



LINKING HERITAGE:

YENYA PUNHI FESTIVAL A PATH TO REINFORCE IDENTITY. THE KATMANDU EXPERIENCE.

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for obtaining PhD degree in Art History.

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Linking Heritage:
Yenya Punhi Festival a path to reinforce identity.
The Kathmandu Experience.

By

Monalisa Maharjan

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Dedicated to

To My Parents

Maiya Maharjan and Nani Babu Maharjan

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List of Acronyms

DoA – Department of Archeology

CBS- Central Bureau of Statics

GoN – Government of Nepal

HMG – His Majesty Government

UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

ICCROM – International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property

ICOMOS – International Council on Monuments and Sites

KV – Kathmandu Valley

KVWHS – Kathmandu Valley World Heritage Site

KMC – Kathmandu Metropolitan City

NCP – National Planning Commission

WHS – World Heritage Site

WHL – World Heritage List

Abstract

In today's world heritage worldwide are at the risk not only because of natural process of decay and destruction but also by social change like urbanization, globalization and homogenization of cultures. With these emerging problems, the heritage conservation discourse also has reached to a new dimension including broader range of concepts like tangible heritage, intangible heritage, community participation, indigenous knowledge and many more. Even with the changing scenario in the international context about the heritage conservation, Nepal's heritage conservation still focus on monuments, sites and buildings. In add to that the conservation practices are still top-down approach and community involvements are limited only in plans. While numerous intangible heritages like masking dances chariot processions, festivals and rituals, which form an integral part of the daily social life of people are still being continued and managed by the community and its people, without with out serious attention form the government. In Kathmandu Valley these heritages has been maintained with the traditional social association of people known as "Guthi" which has been continuing since 5th Century.

Most of the tangible and intangible heritages have survived for centuries because of this unique association of people. Among the numerous festivals of the Kathmandu Valley, the festival Yenya Punhi was chosen as a case for this study, which is also a major festival of Kathmandu. This festival is the perfect example for the study as its celebrated in the city that is the most urbanized city of Nepal with the challenges of the every modern city like social changes and urbanization. Despite modern challenges Guthi still plays a major role in the heritage conservation in Kathmandu Valley. Now there are some interventions of the various formal institutions. So this study will be focusing on the management, continuity and problems of the festival along with Nepal's position in terms of intangible heritage conservation. The problem of Kathmandu and Yenya Punhi festival is the problem of every country in the similar situation so with this case

study it can be a good example for finding solutions of the similar problem not only the other festivals within Nepal but also elsewhere in the world.

Keywords: Intangible Heritage, Tangible heritage, Linkages, Conservation and indigenous system.

Resumo

Conexão de Património: Festival *Yenya Punhi* um caminho de fortalecimento de identidade: *A experiência de Catmandu*

Nos dias de hoje, os patrimónios mundiais encontram-se em risco, não só devido ao processo natural de degradação e destruição, mas também pelas mudanças sociais, tais como a urbanização, globalização e homogeneização de culturas. Com o emergir destes problemas, o discurso de conservação de Património atingiu também uma nova dimensão, incluindo uma área mais abrangente de conceitos, como por exemplo, património material, património imaterial, participação da comunidade, conhecimento indígena, entre outros. Mesmo com este cenário de mudança no contexto mundial de conservação do património, a preservação do património do Nepal continua a focar-se em monumentos, sítios e edifícios. A acrescentar a isso, as práticas de conservação ainda têm uma abordagem descendente e os envolvimento da comunidade são limitados por planificações. Enquanto que os numerosos patrimónios imateriais como danças com máscaras, procissões, festivais e rituais, os quais formam uma parte integral da vida diária social das pessoas que as continuam e as gerem em comunidade, sem uma atenção séria por parte do governo. No Vale de Catmandu, este património tem sido mantido pela associação tradicional de pessoas conhecidas como "Guthi" desde o século V.

A maior parte destes patrimónios materiais e imateriais tem sobrevivido durante séculos graças a esta associação única de pessoas. Entre os numerosos festivais do Vale de Catmandu, o festival Yenya Puhni foi escolhido para este estudo, pois é também um grande festival em Catmandu. Este festival é o exemplo perfeito para este estudo, pois é celebrado na cidade mais urbanizada do Nepal, com os desafios das cidades modernas tais como mudanças sociais e urbanização. Apesar dos desafios da modernização, os "Guthi" ainda desempenham um papel importante na preservação do património do Vale de Catmandu. Agora, existem algumas intervenções de várias instituições formais.

Então, este estudo irá focar-se na gestão, continuidade e problemas do festival, juntamente com a posição do Nepal em termos de conservação de património imaterial. O problema de Catmandu e do festival Yenya Punhi é o problema de todos os países em situação semelhante então, este estudo pode ser um bom exemplo para encontrar soluções de problemas parecidos, não só em outros festivais no Nepal mas também para qualquer parte do mundo.

