker 2007, 61). Other company buildings were repaired under his leadership (Schrikker 2007, 62). In 1785, the commander and council of Galle renewed the prohibition on burning rubbish in the streets, which had been being practised in villages (Wagenaar 2014, 159).

A plan of the fortress of Galle 1790 (copied by P. Elias from the original drawing by Major Engineer G. E. Schenck) shows the fort’s layout at the end of the Dutch occupation (Fig.14). The company’s military priorities can be discerned from the indications of barrack buildings, guard posts, the Javanese camp and several buildings for storing gunpowder and ammunition. The 90-acre fort is guarded by 14 bastions with intervening ramparts; the administrative buildings include a supply and trade office, a

(Ships’ Supplies Warehouse) served as the church until the Dutch Reformed Church that exists today was consecrated.

66 Van de Graaff was Dutch governor from 1785 to 1794.

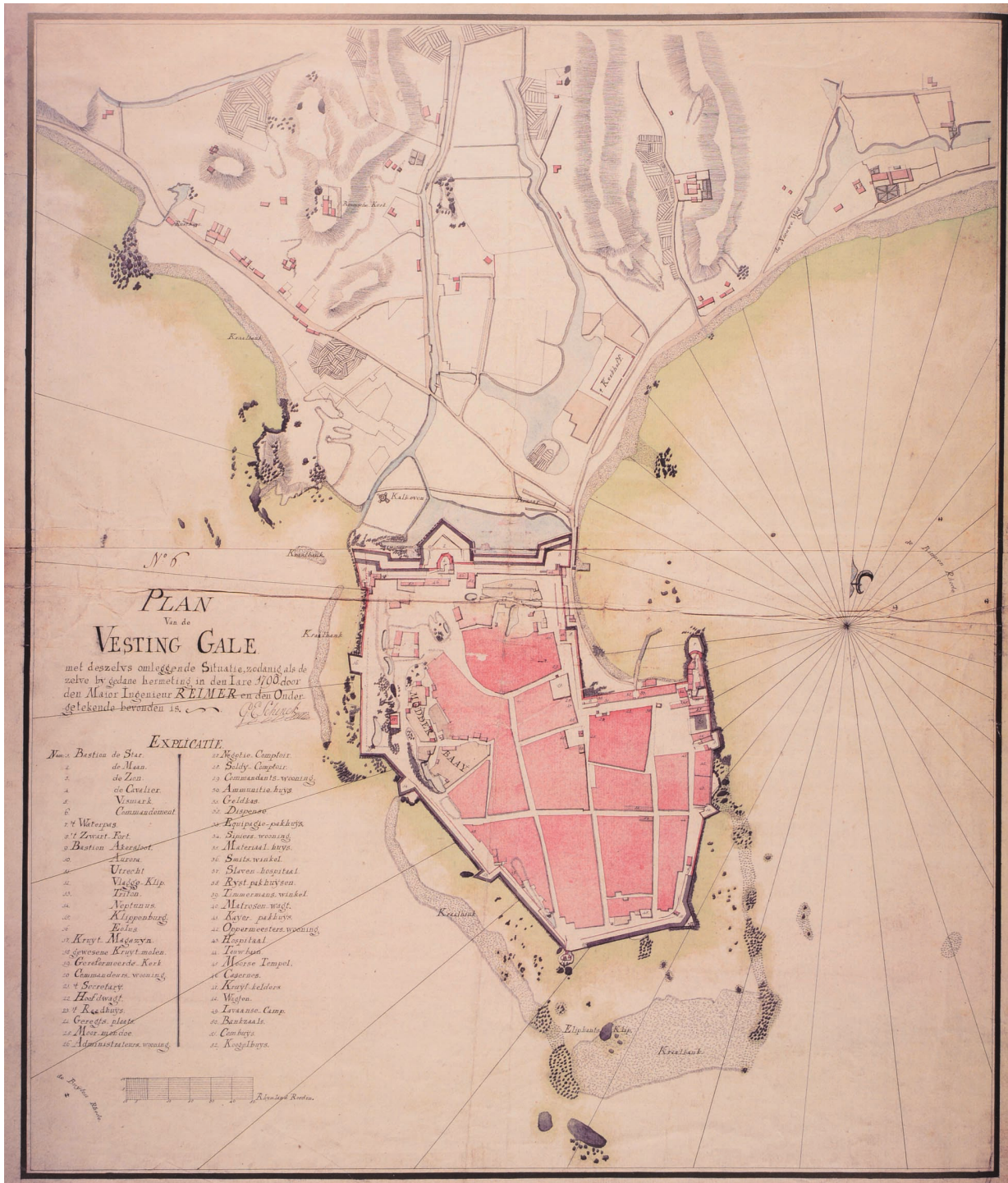


Fig. 14 Plan of Galle Fort copied by P. Elias in 1790 from the original drawing by Major Engineer G. E. Schenck (Diessen 2008, 200).⁶⁷

67 Also published by Paranavitana and De Silva (2002, 113) and Wagenaar (1994, 95).

secretariat, council and courthouses (Paranavitana and De Silva 2002, 113). Apart from the Reformed Church, a “Moorse Temple” can also be identified, which indicates that a Moor community of considerable size resided in the fort.

At the end of the Dutch occupation, the government had to invest more in repairing the fortifications due to the ongoing tense situation with European rivals after the fourth Anglo-Dutch war⁶⁸ (Schrikker 2007, 58). Galle underwent several repairs during the period of Van Angelbeek,⁶⁹ the last Dutch Governor (Schrikker 2007, 58). Although large-scale plans were made to improve the military defence of the fort during and after the war, these were never carried out, since the High Government of Batavia considered Trincomalee more important than Galle in defending the company’s possessions in Ceylon (Diessen 2008, 187).⁷⁰

Urban Community

Heydt’s accounts show that the fort had a mixed community in the mid-18th century; however, his observations on the condition of the houses stand in contrast to the ideas of both Baldaeus and Valentijn:

“It is built over with many but very poor houses in which Europeans are the least seen, but in it dwell Costizos,⁷¹ Mestizos,⁷² Moors, Malabars, Sinhalese, and Chettis mostly mixed together” (Heydt 1744 [1952], 46).

The culturally diverse population is further confirmed by Wagenaar, who has analysed the archival population data. According to the Day Register written by Jan Schreuder’s⁷³ secretary, the city had a total of 1,841 inhabitants (Wagenaar 2014, 148). Although the ethnic backgrounds of the 518 company servants can be found in another document kept in the National Archives in Colombo, the ethnicities of the

common people who comprised the majority of the city’s population are hardly mentioned. The majority of the company servants were Europeans, while there were also *casties*, *mixties*, *pusties*, *toepassen*⁷⁴ and Sinhalese (Wagenaar 2014, 150). Descendants of these European company servants were identified as Dutch Burghers during the British occupation.⁷⁵ There were also Muslims and Chettis who became permanent residents and controlled most of the limited trading in the city, despite the Dutch policies of discouraging their settlements (Arasaratnam 1958, 234; Wagenaar 2014, 150).⁷⁶ Moreover, most families owned slaves, and the total number of privately owned slaves is estimated to have been 200 (Wagenaar 2014, 150). According to Arasaratnam (1954, 234), there was a distinction between the Dutch and the native quarter within the city.

The poor housing conditions can also be detected from the contemporary laws. As a consequence of the circular letter on fire prevention sent by the High Government of Batavia in 1744, house owners who could not afford to pay for tiles—“the insolvent and poor” inhabitants—had to leave the fort in 1746 (Wagenaar 2014, 158). This also shows that the cost of living within the fort was placing a burden on poorer inhabitants even in the middle of the 18th century. On the other hand, this scenario is similar to the current gentrification of the fort, considering the World Heritage recognition elaborated in chapter 6.

However, the architecture of the common peoples’ houses can hardly be determined. According to Wagenaar (2014, 158), the majority of the private houses in 18th century Galle were modest structures covered with palm leaves.⁷⁷ The architecture of the colonial houses is elaborated separately in sub-chapter 5.1.3.

68 The four 17th and 18th century naval conflicts between England and the Dutch Republic. Details available at <https://www.britannica.com/event/Anglo-Dutch-Wars> (accessed 10 July 2018).

69 Dutch governor Johan Gerard van Angelbeek (1794–1796).

70 The natural harbour’s strategic location was important to defending India—both the Malabar and the Coromandel Coast. In the period 1788–95, the desire to take possession of Trincomalee in order to gain supremacy in Peninsular India became one of the dominant themes in Britain’s relations with the Dutch (Silva 2017).

71 *Casties* were the offspring of a European father and a *mixtie* (Wagenaar 2014, 152).

72 *Mixties* were the offspring of a European father and indigenous mother (Wagenaar 2014, 152).

73 Schreuder was Dutch governor from 1751 to 1761.

74 These terms indicated offspring of mixed marriages.

75 The term “Burgher” is of Dutch origin, and is used in Sri Lanka to identify the sociocultural group of Dutch descendants who settled down on the island after the British took over the administration of its coastal region. This included persons born in Dutch Republic and servants of VOC with other European origins. After dissolving the VOC in 1799, a new community of “Dutch Burghers” was created (Paranavitana 2010).

76 In 1716, Governor Hendrick Becker wrote that it was also a matter of the greatest urgency that the Moors be kept out of the country, since their presence was very prejudicial to the interests of the Company (Raben 1996, 140).

77 However, this could also have been *cadjan* (woven coconut leaves), since coconut is common in Galle, while palm leaves were commonly used in Jaffna, the fortified town in the North.

1.1.4 THE BRITISH OCCUPATION

The Acquisition

The British acquisition of Dutch possessions on Ceylon, including Galle Fort, is a consequence of the contemporary dynamics of the international politics of Europe and Asia (De Silva 1953, 16; Schrikker 2007, 131). As a result of the “Kew letters,” addressed to King George III by the Dutch *Stadtholder* William IV, who was at his refuge in Kew after the French conquest of the Netherlands in early 1795, it was proposed that the Dutch possessions on Ceylon be brought under the protection of the British Army to forestall a possible French annexation (Schrikker 2007, 131).⁷⁸ An assurance was given that these possessions would be returned to Holland in the event of independence (presumably from the French) (Schrikker 2007, 131). This letter was used by the British as a justification to mount a comprehensive operation to gain control of Dutch possessions in Asia and at the Cape (De Silva 1973, 8). From the beginning, there had been confusion over the concept of “protection” in the negotiations with Van Angelbeek, the Dutch Governor of Ceylon. In the Dutch view, protection meant the temporary stationing of a British garrison on the island, while in the British view, it implied a temporary occupation of the Dutch possession (Schrikker 2007, 132). According to De Silva (1973), the Dutch authorities on Ceylon were too weak to attempt anything more than a show of resistance. Furthermore, they had neither military (or navel) nor financial resources (De Silva 1973, 8).

In an instant response to the Kew letter, Trincomalee, the much-desired harbour with Fort Frederick, was conquered by the British in July 1795, and Colombo was occupied on 16 February of the following year (Schrikker 2007, 132; De Silva 1953, 44). Captain Lachlan Macquarie⁷⁹ of

the 77th regiment occupied Galle on 23 February 1796, a week after the signing of the capitulation of Colombo (De Silva 1953, 50; Kuruppu and Wijesuriya 1992, 32). Although many Dutchmen in Ceylon, Batavia and the Netherlands assumed that the Maritime Provinces of Ceylon would revert to the Netherlands after the war, they were ceded permanently to Britain under the Peace of Amiens⁸⁰ in March 1802, and collectively became a British Crown Colony (Schrikker 2007, 134; Roberts, Raheem, and Colin-Thomé 1989, 46).

Modifications, Diminishing Importance and Development as an Urban Centre

The Colebrooke Cameron reforms⁸¹ recommended that the colony be divided into five provinces, with Colombo, Galle, Jaffna, Trincomalee and Kandy being established as the main administrative centres (Samaraweera 1973, 81). According to Robert Percival’s accounts (1803), soon after British acquisition, Point de Galle was the third most important town in Ceylon (Percival 1803, 130-1). Against this background, the British continued to use the fort as their southern administrative centre.

According to Nelson (1984), the modifications made during British times comprised the draining of the water outside the main front, the creation of a road along its eastern edge, moving the main entrance through the front rampart between the Sun and Moon Bastions⁸² (1873) and the lowering, or removal, of many of the parapets around the peninsular shores. These modifications are identified as “comparatively small” by Nelson (1984), but only in the context of the total demolition that took place at Colombo Fort.⁸³ In fact, a council board

Wales in Australia, and thus, one of the most influential people in Australian history.

80 This is also known as the Treaty of Amiens (27 March 1802), an agreement signed in Amiens, France, by Britain, France, Spain, and the Batavian Republic (the Netherlands), and which achieved a peace in Europe for 14 months during the Napoleonic Wars. Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/event/Treaty-of-Amiens-1802> (accessed 10 July 2018).

81 This refers to a series of reforms that transformed the administrative, judicial and financial systems of Ceylon, and were carried out between 1832 and 1834 at the recommendation of W. M. G. Colebrooke and C. H. Cameron (Mendis 1956).

82 However, a copy of the map of Major Engineer Reimer by P. Elias (1790) shows a contemporary Dutch plan to move the main entrance to the exact location where the British constructed it (Diessen 2008, 201).

83 Colombo fort was completely dismantled during British

78 According to Schrikker, both the British and Dutch monarchs feared a French annexation of Dutch possessions in Asia, which in turn would have enhanced France’s competitive position. Therefore, the requests (known as the Kew Letters) were made by the Dutch *Stadtholder* in order to protect these Dutch possessions (Schrikker 2007, 131). However, De Silva mentions that this document was extracted from him in his capacity as Captain-General and Admiral of Holland, enjoining all governors of colonies and commanders to immediately deliver possession of the forts and installations under their command to the British (De Silva 1973, 8).

79 Macquarie later became the governor of New South

was appointed to consider the demolition of Galle Fort's ramparts, which resulted in a protest meeting at Oriental Hotel, Fort in November 1889 (Roberts 2005). At this juncture, Dr Peter Daniel Anthonisz (former Burgher⁸⁴ member of the old Legislative Council and Chairman of Galle Municipal Council) pointed out the fort was built not only as defence against foreign foes, but also for security against harsh weather during the monsoon, a claim that was upheld and thus saved the ramparts (Roberts 2005). The British installed their coat of arms on the outer side of the main entrance, which can be seen today (Kuruppu and Wijesuriya 1992, 32). In around 1880, a new lighthouse was added to the Utrecht Bastion, and in 1883, a clock tower was erected in close proximity to the Moon Bastion⁸⁵ (Nelson 1984; Kuruppu and Wijesuriya 1992). Despite these modifications and the introduction of many new buildings, a number of the fort's Dutch features remained intact, especially the ramparts.

The city's importance was strongly linked to the harbour, which persisted in the early British period as ships from Europe made Point de Galle the first harbour in Ceylon (Percival 1803, 131). Thus, the renowned import and export companies located at the fort included Clark, Spence & Co. (Church Street) and Charles P. Hayley & Co. (Light House Street);⁸⁶ these buildings remain in the fort even today. Plantations⁸⁷ brought an increasing amount of shipping to Galle and Colombo during this time. Although Governor Henry Ward proposed the building of a breakwater at Galle in 1856, it was finally constructed in Colombo from 1874 to 1886 (Mills 1933, 245).⁸⁸ With the further expansion of

these harbour facilities, Colombo became the only port in Ceylon equipped to allow accommodation of large steamers, and consequently other port towns, including Galle, declined in importance (Panditaratne and Selvanayagam 1973 296). In the early 20th century, Colombo became the financial, political and social centre of the colony under the British (Roberts, Raheem, and Colin-Thomé 1989, 27). Despite the decreasing importance of Galle Harbour, the city remained a regional urban centre, especially a residential-administrative one (Panditaratne and Selvanayagam 1973 296).