Palavras-chave: Património imaterial, Património material, Conexões, Conservação e sistema indígena.

Introduction

Kathmandu Valley has a long history of both tangible and intangible heritage even though documented history found till now is from the beginning of the first century. Safeguarding of the tangible and intangible heritage has been carried out by the association of the indigenous people (Newars) known as *Guthi* that has been continuing till date since the 5th Century. But this traditional system, which has a deep root in the Culture of Newars, has not been recognized well by the Nepalese Government. But it has been depicted as just a source of funding the expenses of cultural heritage in form of land as most of these associations had resources in form of land and properties. And with the integration of the formal system of conservation in the Nepalese context this intangible heritage has been in shadow. Modernization and globalization brought rapid changes in the social structure of Nepal. This rapid change is accelerating the loss of the traditional value combined with the government apathy towards its own culture.

There are many intangible heritages in form of chariot festivals, mask dances, processions, and so on all year round. These intangible heritages are being taken care by the people on their own and most of the time even without any government support. These intangible heritages are so much integrated into the daily life of the people of Kathmandu Valley. People still live the heritage and in turn also heritage also run the social life of people.

Nepal adopted the formal conservation of heritage and the Ancient Monument Act was promulgated in 1951. Then the formal trend of conservation strengthened with the flowing of the foreign aid and experts who came to help Nepal Government in Conservation as a result Nepal also got its first UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1979. With the adoption of the new conservation strategy it forgot the ancient practices in Heritage conservation. The Guthi system was not even recognized as a heritage conservation practices except mere endowments for heritage. Despite having numerous intangible heritages Nepal still lacks the heritage laws for intangible heritage and one formal institution responsible for it.

Nepal has been influenced by the so-called western trends of conservation and has been following it since the start of the formal conservation system in the country. Now when UNESCO is also strongly emphasizing in safeguarding of intangible heritage, which can be seen by the adoption of the Conventions for Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2003. Nepal rectifying UNESCO Convention for Intangible Heritage in 2010, some effort in the safeguarding of intangible heritage in Nepalese context has started but in a very insignificant way.

Among the numerous rituals and festivals, Yanya Punhi festival is one of the major festivals of Kathmandu Valley, which is mostly celebrated in Kathmandu. This festival used to be regarded as a festival of the city in the ancient time. As UNESCO categorized five domains for the intangible heritage and this festival integrates all the five domains. In this festival there is intervention of government and community, which takes place in the most densely, populated city of Nepal. This age old festival still have linkages with the places, in add to that the places and monuments gains a life during this festival. Open space, monuments, performing platform and many more structures comes alive to tell the stories of the ancient place and people with the interaction of the intangible components. This festival is an excellent case study to know the linkages between the tangible and intangible heritage of Nepal. Also in this festival we can see the traditional way of conservation as well as the intervention of the formal ways. This festival has the many problems such as fund crunch, lack of support form government, mismanagement, effect of modernization etc. while the rays of hope is still there for the adapting the traditional heritage in modern ways.

My study aims to find out the issues with the intangible heritage in conservation. How the traditional way of heritage conservation can be integrated or taken to the next level of modern world. Draw some conclusions with linking the tangible and intangible heritage in the conservation as in context of Nepal where people still live the heritage, only conserving the monuments in isolation cannot be conserved in the long run. As Nepal is in the initial phase of start the formal conservation of

the intangible heritage, this type of study will help in adding the brain storming ideas in the heritage conservation. Nevertheless this research about the Kathmandu Valley but tends offers worldwide perspectives for other experiences.

The structure and organization of the thesis reflects those objectives of the research. The whole research is divided into seven chapters. The chapters are so arranged and written, as even the person without the knowledge of Nepal's history, geography, politics, architecture and social life can understand the context. The chapters are briefed as

The first chapter of this research focus on the methodological approach taken for the study of the festival "*Yenya Punhi*" regarding formal and indigenous management. With the explanation of the methodologies chosen, research carried out, this chapter also gives the main agenda of the research and the need of this type of this research to be carried out. It provides the context of the thesis and how the objectives have been moving. As a whole, this chapter is the window through which the whole research can be looked into and gives the broad idea behind the whole research.

Chapter two provides the research setting. After the discussion of the research strategy and its methodology it becomes very important to understand the context of the research. Starting with the geographical setting of the place, this chapter deals with the sociological, geographical, political and architectural background as the goal being to provide the context. In a way this chapter is a base where the research will be founded.