The two parts of the Galle town that we find today were clearly discernible at the beginning of the 20th century, as mentioned by Wright (1907): the fortified town and the outer town, the latter populated solely by the natives. *Twentieth Century Impressions of Ceylon*⁸⁹ implies that the fort was seen as a monument during the late British occupation:

"The fortifications of Galle, as erected by the Portuguese and Dutch, even today, after a lapse of over three hundred and fifty years, present a grim, warlike, and imposing appearance ... The stone facing of the bastions, harassed by wind and waves for centuries, is in as good preservation as at the time of the erection of these massive defences" (Wright 1907 [2013], 753-4).

Implementation of the Antiquities Ordinance (No. 9, 1940) at the end of the British period assigned monumental status to the fort, which entrusted its preservation to the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon (Silva 1992).

The Urban Community

According to Percival (1803), the whole town was populous at the beginning of the British occupation, and the houses were superior to those of Trincomalee. Although the British made arrangements to allow Dutch officials, soldiers and citizens leave the country, many stayed behind due to their property, as well as the fact that their "coloured" families did not fit in with the narrow-minded colonial circle in Batavia (Roberts, Raheem, and Colin-Thomé 1989, 46). However, as a result of Colombo's "metropole" status and Galle's

occupation (Nelson 1984).

84 Today, all colonial descendants are generally known as Burghers, a recognized ethnic group in the country. Also see footnote 75.

85 Although Nelson (1984) mentions the clock tower was built to commemorate the Jubilee of Queen Victoria, it was originally a memorial for Dr Peter Daniel Anthonisz (a former chairman of Galle Municipal Council) from the people of Galle, as mentioned by the plaque in the clock tower.

86 Wright (1907 [2013], 766-70) discusses the businesses at Galle at length.

87 The British established plantation industries in central Sri Lanka during the mid-19th century (coffee, rubber and tea) with a recruited Indian labour force, which created a plantation economy in the country (Hewa 1994).

88 Sir Hercules Robinson and Sir William Gregory persuaded the Colonial Office to build the breakwater at Colombo (Mills 1933, 245).

89 According to the editor, the work was the result of an initiative aimed to provide full and reliable information about the outlying parts of the British Empire, and supported by the governor of Ceylon (Wright 1907).

diminishing economic importance, most of the Burgher⁹⁰ notables in Galle moved to Colombo during the early 20th century (Roberts, Raheem, and Colin-Thomé 1989, 27). This space was probably then taken up by other local ethnicities.

1.1.5 POST-INDEPENDENCE: RESIDENTIAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE CENTRE

The fort continued to be a residential-administrative centre after independence in 1948, despite the changes in ethnic demographics. Prime minister S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike's government (1952–1956) favoured a nationalistic policy whose culmination was the replacement of English with the native Sinhala as the official language by the Official Language Act No. 33 of 1956 (Sinhala Only Bill).⁹¹ The European-descended, English-speaking Ceylon Burghers, who felt uncomfortable with these reforms, consequently migrated to other English-speaking Commonwealth countries, especially Australia. Thus, the remaining Burgher population of Galle Fort also decreased considerably, and was replaced by other local ethnicities, both Muslims and Sinhalese.⁹²

Although the fort's colonial architecture, its most prominent aspect, was extensively recorded before and during this period, local sentiment towards the fort is the least documented. Two works by Burgher authors, *Those Long Afternoons: Childhood in Colonial Ceylon* by E. F. C Ludowyk⁹³ (1989) and *Galle as Quiet as Asleep* by Norah Roberts (2005), reveals the authors' strong attachment to colonial Galle, including the fort (also in the post-colonial period) as a living space, through their nostalgic memories

(Ludowyk 1989; Roberts 2005).⁹⁴ Interestingly, the attachment to the colonial fort demonstrated by the (Ceylon) Burghers is not paralleled in the views of Southerners of other local ethnic origins, neither Sinhalese, Muslims nor Tamils. Their presence in the fort was discussed to a certain extent within the World Heritage project, especially in academic research focused on the issues faced by inhabitants, and to a lesser extent in modern travel literature and policy documents.

1.2 GALLE FORT: A GENERAL VIEW

1.2.1 LOCATION AND MONUMENTS

Galle Fort, which faces Galle Harbour to the east, is situated in the Galle District of the Southern Province of Sri Lanka. The fort is a separate GN Division (the smallest public administrative subunit of Sri Lanka) identified as 96-D Fort GN Division, under the authority of the Four Gravets Divisional Secretariat (Figs. 15–16).⁹⁵ It is part of Galle City (urban population 133,398 (2012), over an area of 16.5 square kilometres), the administrative capital of the Southern Province.⁹⁶ Thus, the fort occupies a prime location within the Galle Municipal limits.

The fortified town covers an area of 37.7 hectares; it is enclosed by the rampart walls, defended by 14 bastions and surrounded by the Indian Ocean, except to the north. Within the fort, there are 13 streets, the majority of which existed during the colonial occupation, with some being added at a later date. The main streets still bear the names used during the Dutch occupation, with slight variations.

90 This group was generally comprised of colonial descendants.

91 This bill, the result of one of the main campaign promises of S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike after his landslide victory in the 1956 general election, was violently opposed by the Tamil-speaking minority in Ceylon. Details available at <https://www.britannica.com/event/Sinhala-Only-Bill> (accessed 7 July 2018).

92 Mr Piyasena, owner of the property at Pedlar Street, stated that his mother-in-law bought the property from her Burgher colleague (at Southlands College, Fort) who moved to Australia (personal conversation, 2 September 2017).

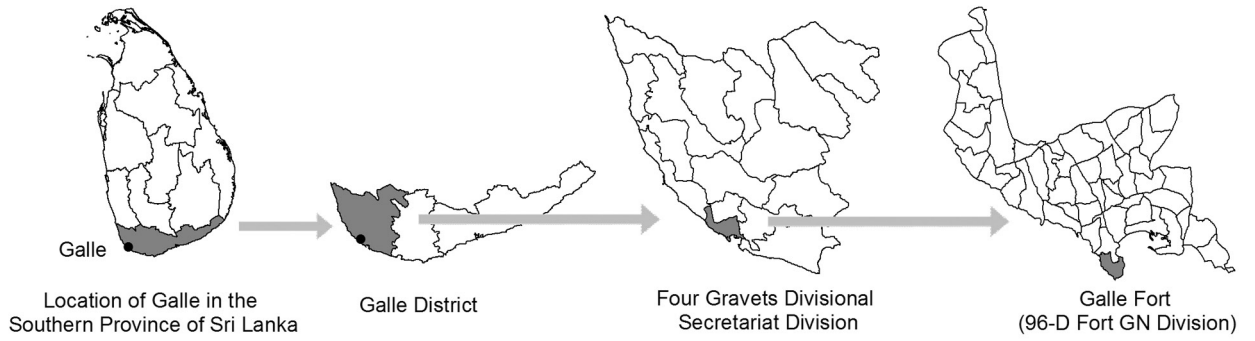
93 Ludowyk was the first professor of English at the University of Ceylon.

94 The accounts of Roberts, one of the former librarians of the Galle Fort Library (1940–982), includes detailed descriptions of the notable Burgher and Muslim families that lived in the fort in middle and late 20th century.

95 *Gramma Niladhari* Division in Sinhala. Public administration of the heritage city is discussed in sub-chapter 4.4.2.

96 "Census of Population and Housing – 2012, Final Report – Southern Province," p. 7, available at <http://www.statistics.gov.lk/PopHouSat/CPH2011/Pages/Activities/Reports/Southern.pdf> (accessed 22 January 2019); "Social Screening Report: Rehabilitation of Sky Walkway at Rampart," p. 4, available at http://www.scdp.lk/pdf/social_safeguard/Galle/Urban%20Upgrading/SSR%20-Rampart%20Walkway%20SSR-Galle.pdf (accessed 4 July 2018).

1. HISTORY, OVERVIEW AND THE WORLD HERITAGE PROJECT



The Study Area

Fig. 15 Location of Galle Fort according to local administration and the fort's map.



Fig. 16 An aerial view of Galle Fort, 2016.



Fig. 17 The Dutch Hospital (currently Dutch Hospital Shopping Precinct) and the Aurora Bastion.

While the fort as a whole can be considered a monument, within its fortifications are also particular monuments and historical buildings of colonial origin. The majority of them stem from the Dutch and British periods. Some of these still have their original function (including churches and private houses), whereas the majority of them have been redeveloped for reuse. The monuments that date back to Dutch period include the Dutch Reformed Church (1755); the Dutch Warehouse (currently the Maritime Museum); the Dutch Hospital (currently a shopping precinct; Fig. 17); the ramparts, including bastions and dungeons; Queens House (with British and modern renovations); and the historic buildings that house the National Museum, Post Office, Regional Archaeology Office and Magistrate's Court. In addition, the underground sewerage system built during the Dutch occupation is a notable feature of the fort. All Saints Anglican Church (1871; Figs. 18–19), Methodist Church, New Oriental Hotel (currently Amangalla), High Courts Building, the “Clan House” and YWCA (former Oriental Bank)⁹⁷ are some of the monuments and historic buildings that date back to the British period.

1.2.2 THE COMMUNITY, LAND USE AND THE “LIVING CITY”

Galle Fort's community, both multiethnic and multi-religious, is the major factor in qualifying the fort to be a “living heritage city.” While the demographics of the fort are further analysed in sub-chapter 6.4.1, the population of the fort in 2012 was 1068, according to the latest available census data.⁹⁸ The population by ethnicity was recorded as 851 Muslims, 577 Sinhalese, 36 Tamils and 65 foreigners, thus a total of 1529 in 2009, according to the Survey of Galle Heritage Foundation (Liyana Arachchi 2009). While the country's ethnic majority is Sinhalese (74.9%; 2012), the fort has a Muslim majority.⁹⁹ It was discussed in sub-chapter 1.1 that the Moorish



Figs. 18–19 All Saints' Church, completed in 1871.

presence in the fort dates back to the colonial period, which is also the case for the Sinhalese. Although there is an increasing number of foreign property owners, very few reside in the fort (as discussed in sub-chapter 6.3.3). The most important aspect of the fort's community is its ethnic harmony and strong neighbourhood feelings, as elaborated in chapter 6. In the general view of the residents, the fort had a decent, educated community, who continue their social, cultural and religious practices even now (Fig. 20).¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ Young Women's Christian Association.

⁹⁸ Source: Census of Population and Housing (2012), Department of Census and Statistics, Sri Lanka. In practice, a population census is conducted in Sri Lanka once every 10 years.

⁹⁹ Source: Census of Population and Housing (2012), Department of Census and Statistics, Sri Lanka.

¹⁰⁰ Based on conversations with residents and personal observations, 2016–2018.



Fig. 20 Muslim religious practices of the women in a house, Leyn Baan Street, 2016.

Apart from the houses, the fort demonstrates a diverse land use, which also represents its living heritage: government institutions, departments, private firms, banks, museums, schools, military and police establishments and an increasing number of commercial places that cater to tourists. Galle District's High Court, District Court and Magistrate's Court are also located in the fort. In addition, two schools are located in the fort, namely Southlands and All Saints' Colleges (Fig. 21). However, a number of these government institutions are slated to be moved outside of the fort, following a cabinet decision made in 2017 (discussed in sub-chapter 7.7.1). These establishments attract a large number of day-to-day visitors to the fort, in addition to tourists (Fig. 22). The fort has multiple religious shrines for Christians,

Muslims and Buddhists, which faiths cater to its community as well as outsiders; the churches date back to the colonial period, and could thus be regarded as "living monuments." Furthermore, the (increasing) historic charm of the fort has recently made it a popular destination for wedding photography.

The Rampart: A Lively People's Space

The rampart, once enjoyed mainly by the fort's community as a popular gathering space, is now being used equally by locals and tourists, while residents currently use it to a lesser extent. The rampart is the liveliest part of the fort, with fortune-tellers, cobra dancers, painters, ice cream sellers and cliff jumpers entertaining locals, tourists and schoolchildren on excursions alike, while also being used by local kids as a playground. It is very common for the people of Galle and the suburbs to visit the fort in the evenings to relax on the ramparts and see the setting sun (Fig.



Fig. 21 Teaching outside at the Junior Section of the All Saints' College, Pedlar Street.

23). As the ramparts are a famous destination for lovers, there is a Sinhala song with the lyrics:

“From the stone walls of Galle Fort
To gaze the beauty of a colourful kite
(Flying) in the far horizon
To be with you in a lonely evening ...”¹⁰¹

The pleasant environment of the ramparts, and the outer roads of the fort, exposed to the sea breeze, has turned them into a favourite place for jogging, mainly enjoyed by outsiders. The fort's public grounds, enclosed by the ramparts, are mainly used by youth, schoolchildren and servicemen.

101 The lyrics are from the Sinhala song *Gālu kotuwe gal bemmē* (From the Stone Walls of Galle Fort), sung by Kinsley Peiris (composer unknown).

Tourism's Contribution to “Living Heritage”

Moreover, the flourishing tourism industry in the fort has also contributed to its living heritage. In general, the southern coastal belt of Sri Lanka, including Galle Fort, is one of the country's major tourist attractions due to its pristine beaches, which are now being exploited. The emergence of various types of tourist accommodations, from super luxury hotels to B&Bs, have turned the region into a prominent beach holiday destination for overseas tourists, while the region's attractions are significantly increased by the World Heritage city. Although the fort was a tourist destination for both local and overseas visitors even before its heritage recognition, the World Heritage emblem has yielded a steady increase in tourist arrivals at the fort, as well as in related facilities



Fig. 22 Men who work in the fort playing board games in the evening, Church Street.



Fig. 23 The rampart as an evening gathering place for local youths.



Fig. 24 Tourists, Church Street.

and services (Fig. 24). According to the Urban Development Authority, more than 230 tourism-related businesses were operating in Galle Fort in 2015 (UDA 2015).¹⁰²

Thus, the fort is a lively landscape, used, experienced and enjoyed by diverse users with a range of values—residential, social, historic, economic, administrative, aesthetic, recreational, etc.—that sometimes conflict with each other, as discussed in the coming chapters.

1.3 WORLD HERITAGE RECOGNITION OF THE OLD TOWN OF GALLE AND ITS FORTIFICATIONS, 1988

1.3.1 THE BACKGROUND

Galle Fort’s World Heritage recognition was the result of a series of initiatives, mainly led by influential (state) heritage officials, that had begun in the late 1970s to preserve the country’s archaeological heritage. This movement started concurrently with UNESCO’s safeguarding campaigns for globally important heritage. These campaigns, especially the ones in Asian regions, like Mohenjo-Daro and Borobudur, became a motivation for Sri Lankan heritage officials. At the Second International

¹⁰² “Social Screening Report: Rehabilitation of Sky Walkway at Rampart,” p. 4, available at http://www.scdp.lk/pdf/social_safeguard/Galle/Urban%20Upgrading/SSR%20-Rampart%20Walkway%20SSR-Galle.pdf (accessed 4 July 2018).

Conference on Asian Archaeology held in Colombo in 1969, the country's archaeologists, including Roland Silva, proposed a preservation plan for the ancient city of Anuradhapura¹⁰³ (Silva 1993). The proposed preservation plan, which referred to the document that led to the UNESCO international campaign for Mohenjo-Daro in Pakistan,¹⁰⁴ underscored that a proper preservation proposal could attract UNESCO funding (Silva 1993).

The Cabinet Memorandum on Promoting Cultural Tourism, 1970

By the end of the 1970s, the Sri Lankan government was interested in securing UNESCO's funding to preserve the country's cultural heritage. The then-Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs set up a committee headed by the Archaeological Commissioner, including the Assistant Archaeological Commissioner, to explore the possibility of proposing UNESCO preservation projects locally (Silva 1993). As a result, in 1970, the committee prepared a cabinet memorandum entitled "The Development of Cultural Tourism in Ceylon," which was not tabled at parliament, but later developed into the "Cultural Triangle," which is discussed later (Silva 1993). A major role of this initiative was played by Roland Silva, who was later appointed as the Archaeological Commissioner (1983–1990) and founding director of the Central Cultural Fund. Dr Roland Silva, one of Asia's foremost conservation experts and the visionary behind the country's modern preservation movement, also became the first Asian president of the ICOMOS International (1990–1999).