Chapter three deals with the traditional community system of taking care of the festivals and monuments. In this section, the traditional community and social system of management of rituals, festivals and monuments "*Guthi*" has been described also from the perspective of the local people as well as how the government attitude towards it. In add to that the title was also given as "*heritage*

in itself’ as its very unique and sustainable way of maintaining the festival, which has the history of more than thousand years.

Chapter four deals with the festival “Yenya Punhi” which is under the study. Under this the various components of the festival as well as the management and its Guthi has been described. Also, how the festival is being organized now, in the changing context of urbanization, modernization and globalization. It will also analyze the recent major event related to the festival, how people took the initiatives for the continuation of the festival. The ritual aspect of the festival has not been highlighted, as this is not the major concern of the study but more on the management side. This chapter is much largely based on the fieldwork that I took in 2014 and also my direct observation and interaction with the people. But I must say it’s one and the next of the pillars of this thesis and, if I could say so, the “excuse” for the project.

This chapter deals with how the festival is being organized now, in the changing context of urbanization, modernization and globalization. It will also try to do analysis of the recent major event related to the festival, how people took the initiatives for the continuation of the festival. The various overlapping institutions now involved with the festival, their complicated nature and the problems faced by the people because of the bureaucratic nature of the institutions. This chapter is also largely based on the fieldwork that I took in 2014 and also my direct observation and interaction with the people.

Chapter six deal with the national and international heritage laws and policies and its development. As this study deals with the case study of Kathmandu Valley but it does not remain in isolation. It’s influenced by the international context of heritage conservation as much as the Valley is being influenced by globalization. So it analyzes the national and international laws, conventions and policies. The festival being concentrated in the local level and focusing the national and international laws, will try to position the management of the intangible heritage in

context of changing heritage conservation trends. And also deals with the conservation of heritage according to the context where it belongs.

Chapter seven is the analysis and summarization of output of the whole research. It includes the research findings and the way forward for the conservation of the intangible heritage in the context of Nepal. The linkages we have been talking about the heritage of Nepal between the tangible and intangible is represented well in this chapter. And the unfortunate event of the century in the history which happened during the time period of the research, Earthquake of April 2015 is also mentioned as I feel morally obliged which did an immense damage to the life, property, monuments and soul of the people of Nepal. In the end it stresses out the area of the future research with the indigenous heritage conservation.

Chapter I

Organizing the research: working methodological issues

The first chapter of this research focus on the methodological approach taken for the study of the festival “Yenya Punhi” regarding formal and indigenous management. It starts with the research background; reason for carrying out this research and the methodological approach it took for the whole process. The national and international context in the process of heritage conservation has been briefed as well so that it will clarify why this type of study has been necessary. As a whole, this chapter is the window through which the whole research can be looked into and gives the broad idea behind the whole research.

1.1 Research Issues

a) Research Background

The concept of heritage has never been so wide as it is in the present time. The changing discourse in the heritage with the involvement of different sector, background and serious attention heritage is now receiving worldwide is making it even more dynamic. With the increasing opportunity there has been an equal or even more threat towards the heritage degradation due to urbanization, globalization and climate change including the unstoppable natural process of decay.

“What we consider today as a heritage was always not so, it became heritage through the interaction of variety of diverse factors. Now in this present time heritage means a broad theme and involves multidimensional stakeholders.”
(Skounti, 2009, p. 75)

Today’s serious concern is the challenge of the rapid changes in lifestyle, homogenization of culture and the developmental pressure which every country and its heritage has been facing all around the world. Nepal and its heritage is

not an exception. Being a developing nation with the burden of development and need for improvements in many sector it has an additional pressure. Kathmandu Valley, which house the capital city of Nepal is known for its tangible and intangible heritage, not only within Nepal but also around the world. Temples, monuments, rest houses, opens courtyards and so on are the physical ambience of it while all the year full of festivals gives life for the tangibility. Once also known as having more number of temples than the houses and more numbers of festivals than the days in a year (Wright, 2013). Now after almost one and half century later after that, due to the modernization and Urbanization in Kathmandu Valley of course the number of houses have surpasses the number of temples and monuments but if we keep on counting the number of festival and public rituals it will surely still be more than the number of the days in a year. The namesake capital city Kathmandu, in the Valley is the most populated city in Nepal according to the census of 2012 (Government of Nepal, 2012). So once the city full of temples is now facing the pressure of urbanization, modernization and also globalization, as every historic city of the world (UNESCO, 2011).

Kathmandu Valley has seven monument zones inscribed in the UNESCO World Heritage List, which are different from each other. It was inscribed according under the criteria iii, iv and vi.¹ Also it was inscribed not only for its exceptional architectural typologies and urban fabric but for the unique Newar² culture which is still alive, the syncretism of Buddhism and Hinduism which manifested in the unique art and architecture along with the legends, rituals and festivals (GoN³,

¹ According to Operational Guidelines 2005 of UNESCO the criteria (iii), (iv) and (vi) is defined as (iii) bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared.