However, a larger proportion of the country's monuments relate to Buddhism, introduced from India in the 3rd century BCE, while secular monuments are associated with native kings. Sri Lanka is predominantly a Buddhist country, and the Buddha's

Tooth Relic was (gradually) recognized as the symbol of royalty by the native kings. Buddhism is given special recognition in the country's constitution, which states, "Sri Lanka shall give to Buddhism the foremost place and accordingly it shall be the duty of the State to protect and foster the Buddha *Sāsana*¹⁰⁵..." (chapter II.9, 2015).¹⁰⁶ Thus, gaining the state support for the above-mentioned preservation plan for Anuradhapura, the country's centre of Theravada Buddhism, was not a challenge for the archaeologists of the Department of Archaeology. In fact, the plan was initiated in 1969 in collaboration with Anuradhapura Preservation Board (Silva 1993).

Preservation Needs of Colonial Galle Fort, 1971

The preservation of Galle Fort, a "colonial monument" that fell totally outside the context of the national political agenda or the concerns of ordinary citizens, gained importance in parallel with these movements due to an unexpected incident.

During the insurgency of 1971,¹⁰⁷ the military had occupied some of the state-owned colonial buildings in Galle Fort and repaired them, damaging their archaeological value (Silva 1992). As the fort in general could be regarded as a monument according to the Antiquities Ordinance (No. 9, 1940), the Department of Archaeology imposed a 400-yard law (365.76m) around the "Dutch ramparts" of the fort, which in practice functioned as a control zone for building activities, both inside and outside the fortress walls (discussed in sub-chapter 4.2.2). This also reveals the Department of Archaeology's (Western) material-based preservation approach, as an institution that began under British colonial occupation and was headed by Westerners until 1931. This was a very influential incident, and prompted experts to formulate a preservation plan for Galle Fort.

103 The ancient city of Anuradhapura, political capital of the country from the 3rd century BCE to the 10th century CE, was a centre of civilization and Theravada Buddhism. The city, with its large Buddhist monastery complexes with great *stupas*, was established around the sacred Bodhi Tree (fig tree), believed to be a sampling of the fig tree of Bodhi Gaya, under which the Buddha became enlightened. It was brought to Sri Lanka by Sangamitta Teri, the daughter of Emperor Asoka and founder of the monastic order of nuns in Sri Lanka around the 3rd century BCE.

104 *Pakistan: Preservation of Historic Sites and Monuments with a View to Cultural Tourism* by R. Curiel, unpublished (Silva 1993).

105 *Sāsana* indicates Buddhism as a whole, including the doctrine, monastic order and religious practices. According to Obeyesekere, *sāsana* is the broad term connotes the "Buddhist civilizational order" (Obeyesekere 2017, 381).

106 The Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka (as amended up to 15 May 2015), Revised edition, 2015, Parliament Secretariat. Available at <http://www.parliament.lk/files/pdf/constitution.pdf> (accessed 30 October 2018).

107 Armed rebellion against the government of Ceylon carried out by the communist *Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna* (JVP or Peoples Liberation Front). The rebellions, including a second attempt to seize power in 1987, caused between 20,000 and 60,000 deaths (Hill 2013).

Galle Seminar, 1974

UNESCO's Director of Cultural Heritage, who visited the country in 1973, was so impressed with the Minister of Cultural Affairs and Tourism, and the line of thinking used by officials to develop "cultural tourism" with high potential, that it gained UNESCO's assistance (Silva 1993). Three heritage projects were funded by the UNDP in 1975 through the Director of Cultural Heritage, UNESCO (Silva 1993). This thinking on the part of the bureaucrats also affected the preservation plans for Galle Fort, as can be discerned from the Galle Seminar (1974).

Galle Seminar was held jointly in 1974 by the Galle Municipal Council and the Department of Archaeology, and was identified by the organizers as an attempt to stimulate public interest in preserving Galle Fort (Silva 1974b; Kullatillake 1974). The heads of related government institutions delivered talks on preserving Galle Fort during this seminar, which also emphasized the promotion of cultural tourism for economic development. The highlight of the seminar was a talk delivered by Roland Silva, then Assistant Archaeology Commissioner, about the need to preserve the city centre of Galle (1974). This talk largely focused on the economic benefits of preservation, especially to the local community in the form of homestay accommodation (Silva 1974a). Similarly, Bradman Weerakoon,¹⁰⁸ the Government Agent of Galle and a highly influential bureaucrat, also confirmed the importance of preservation on the economic development of Galle (Weerakoon 1974). Moreover, the Additional Director General of the Ceylon Tourist Board recognized the significance of Galle town in promoting cultural tourism (Silva 1974a). As bureaucrats in a developing nation, these individuals identified cultural tourism as a promising way to foster the economy of the local community, municipality and country as a whole. This government-led preservation movement was actively supported by local architect Ashley De Vos, another influential individual, conservator and later a heritage policymaker for Galle Fort.¹⁰⁹

108 Weerakoon served nine heads of state, mostly as Secretary to the Prime Minister/President, including Sirimavo Bandaranaike (1960–1965), considered the first female head of government in the modern world.

109 De Vos, a local expert, co-authored the first preservation plan for Galle Fort (1987), as discussed below.

Cultural Triangle and First Heritage Recognitions, 1982

A great step towards the heritage listing of cultural sites in Sri Lanka was the establishment of the Cultural Triangle (also known as the "UNESCO-Sri Lanka Cultural Triangle") in 1980, which aimed to obtain international financial aid to preserve country's cultural heritage by campaigning through UNESCO. Parallel to this, the Central Cultural Fund (both the fund as well as the institution of the same name), an alternative heritage institution founded to handle Cultural Triangle projects, was established in 1980 (discussed in sub-chapter 4.2.4). Roland Silva was the pioneer of these initiatives. The Cultural Triangle connected (later World Heritage-listed) Anuradhapura, Polonnaruwa and Kandy, which were the political capitals of the major ancient kingdoms of the country. The Buddhist cave temple Rangiri Dambulla (Golden Temple of Dambulla) and native rock fortress Sigiriya, with 5th-century murals, were located inside this triangle. Galle was an exception, situated outside the Triangle, a colonial city as well as a living city (although Kandy is also a living city, it is a local city that mainly has religious value due to the Temple of the Tooth Relic).

As head of Department of Archaeology, Roland Silva prepared nomination files for the first three Sri Lankan World Heritage sites, which were World Heritage-listed in 1982 (Sacred City of Anuradhapura, Ancient City of Polonnaruwa and Sigiriya).¹¹⁰ Conservation and management of these sites were carried out by the Central Cultural Fund. By 1988, Galle Fort and Kandy were World Heritage-listed, and Dambulla gained World Heritage recognition in 1992. No cultural sites in Sri Lanka have been heritage-listed since then, although two sites are on the tentative list, proposed consecutively in 2006 and 2010.

1.3.2 HERITAGE RECOGNITION: EXPERT EFFORT

By 1986, Galle Fort had been nominated for World Heritage listing by the state party. Roland Silva, then Archaeological Commissioner, and architect Ashley

110 Source: Université de Montréal, Canada Research Chair for Built Heritage. Available at <https://www.patrimoinebati.umontreal.ca/en/research-projects/active-projects/oral-archives-of-the-world-heritage-convention/roland-silva/> (accessed 3 July 2018).

De Vos, were the pioneers of this movement, while it was decisively supported by Rupa Karunatilake, then District Minister of Galle, who later became Sri Lankan Ambassador to the Netherlands.¹¹¹ These three individuals were among the ten members of the “Galle Heritage Committee,” which in 1987 formulated the first preservation plan, entitled “The Preservation of Historic City Centre of Galle” (discussed in sub-chapter 4.5.1). The preservation plan, co-authored by Gamini Wijesuriya (then Assistant Archaeological Commissioner) and architect Ashley De Vos, was presented to then-president of the country J. R. Jayewardene in February 1987. The plan identified Galle Fort as “A Monument of Dual Parentage” in order to gain political support for the preservation proposals, as discussed in sub-chapter 1.3.4. According to Lepelaars (1999), colonial heritage was placed lower on the public and political agendas, as it was not associated with the indigenous Buddhist heritage.

The Galle Heritage Committee included eminent scientist and Galle native Prof. Cyril Ponnampuruma,¹¹² who worked with NASA’s Project Apollo and was the science advisor of the Sri Lankan president at the time; Prof. Senake Bandaranayake, the director of the Postgraduate Institute of Archaeology; three higher-ranking officials from the Department of Archaeology;¹¹³ and an official from the Urban Development Authority. Although the committee included highly influential individuals, it had only one representative from the Citizens Committee, Ms N. D. Wijenayake, to represent the aspirations of the fort’s residents. Despite being a resident, she was

also Deputy Mayor of the Galle Municipal Council, thus representing politicians rather than residents. Therefore, the residents’ consent and contribution to the heritage recognition of their own town and the formulation of the preservation plan was not considered vital at that time, during the nomination process. Despite the Galle Seminar (1974), there was no information on significant public awareness initiatives aimed at the community of either Galle or Galle Fort, according to both government sources and the testimony of longtime residents of Galle Fort.¹¹⁴ According to Dr Gamini Wijesuriya, who contributed to the heritage nomination and co-authored the first preservation plan, the authorities managed to inform the “relevant people” about the heritage nomination, despite the fact that the process was dominated by experts.¹¹⁵

1.3.3 THE CRITERIA AND THE LACK OF MENTION OF THE COMMUNITY

In 1988, Galle Fort was recognized under criterion iv as the 200th World Heritage site, under the name “Old Town of Galle and its Fortifications.”¹¹⁶ In general, walled towns fall under the common inscription of UNESCO’s criterion iv, indicating that each constitutes “an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history” (UNESCO 2018; Creighton 2007). As will be discussed in sub-chapter 2.2.2, the World Heritage Convention, as well as the notion of World Heritage, represent a material-based preservation approach at the initiation, as also reflected in criterion iv.

The Advisory Body Evaluation of ICOMOS (1986) notes that the “outstanding architectural value” of the fort was the most important quality suggested by local heritage experts; this feature combines European and local traditions, and thus also fitted with the idea of a “Monument of Dual Parentage,” further elaborated in 1.3.4;

“Galle provides an outstanding example of an urban ensemble which illustrates the interaction of

111 “The largest stride towards protection was taken in the nineteen eighties when the then District Minister of Galle, also a son of this great city, played the major role to win the support of all the lovers of Galle and further whetted their appetite to a series of dialogues. The Minister’s strength was in his winning ways to draw each and all from the public sector and private, from those in this country and those outside” (Silva 1992).

112 Prof Cyril Ponnampuruma, whose research focused on the origin of life, was the principal investigator to analyse lunar soil brought from Project Apollo. He was highly respected in his home country, and thus became the Director of the Institute of Fundamental Studies (IFS) and the founding Director of the Arthur C. Clarke Centre for Modern Technologies, Sri Lanka.

113 This included Roland Silva, Archeological Commissioner, and Gamini Wijesuriya, Assistant Archaeological Commissioner.

114 Based on personal communication with a few longtime residents of Galle Fort, 2016.

115 Interview, 5 October 2018.

116 According to Silva (1992), Galle Fort was recognized as the 200th monument on the World Heritage list.

European architecture and South Asian tradition from the 16th to the 19th centuries” (Advisory Body Evaluation of ICOMOS, 1986).¹¹⁷

However, the evaluation also reveals that the prominent European colonial architecture of the fortress is valued over the local elements.

“Among the characteristics which make this an urban group of exceptional value is the original sewer system from 17th century, flushed with sea water controlled by a pumping station formerly activated by a windmill¹¹⁸ on the Triton Bastion.”

“However, the most salient fact is the use of European models adapted by local manpower to the geological, climatic, historic and cultural conditions of Sri Lanka. In the structure of the ramparts, coral is frequently used along with granite. In the ground layout all the measures of length, width and height conform to the regional metrology. The wide streets, planted with grass and shaded by suriyas, are lined with houses, each with its own garden and an open verandah supported by columns—another sign of the acculturation of an architecture which is European only in its basic design.” (Advisory Body Evaluation of ICOMOS, 1986).¹¹⁹

Finally, the most visible Dutch colonial architecture was prioritized:

“It is this fortified city built by the Dutch which exists with but few changes” (Advisory Body Evaluation of ICOMOS, 1986).¹²⁰

Thus, neither the urban community nor the intangible values associated with it were mentioned in the evaluation, but were considered by the Operational Guidelines only later on (discussed in sub-chapter 2.4.2). Furthermore, the town was not inscribed as an inhabited historic city under criterion vi, which the Operational Guidelines later revised with respect to this category (discussed in sub-chapter 2.2.3). In addition, some of the key individuals who contributed to the heritage nomination were European-educated heritage practitioners and scholars who were familiar with contemporary Western material-based heritage preservation.

According to Dr Gamini Wijesuriya, who contributed to the preparation of the nomination, the process was not as comprehensive as it is today.¹²¹ Thus, a living city was identified as a “collection of monuments” that could be well identified by the Advisory Body Evaluation of the ICOMOS (1986), as cited above. However, this is largely a result of the contemporary heritage practices of the time, and therefore cannot be solely attributed to the individuals who contributed to the process.

Due to all these factors (including the anticipated Dutch funds, which are discussed below), preservation of the prominent Dutch colonial architecture of Galle Fort became a matter of prime importance in the World Heritage project.

1.3.4 “A MONUMENT OF DUAL PARENTAGE”: A PHRASE WITH DUAL PURPOSE

The term “Monument of Dual Parentage” was strategically used by key figures of the preservation movement in the ’80s and ’90s, mainly to overcome two major challenges. First, it aimed to adapt the preservation of the colonial monument to the (post-independent) political agenda, which focused on ethno-religious nationalism based on politicized Sinhalese culture and Buddhism.¹²² Secondly, it aimed to secure the patronage of the Dutch for the proposed conservation programme, a solution to the financial limitations of the developing nation.

The idea of viewing the monument positively rather than as a relic of colonialism was proposed by Roland Silva and architect Ashley De Vos at the ICOMOS 8th General Assembly in 1987. “A Monument of Dual Parentage: The Preservation of the Historic City Centre of Galle, Sri Lanka” the preservation plan for Galle Fort (the above-mentioned plan presented to the president of the country), was presented in this assembly. According to Roland Silva, 85% of the designs of colonial monuments were indigenous, since they were “built with local

117 Available at <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/451> (accessed 4 July 2018).

118 There have been controversies over the existence of Dutch-period windmill, which so far has not been proven.

119 Available at <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/451> (accessed 4 July 2018).

120 Ibid.

121 Interview, dated 5 October 2018. In fact, a management plan has been considered compulsory for nominations since 2005, as discussed further in sub-chapter 4.5.4. However, Wijesuriya’s heritage approach largely changed towards a people-centred approach in later years, which he endeavored to promote during his time at ICCROM, as mentioned in sub-chapter 2.4.2.

122 Also known as Sri Lanka’s Sinhala Buddhist nationalism (briefly discussed in sub-chapter 2.5), this is based on politicized Sinhala culture and Buddhism (Jayasundara-Smits 2011).

material with the sweat and toil of the people of those countries.”¹²³ Thus, at the ICOMOS General Assembly, they proposed to call colonial monuments “Monuments of Dual Parentage,” “without disputing or destroying a heritage of nearly five centuries.”¹²⁴ This was applauded by all, especially the Dutch.¹²⁵ In the third term of Dr Roland Silva’s Presidency of ICOMOS International (1998), he invited the President of ICOMOS Netherlands to Sri Lanka to formulate a resolution for colonial monuments, which resulted in drafting the statutes of “Recommendation for ICOMOS to Form an International Committee on Colonial Settlements/Buildings of Dual Parentage/Mutual Heritage under ICOMOS Scientific Committees.”¹²⁶

Locally, the term was promoted mainly by the (local) experts in the preservation movement. While Bandaranayake (1992) identified the fort as a product of two cultures, “Dual Parentage” was further elaborated as the adaptation of local labor, workmanship and technology to suit colonial requirements in the production of the fortress (Vos 1987, 24; Wijesuriya and Vos 1987, 5; Kuruppu and Wijesuriya 1992, 33). A broader but controversial perspective on “common heritage” was formulated by Kuruppu and Wijesuriya based on the ideas of Donald Appleyard, an urban theorist:

“Whereas originally they belong to one social group, an often hated and powerful one, now they are treasured as belonging to all” (Appleyard 1977, quoted by Kuruppu and Wijesuriya 1992, 22-23).