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

(vi) be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance.

² As it was stated earlier, Newar are the people who are indigenous people of Kathmandu Valley and the language they speak is called Newari. Newar will be discussed in detail in the Chapter Two.

³ From now on Government of Nepal will be written in abbreviation as GoN.

2007). The heritage of Kathmandu Valley tangible and intangible, both are interlinked as people still live the heritage. Even though intangibility is well blended in the social life of the people and people still live the heritage, the intangibility is not addresses in the national law or policies of Nepal until Cultural Policy 2010, which addressed the need of separate intangible heritage laws, guidelines and institutions to look after it. The law for the tangible heritage named Ancient Monument Preservation Act (AMPA) was formulated in 1956. It defined Ancient Monument as:

“temples, monument, houses abbey, cupola, monastery, stupa, bihar etc which have their importance above One Hundred years, from the point of view of history, art, science, architectonics or art of masonry as well as the human settlement, relies of ancient monument, cave etc having specific value from the national and international point of view irrespective of the fact that that such settlements or places are adjoining with each other or are separate in the same area” (Department of Archeology, 1956; p. 2).

AMPA was mainly focused in the ancient monuments and did not define them as a heritage. But it took more than half a century to recognize the intangible heritage and need of its conservation. The first national documents, which have the holistic view of the cultural heritage in form of both tangible and intangible heritage, were formed only in 2010 as a National Cultural Policy. The new Cultural Policy of Nepal define Nepali National Culture as:

“...aggregated form of the tangible and intangible heritages, created and passed on by the different human community or communities inhabited within the boundary of the current Nepal during different periods of time and handed over to our responsibility after creating and adopting them by the ancestors of our different ethnicities and communities currently inhabiting, as well as the life-style in harmony with them.” (GoN, 2010; p. 6)

Still most of the laws and rules and regulations in the heritage conservation are mostly with the monuments and has a very less focus on the intangibility. And that too focused mostly in the UNESCO World Heritage Site. The concept of tangible heritage conservation is also new in the context of Nepal, which started only during 1950s. Until then, Nepal had the closed policy with very less interaction with the outer world. After 1950 with the extension of the diplomatic ties with the other countries, arrival of westerns in Nepal, the formal trends of conservation was also started in Nepal with the promulgation of Ancient Monument Preservation Act in 1956. Even without the formal laws the conservation and management of both tangible and intangible heritage has been carried out in Nepal by the traditional system called *Guthi*⁴, which was sustainable, and community based. Guthi is the associations of people for specific purpose with their own funds and divided by caste, locality and purpose. These systems have been continuing since the 5th century A.D. (Sharma, 1983) and are still functional. But are in stage of degradation due to the lack of government policy for its safeguarding and changing lifestyle of the people.

Heritage Conservation has been well established in the West (European Countries) than in Nepal and formal heritage conservation is relatively very new in the context of Nepal. Nepal has been also following the western trends of heritage conservation since Kathmandu Valley was listed in the UNESCO World Heritage List (WHL) in 1979. UNESCO's Convention concerning the protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage define cultural heritage by categorizing into three groups as monuments, groups of buildings and sites. According to which:

“monuments: architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;

⁴ The detail of Guthi is explained in separate Chapter Three.

groups of buildings: groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architectural, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;

sites: works of man or the combined works of nature and man, and areas including archeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view.”

(UNESCO, 1972, p. 2)

While conservation of the intangible cultural heritage is comparatively very new in the international context and it's defined in by the UNESCO Convention for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage as:

“...the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills- as well as the instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural spaces associated therewith- that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides then with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for all cultural diversity and human creativity.” (UNESCO, 2003; p. 2).

b) Statement of Problem

As already mentioned the heritage worldwide faces the threat of modernization, urbanization and globalization. The problem of Nepal is also the same but with the rapid process of urbanization and globalization that is within the just the short span of few decades. So with Nepal the threat to heritage is not limited to the global changes but also unable to recognize the heritage within Nepal by its government and take the necessary steps for its conservation. Even though the history of formal heritage conservation is very short compared to the legacy the tangible and intangible heritage of the country carries. Community involvement in

the heritage conservation and integration of the cultural heritage in the social life of the people has been the major reason for the continuity of the Heritage. In add to that Guthi system has been the major cause of heritage continuity in case of Kathmandu Valley.

The heritage of Nepal is also considered to be a living heritage where the monuments and temples still are connected with the daily social life of the people. Ancient squares and open spaces are still the place of the social interaction. But the formal heritage conservation policies and actions do not match with the traditional values of the society. As most of the conservation policy of Nepal is driven by the western influence of conservation (Chapagain, 2011). The Ancient Monument Preservation act mostly deals with the ancient monuments and no specific laws are there to deal with the intangible heritage. Festivals, folklores, dances, music, rituals and processions are the integral part of the heritage of Nepal.

The traditional Guthi system is one of the unique systems of the conservation is still not treated well or considered seriously. Most of the temples and its function are still being carried out by this traditional Guthi. If it were not for the Guthi and the local people in the Guthi then the cultural heritage would have been lost centuries ago. Government of Nepal spends only 0.4% of the National Budget in the cultural sector (GoN, 2010). Which is very low compared to the year around festivals and cultural activities happening. The Guthi Corporation now has the authority of most of the properties of the traditional Guthi is also not providing the sufficient support to the concerned Guthi. So, at one had government is not providing the necessary support and in the other hand the traditional funds in form of land and prosperities under the Guthi Corporation, is also not able to provide the required needs of the traditional Guthis. Apart form the government support there are many rituals and festivals, which are not dependent with the Guthi Corporations or Government of Nepal. These are being organized by the

private Guthi whose social bonding is much more stronger and are continuing with the financial and voluntary support of the Guthi members.

These social bonding and traditional social structures are being weakened with the modern way of lifestyle and rush for the personal growth. The youngsters does not have the sufficient time for the traditional activities and some Guthi are running out of support form the community as well as the people within. The Guthis that are functional is stretching its possibility and operating rituals and festivals in whatever possible way it can. Even with this situation the attitude of Government have not changed towards the indigenous culture, which make the heritage of Nation. The traditional institutions, which have the responsibility for the festivals and rituals, are still functioning in the traditional way even though many problems and situations have evolved with time. The indigenous people who are in charge of the traditional festivals and rituals have many grievances against the government authority for the apathy towards their heritage, which is the heritage of the Nation. The protest of the local people in 2008 during the Yenya Punhi festival shows the government hasty decision and ignoring the local people in decision-making⁵. The main assets of Nepal is it's living heritage and in add to that the responsible for its continuation are still the indigenous people but are not recognized seriously in the Heritage Conservation.

Apart form the decay and deterioration with the time, in add to the natural calamities like earthquake, the major problems of heritage with Nepal are:

i. The sudden change that Nepalese society is seeing. Modernization, Urbanization and Globalization is making Nepal modern loosing the traditional values and social ties. Especially in the Kathmandu Valley where situation is serious as for being the hub of the ancient tradition and culture and also being one of the most urbanized city of the Nation.

⁵ The event of 2008 will be discussed in detail in the chapter four. Also one of the reasons behind studying this subject is also inspired by this protest done by the indigenous people where the government was forced to revoke its decision.

ii. Government apathy to its culture and being focused in tangibility and that too in the UNESCO World Heritage Sites. The heritages of the local importance are left to perish. These heritage who does not have the inventory and record are once lost will be lost forever in the human civilization.

The second problem with the combination of the above first problem is accelerating the threat and loss of the heritage, which have the history of centuries and even more.

c) Purpose of Study

The main purpose of this study is how the intangibility in heritage can be addressed well in the modern context keeping all the traditional elements alive. As mentioned earlier there is no specific law for the safeguarding of intangible heritage in Nepal yet. So taking the example of one of the major festival of Kathmandu “Yenya Punhi Festival”, its management, operations, and continuity form the traditional and formal organizations, this study will find the way to forward for the heritage of Kathmandu. One of the major goals is critical analysis of the concept of UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage. And the next concern is in the country like Nepal where heritage is still “a living heritage”, in this situation could the new concept of the emerging intangible heritage conservation ideology applicable? As Nepal ratified the Intangible Heritage Convention in 2010 and also formulated the National Cultural Policy on 2010 to deal with cultural heritage in a holistic way. But still there is a long way to go in formulation of the policies and laws regarding the intangible heritage.

There are numerous Intangible Heritages in Nepal and festivals occupy a central position in the social and cultural life of the people as mentioned earlier. Among these numerous festival, “Yenya Punhi Festival” also known as the “*Indra Jatra* festival”, is the important festival of Kathmandu. This festival reflects most of the

festival of Kathmandu Valley and the outcome of the study of this festival can be applicable to other festival as well either the festival celebrated in grand scale like this one or in the smaller scale for the smaller festival. Most of these festivals within the Kathmandu Valley are still organized and managed by the traditional Guthi, along with the safeguarding of the monuments. The scale of organization or the involvement of groups may be big or small but the way of organizing all the festival is similar. The main purpose of this research can be summarized as:

- During the festivals the monuments, temples and other spaces also gets special attention. The notion of place is so much alive in the memories and practice of people so this research will also try to establish the linkages between tangibility and intangibility.