123 “What we said was, from 1500 onwards, nearly the whole of the Americas, whole of Africa, whole of Asia except Thailand and the whole of Australia and New Zealand were colonial. If we all had the attitude of ‘these are colonial monuments and let’s get rid of them—that is something we wanted to beat.’” Interview with Roland Silva conducted by Christina Cameron (2011), Victoria, Canada. Available at <https://www.patrimoinebati.umontreal.ca/en/research-projects/active-projects/oral-archives-of-the-world-heritage-convention/roland-silva/> (accessed in 3 July 2018).

124 Ibid.

125 Ibid.: “We had a standing applause. And particularly the Dutch community came around to two of us and hugged us, saying, ‘Oh, what a lovely presentation!’”

126 Ibid. Enders (2014) identifies the Recommendation as part of the “Declaration of Colombo on Safeguarding of Physical Heritage Deriving from Dutch Contact with Asia,” followed by the international seminar “European Architecture and Town Planning Outside Europe (Dutch Period),” which took place in Colombo, Sri Lanka (24–28 February 1995). Available at <http://www.sbh.icomos.org/images/Documents/SBH-History-1998---2016a.pdf> (accessed 15 July 2018). Dr Roland Silva played a key role in the seminar from the local side.

The notion was used in the Department of Archaeology’s publication *The Conservation of the Galle Fort and its Environs* (1992). Campaigning to preserve a colonial monument in a post-colonial country with predominantly Buddhist heritage was identified by Kuruppu and Wijesuriya (1992) as one of the major challenges to and a new dimension of preservation. The brief articles by Bandaranayake (1992) and Kuruppu & Wijesuriya (1992) show how local heritage practitioners tactfully achieved their preservation goals by linking the monument to the native community that was once oppressed by colonizers. Bandaranayake (1992) placed the fort in the third phase of the overall urban evolution of the country by linking the colonization with native urban expansion. In addition, the author’s identification of the townhouses of the fort as examples of “local vernacular architecture” also reflects an attempt to localize the Dutch hybrid domestic architecture (Bandaranayake 1992). Thus, Logan stated, the “country’s archaeologists were able to incorporate the monument into a new vision of the national past” (Logan 2002, xvi).

In 1999, despite the invention of the term “Monument of Dual Parentage,” Lepelaars (1999, 36) noted that public support for the preservation of the fort remained low, as colonial heritage was not as close to the people’s hearts as Buddhist heritage.¹²⁷ The term did not reach non-expert residents, but was limited to local heritage practitioners, academia and Dutch stakeholders. In contrast, the idea had a positive impact on conservation finances, as funding from the Dutch government was the most significant among international donors, as discussed in sub-chapter 4.4.3. Large-scale conservation programmes were funded under the Dutch Common Cultural Heritage Policy (Ministry of Education, Culture and Science 2009, 1) which aims to “collaborate on the sustainable maintenance and management of common cultural heritage, on the basis of reciprocal political and substantive involvement” (Parthesius and Jeffery 2012, 273). Despite the substantial Dutch funds, neither the state nor contemporary heritage practitioners continue to identify the fort as “common heritage,” unlike the Dutch. But these consequences

127 Lepelaars also states that contemporary usage of the colonial heritage of Galle Fort for residential and commercial purposes makes it difficult to safeguard (Lepelaars 1999).

had a serious impact on the World Heritage project's preservation of the fort's prominent "Dutch" colonial architecture in the following years.

1.4 THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD HERITAGE PROJECT OVER THREE DECADES

While the developments of the institutional and legal framework of the World Heritage project are discussed separately in chapter 4, its progress over nearly the past 30 years is discussed here in brief.

1.4.1 THE FIRST DECADE (1988–1997): CONSERVATION AND PRESERVATION

With the initiation of the World Heritage project, priority was given to strengthening the institutional background, documentation and conservation of the monuments. The Galle Heritage Foundation was established by the Galle Heritage Foundation Act of 1994, a separate entity for the heritage city, as elaborated in sub-chapter 4.3.1. Dr Roland Silva, then Director General of the Central Cultural Fund (former Archaeological Commissioner) was the pioneer of this initiative. In the beginning, the Department of Archaeology's involvement in the heritage city was significant, which however declined over the next decades with the involvement of the Galle Heritage Foundation.

The Preservation Plan of 1987 (mentioned earlier and discussed in sub-chapter 4.5.1) was initiated by the Department of Archaeology immediately after the World Heritage recognition. As proposed in the long-term plans outlined in this document, the first systematic documentation of the buildings of the fort was conducted from 1988 to 1990 by the Department of Archaeology in collaboration with the Faculty of Architecture at the University of Moratuwa. The results were published in the Department of Archaeology's journal *Ancient Ceylon*, 15, entitled *Conservation of the Galle Fort and its Environs: A Special Volume to Mark the Occasion of the Completion of the Phase One of the Long-Term Preservation Programme for the World Heritage City of Galle* (1992). This documentation, which includes scale drawings of streetscapes with building

fronts, was decisive in assigning a material heritage value to the building stock, including private houses.

In addition, financial assistance from the Netherlands to conserve built heritage was also crucial during this phase, including the funding from the Dutch Municipality of Velsen under the twin-city programme with Galle Municipal Council, initiated in 1976.¹²⁸

1.4.2 THE SECOND DECADE (1998–2007): COLLABORATIVE RESEARCH WITH THE NETHERLANDS

The second decade reveals a significant change in management policies, with the involvement of the Urban Development Authority in regulating building developments in the fort, a response to the lack of control over building activities. In addition, the functioning of Galle Heritage Foundation as a project-planning institute could also be identified, while Dutch government-funded research/conservation projects were also significant during this phase. The end of this phase was characterized by the increasing commercial value of the fort's properties due to foreign/local investments, which subsequently resulted in gentrification, as will be elaborated on sub-chapter 6.3. In December 2004, the rampart walls saved the fort, which sustained only minor damages, from the massive Indian Ocean tsunami, which devastated the southern coast.

The second policy document, entitled "Conservation and Development of the World Heritage Site of the Dutch Fort in Galle," was formulated in 2002 (discussed in sub-chapter 4.5.2). The plan, which introduced guidelines for developers, was strictly centred on preserving the colonial architecture.

Scientific improvements to underwater-archaeology research in Sri Lanka had a positive impact on the World Heritage project during this phase. The Maritime Archaeology Unit (MAU), Galle, affiliated with the Central Cultural Fund was established with the financial assistance of the

¹²⁸ The programme was initiated in 1976 between the Municipality of Velsen and Galle Municipal Council on the 100th anniversary of the council of Velsen, with the aim to support and develop Galle (Wijnen 2010). 171 projects were carried out under this initiative from 1978 to 1996, while the biggest categories were development, economy and culture (Wijnen 2010).

Netherlands Cultural Fund in 2001.¹²⁹ The excavation and conservation of the Dutch East Indiaman *Avondster*, wrecked in 1659, was the first project carried out by the MAU and funded by the Netherlands Cultural Fund.¹³⁰ The project is significant as the first large-scale maritime archaeology project in Sri Lanka. The project also focused on training Sri Lankan underwater archaeologists and conservators and building a museum to display the excavated finds (Parthesius and Anderson 2007; Parthesius and Dayananda 2003). The establishment of a maritime museum, a long-felt need identified by two local policy documents consecutively in 1987 and 2002, was undertaken with the financial support of the Netherlands in 2010. However, underwater archaeological discoveries at Galle Harbour, and the extensive related publications, strongly influenced the World Heritage Committee's recommendations, in 2003¹³¹ and 2010,¹³² to extend the boundaries of the World Heritage property to the old bay with its shipwrecks. Simultaneously, these finds played an important role in changing the scope of the proposed Galle Harbour Development Project towards that of a commercial leisure port in 2013 (discussed in sub-chapter 7.7.3).