- To find out how the festival “Yenya Punhi” organized now with traditional community groups and so many formal institutions are playing its role. Document and analyze the roles of the traditional and formal institutions.

- To find out how the laws are treating the Tangible and Intangible Heritage in Nepal. Analyze the influence of the international conservation practices and the best way for the heritage of Nepal.

- To give some input regarding the indigenous heritage conservation practices “Guthi” on how to deal with it in future with the changing time.

The outcome of this case study can be replicated in any of the intangible and tangible heritage conservation in Nepal. It could also be applicable elsewhere in the world with the similar context where the heritage is still living. The uniqueness of Kathmandu Valley’s intangible heritage is “*Guthi*”⁶, an association of the people for the specific purpose. This system is in itself an intangible heritage due

⁶ Guthi is the Newari word that means association of people. It has influence in the social practice of the indigenous people. The detail of the Guthi will be mentioned in the Chapter 3.

to which centuries long traditions have been continuity till date. In most of the conservation practices Guthi is still neglected so with this research it also tries to establish the importance of including the traditional practices in modern conservation practices. Apart from Kathmandu and Nepal, these outputs could be applicable in the other countries where indigenous way of heritage conservation is present and the government intervention is low. The outcome of this can be a case study for the other places too.

1.2 Grand Tour of Research Questions and Sub-questions

Main Question

The traditional system of conservation and continuity those were functional and relevant in the ancient time. With the changing time of Globalization how this ancient tradition can be continued today or in future? How ancient expression of conserving heritage could be kept alive in the today's modern world? Especially for the heritages, which are still living.

Sub-Questions

Of course, looking at the main goal, there are some questions that come out smoothly. In order to reach the goal of answering the major question the following sub question will help to lead the way for the final destination. Here are some of them:

1. How the festival "Yenya Punhi" is being organized, by whom and how is the funding mechanism for it? Who are the main people and organizations for the continuity of the festival? Why are these traditional institutions still functional?

2. What is the missing link between people in charge of maintaining heritage and the formal government organization who claim to be taking the responsibility?

- Are local Guthi members really facing the problem?

- Is government organization is doing less for the festivals?

3. The accepted notion of Nepalese heritage as tangible and intangible being both inter-linked, does it actually reflect in policies, laws and formal conservation strategy?

4. How the national and international laws are dealing with the intangible heritage?

5. How to deal with the traditional system of heritage conservation in the future?

1.3 Rationale of the study

Cultural heritage and natural heritage are in great threat not only with the traditional causes of decay over time but with changing the social and economic condition the situation is worse (UNESCO, 1972). Now, more than half of the world's population lives in urban areas (UNESCO, 2011). Due to the increasing population, movement of people in the urban areas, economic possibilities in those areas there has been an increased pressure due to Urbanization and Globalization, Development and Environment degradation. In one hand it's increasing the economic benefit and opportunities for the people while in other hand decreasing the traditional functions and urban space (UNESCO, 2011). The urban areas with the historic values face more danger of losing its traditional culture both tangible and intangible for the priority over economy and development. Heritage conservation that was primarily meant as collection of the object and single monument now broadened its scope unprecedentedly. Now heritage means much more than just some collections but also the traditional know-how which still make it, the living culture, performances, the space those culture thrive on, social and cultural practices and much more. International Heritage conservation practices which is criticized for being "eurocentric" is now

having dynamic changes incorporating the conservation needs and practices of the countries other than Europe.

It has been a long wait since the proclamation of the convention concerning the protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage in 1972 until the Convention for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage in 2003. Between the two landmark conventions there were many discussions regarding the intangible heritage but finally the 2003 convention was promulgated. So now heritage does not only mean the monuments, collections, group of the buildings but also music, festivals, rituals, traditional know-how and many more. Now, in the recent years the issues of heritage as even broadened its horizon by incorporating the key issues of this changing world like globalization and urbanization, climate change, sustainability and so on. The UNESCO Convention for the Intangible Cultural Heritage 2003 or Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape 2011 has been a new input for the conservation practices to address the need of country like Nepal where people still live the heritage and the connection between the people and place is still well connected. The developing country like Nepal, which has seen the rapid changes in the recent decades, now has the issues of development to deal with including the conservation of the cultural in this fast changing world. And the pressure is more with the historic capital city like Kathmandu.

Kathmandu, the capital city of Nepal as already mentioned is most densely populated city of Nepal according to the census report of 2011 (CBS, 2012). It not only the capital city status that defines Kathmandu but its also a cultural hub. The whole Kathmandu Valley is also considered as a cultural capital of Nepal, which has a long history of art and architectures. Kathmandu Valley's heritage came into the global arena after being inscribed in UNESCO World Heritage Site (WHS).

“The Kathmandu Valley World Heritage Site was inscribed on the World Heritage List under criteria iii, iv, vi. Consideration has however been given to the fact that the criteria, as formulated in 1979, have evolved as a basis for giving more attention to “living cultural traditions” in management of the present day World Heritage property.” (DoA⁷, 2007, p.3)

Apart from the seven monument zones, which are inscribed, as the WHS Kathmandu Valley consists of many monuments, temples, squares, stupas, monasteries and many more which are of great traditional value for the local people. Kathmandu Valley was kept in the List of World Heritage Sites in Danger in 2003 *“due to the loss of traditional vernacular heritage and persisting uncontrolled development.”* (DoA, 2007; p.8). Although most of the monuments within the monuments were in good conditions and some even better when it was inscribed but due to the degradation of traditional landscape Kathmandu Valley World Heritage Site was placed in the danger list (DoA, 2007). After the significant commitment and improvement shown by the Government of Nepal it was kept out of the danger list in 2007.⁸ Still the growing population and unplanned urbanization is a threat for the Valley’s heritage. Kathmandu Valley is no exception to the other cities of the world with the historic values and changing in fast pace is facing the threat of urbanization and globalization, Urbanization and Environmental degradation as addressed by Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape of UNESCO.

The cities of Kathmandu that was formed as the process of evolution over time adjoining and growing small villages and cities (Slusser, 1998). The unique architecture of Kathmandu Valley which we see now is mostly from the Malla

⁷ From now on Department of Archeology will be written as DoA.

⁸ After the devastating Earthquake of April 2015, the threat of KVVHS to be in the danger list was expected but now nearly a year after the earthquake with the pace of the reconstruction and renovation, there are emerging concerns of being KVVHS in danger list again.

period (1400-1769) but the city plan and urbanization dates back to the Karat⁹ Dynasty with the history of 2000 years (Tiwari, 2013). Even though there was constant references to the dynasties like Mahisapala and Gopalas (the dynasty of buffalo herds and cowherds) indifferent chronological before the arrival of the Kirata dynasty (Tiwari, 2013) but the writer like Gutschow disagrees with it as it was made up in later in the history (Gutschow, 2011). Kathmandu Valley, which was in isolation due to its geographical setting, developed its own culture and later evolved into creating its unique culture with the arrival of the major religion Buddhism and Hinduism. The indigenous culture of the Kathmandu Valley was present well before the arrival of the mainstream cultures and its influence can still be seen in both the culture (Tiwari, 2013).

With the changing ruling dynasties did not change the culture of Kathmandu Valley but instead merged into the culture of the Valley leading to the formation of a new culture over the time. It's not the religious and social life of people that remain in the continuation since the very beginning of the civilization but also the physical structure. The ancient city of Kathmandu has still the foundation as of the city during the Kirata period (Tiwari, 2013). The plan of Kathmandu has been designed to accommodate the social life from the very beginning. The architecture of the city well reflects the social structure. Most of the physical existence in form of the temples, palaces, stone sprouts and many more are from the Malla Period (1200 – 1769). While some influence of the European style with the white washed buildings can be seen in Kathmandu Hanuman Dhoka Durbar Square and some Rana Palaces scattered around the Kathmandu Valley. Narrow streets, compact two- three story houses with the courtyards and the temples and rest houses everywhere are the typical Newar style architecture that is still found in the Valley. The indigenous people of the Valley are called Newars, who are divided by the caste and locality. Newars are the urban dwellers; even the farmers live within the city.

⁹ The dynasty which came after the dynasty of cowherds and buffalo herds but most of the historians and researchers believe them to be the first dynasty in the history of Kathmandu Valley.

Monuments of Kathmandu Valley always have the threat of two natural phenomenon that is earthquake and dampness (DoA, 2007), in spite of these natural processes there are numerous monuments in Kathmandu Valley and the credit for this is given to the traditional system by Tiwari as

“Historical architecture of Nepal is not only characterized by a remarkable continuity of theoretical principles of design, proportioning of form and consistent use of particular materials and décor but also by a tradition of conservation, involving reconstruction and renewal, perpetuated through the system of Guthi” (Tiwari, 2002b, p.1).