The Dutch government-funded Preservation of Private Houses Project (2006–2009), implemented by Galle Heritage Foundation and initiated in 2007, was prominent in supporting the local community of the fort during this phase. The project conserved or provided a façade representing “Dutch hybrid domestic architecture”¹³³ with collonaded verandahs to nearly 60 houses (depending on the evidence).

129 According to Parthesius (2007; 2012), the project was administered by the Mutual Heritage Centre and managed by the Sri Lankan government agency, the Central Cultural Fund, in cooperation with international partners from the Netherlands, Australia and Mexico. However, the main international partners were the Netherlands and Australia.

130 The *Avondster* was wrecked on 2 July 1659, while it was anchored near the Black Fort (Parthesius and Dayananda 2003).

131 In 2003, the World Heritage Committee stated that the borders and buffer zones of the property are not adequate, as they do not reflect the relationship of the harbour with the recent archeological remains of the bay (SOC 2003, 113).

132 “Given that the shipwrecks are important tangible attributes of the outstanding universal value of the property as a 17th–18th century fortified port on maritime trading routes, it can be argued that they should be included as part of the World Heritage property, rather than protected only by a buffer zone.” (WHC 2010, 128).

133 Elaborated in sub-chapter 5.1.3.

The project was an impetus for giving a Dutch colonial appearance to residential buildings that had been altered the passage of time. Thus, these projects (including the maritime museum, which explores the past glory of the VOC), which were welcomed by the country and the local heritage practitioners, also strengthened and popularized the “Dutchness” of the fort. There is a debate over whether the European archaeological practices of stakeholders in host countries are actually fundamental to achieving equal partnerships and/or decolonized forms of archaeology (van der Linde 2012).

In 1995 and 1998, the Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies (IHS) of Erasmus University Rotterdam organized a series of customized, Dutch government-funded three-month courses for Sri Lankans in cooperation with the Netherlands Department of Conservation (Lepelaars 1999). These courses, aimed at strengthening Sri Lankan expertise in promoting urban heritage, also focused on the timing requirements of the World Heritage project.¹³⁴ In August 2018, IHS conducted a training on “Urban Heritage Strategies for Sri Lankan Professionals,” attended by officials from the Urban Development Authority and the Department of Archaeology.

1.4.3 THE THIRD DECADE (2008–2018): ISSUES OF THE WORLD HERITAGE PROJECT

The third stage is noteworthy for the outbreak of critical issues regarding World Heritage recognition, which developed gradually over the years, similarly to most of the World Heritage-listed inhabited historic cities in the world (as discussed in sub-chapter 2.2.4). Among these issues, which affected inhabitants as well as the fort itself, are:

- i. excessive gentrification;
- ii. displacement of the local community and losing the sense of place;

134 Basnayake's study at IHS (“An Approach for Heritage Conservation of Galle Fort through Integrated Urban Development,” 1998) was based on an approach to heritage conservation for the fort that featured the integration of urban development. The idea, which later became a recommendation of the UNESCO Reactive Monitoring Mission Report 2002, was put into practice by the Urban Development Authority's Development Plan for Galle Urban Development Area 2008–2025 (2009) (discussed in sub-chapter 4.5.3).

- iii. unauthorized developments and threats to the Outstanding Universal Value;
- iv. commercialization;
- v. intrusive large-scale development projects inside the buffer zone, led by the government.

Furthermore, strengthening laws and formulating management policies based on the World Heritage Committee's recommendations are also significant. Thus, in 2009, the Urban Development Authority implemented Special Regulations (Planning and Building) for developments, and the first management plan, entitled "Integrated Management System," was formulated in 2015 (discussed in sub-chapters 4.3.2 and 4.5.4). Moreover, the large-scale Dutch government-funded conservation projects carried out during this phase were also important (discussed in sub-chapter 4.4.3). Most of the above-mentioned issues have received attention in academic research, both local and foreign, since 2010, while the community of the fort became a topic of interest in academia.

Abstract Space and the Struggle of the Inhabitants

Sanjeevani's study (2012) examines the "abstract space" of the World Heritage site produced by the authorities, and the inhabitants' responses to it. The author analyses case studies according to Henri Lefebvre's (1991) triad: Perceived, Conceived and Lived Spaces, in which the plan for the World Heritage site is viewed as an abstract space that the government, with the support of UNESCO, attempts to establish; meanwhile, inhabitants struggle to continue their lives. Therefore, the work identifies the inhabitants as "winners" and "losers" of the struggle (Sanjeevani 2012). One of the shortcomings of the work is that it lacks reference to the overall benefits the World Heritage project yielded in improving the residents' quality of life, which was addressed to a certain extent by the author's work in 2015, co-authored with Silva. Although the 2015 work mainly depends on the case studies of 2012, in contrast, the authors state that a surprisingly large proportion of the people have achieved their goals (Perera and Habarakada 2015). The authors conclude that UNESCO's humanism, which dominates a larger discourse, remains rather abstract, while the local/national government mainly aims to create a tourist economy through the project (Perera and Habarakada 2015).

Gentrification and Losing the Sense of Place

The gentrification of Galle Fort has received attention in academic research since the 2010s. Samarawickrema, who specifically discusses the gentrification of Galle Fort in her Master's thesis, concludes that gentrification of the fort's neighbourhoods took place through a combination of local, national and global processes (Samarawickrema 2012). The excessive gentrification of the fort is identified as a reason for its losing its sense of place (Sanjeevani 2012; Rajapakse 2013).

Protecting Outstanding Universal Value and Issues with Heritage Laws

Boxem and Führen's study (2012), which was carried out at the Technical University of Eindhoven, the Netherlands, is focused on how Galle Fort can develop sustainably, without damaging its Outstanding Universal Value. In conclusion, the authors highlight the necessity of the management plan (which was completed in 2015), and suggest adopting more decisiveness, both financially and with regard to human resources (Boxem and Führen 2010).

A critical examination of the heritage laws and guidelines was conducted briefly by Manawadu (2012), with special reference to the functioning of the Planning Sub-Committee and Special Regulations 2009. The author, also affiliated with the Galle Heritage Planning Sub-Committee (the committee discussed in sub-chapter 4.3.2) as a consultant, stated that the heritage guidelines neither meet the aspirations of the residents, nor the new trends in development (Manawadu 2012).

The Hegemonic Preservation Narrative

The impact of the heritage policies on the resident Muslims, who comprise nearly 50 per cent of the fort's population, attention in academic research. Based on the arguments of Dubrow and Goodman (1964) on the hegemonic preservation narrative,¹³⁵ Sanjeevani (2012) argues that prioritizing the preservation of the Dutch history has led the World Heritage project to remove the Muslim heritage of the periods before and after colonialism. In contrast, Boxem and Führen (2010) identify Muslim cultural requirements, such as the introduction of Islamic

¹³⁵ *Restoring Women's History Through Historic Preservation* (2003).

architecture in facades, verandahs and courtyards, as well as the subdivision of houses due to larger families, as threats to the Outstanding Universal Value. However, this “Muslim heritage,” which is not properly defined in Sanjeevani’s work, could be identified as the Muslim residential culture of Galle Fort, according to Lepelaars (1999), who predicted as far back as 1999 that it would pose future difficulties for the World Heritage project due to its differences and special requirements.

Conclusion

While this chapter provides ample archival evidence to prove that Dutch colonial architecture is most prominent in the fort, evocative of its most significant historic phase, it also argues that the essence of the fort lies in its community. As the World Heritage recognition of the Galle Fort in 1988 was a matter handled exclusively by experts, preserving the prominent Dutch colonial architecture has become a prime aim of the World Heritage project, with lesser importance placed on its resident community.