Guthi means an association of people to fulfill social and religious task. It is derived from Sanskrit word *Gosthi* meaning association of the people (Regmi, 1968; Slusser, 1998). For the continuation of the Guthi's work there is a fund in form of land. Each one of them has their own funds for the various purposes like maintenance, rituals in the temples, and organizations of the festivals. Even for the small purpose as offering the betel nuts for the temple there is Guthi (Wright, 2013). It has a deep association with the social life of the Newars but for the non-Newars it does not have organic part in the social and cultural life (Toffin, 2005). As Regmi (1968) mentions, for non-Newars its simply means the endowment. These Guthi are still a functional part of the Newar society and have lost many of its functions when the Government Nationalized most of its lands and formed the formal organization called Guthi Corporations in 1964 (DoA, 2007). The Guthi Corporation also defines Guthi as an endowment in its 1964 Guthi act (GoN, 1964).

The nomination document also define the criteria of listing Kathmandu Valley in UNESCO WHS not just because of the magnificent Newar architecture but also due to the syncretism between the Hinduism and Buddhism with animist rituals

and *tantrism*¹⁰. The unique “Newari Culture” which is still living and is known for the highly developed craftsmanship. The monuments, temples and the traditional structures are linked with the intangible aspects like rituals, festivals and legends. (DoA, 2007). All around the year rituals and the festival of different form like chariot procession, mask dances, procession for the dead and many more are still in continuation since many centuries. Most of them are still carried out by the traditional Guthi system. Even after the Kathmandu Valley was taken over by the Shah who did not help in the continuation of the Newar festival as before and all the income were stopped by the government. The traditional groups who continued to do all the traditional work like chariot making, mask making and so on continued as before (Levy, 1905/2007).

As Levy (1905/2007) mentions the traditional Nepal can be seen in the today's festival and after more than a century later after he wrote it in his book *Le Népal* still the traditional Nepal is seen in the festival. There are still numerous festival celebrated in Nepal, Anderson (2010; p. 19) writes “...*somewhere every day in the little Asiatic Kingdom of Nepal there is a festival and the gods have provided them with a perfect setting.*” These festivals, dances, rituals and traditional practices, which are so much embedded within the Nepalese culture still, does not have the conservation laws. The continuation and support of the festival by the Government is guided by the interim constitution of Nepal only. The intangible heritage is comparatively a new word in the context of heritage conservation of Nepal that came into existence in the formal policy of Nepal only in 2010 after Nepal ratified the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage. Most of the festivals and traditional practices are still in continuation with the support of the traditional groups and institutions. The formal heritage conservation laws and practices are present for the tangible heritage but it's not so case of intangible heritage in Nepal.

¹⁰ *Tantrism* is a movement within both Hinduism and Buddhism, based on scared text called *tantras* composed from the 7th Century onwards, which emphasized the mystical and psychosexual aspect of religious practice and iconology.

As for the intangible heritage there has been a very limited research. But there has been the research for the Guthi, festival and ritual from the anthropological sociological and religious perspective. The festival *Yenya Punhi* has been studied earlier by Pradhan (1984) where the focus was on ritual practices. Other writers like Hoek (2014), Joshi (2007) has also written mostly about the ritual of the Yenya Punhi festival. So in a sense the study of this festival is not new in itself, as many writers have written about the festivals. As I went through the more written articles and short books on festival Yenya Punhi written in Nepali, English and Newari like “Indra Jatra & Old Kathmandu” of Ranjitkar (Ranjitkar, 2003), “Yenya” of Shakya (Shakya, 2012) and “Nepali Chaadparva” of Joshi (Joshi, 2010). Most of these researchers had focused on the ritual aspect and some seem like a mythological writings. There is the knowledge gap in the aspect of the festival in management level, and treating rituals, festivals and practices as a heritage. The myth and legends about the King for initiating the festival has been well explained but less has been written about the actual people responsible of safeguarding of such heritage.

The research gap is also seen in the study of Guthi as a way of safeguarding heritage. Though, many researchers mostly in anthropological and social perspectives have studied Guthi system. The various castes Guthi like Chitrakar Guthi (Guthi of painter caste), farmer Guthi according to locality and music, Rajopadhaya and so on by Toffin (2008) from the anthropological perspectives. But the Guthi for the conservation of heritage is not studied well. The new researchers like Pradhananga (2011) in her thesis dissertation has studied Guthi as the heritage conservation tangible heritage conservation connection with the place. But there is still gap in the knowledge regarding the traditional system of conservation of festivals.

Tangible and intangible heritage of Nepal are considered to be blended in the Nepalese culture but less has been studied intangibility as heritage. Many researches have been done and books were written about the tangible heritage

of Kathmandu Valley. This research will be a step in the addition of the knowledge in the safeguarding of intangible heritage of Nepal. Especially, when the country is in process of documenting intangible heritage and awareness of traditional know-how has started to get attention. So with the case study of the festival as a heritage where traditional practice is still strong, can a small contribution for the other intangible heritage of Nepal too. The knowledge gap in the conservation and policies of treating intangibility as heritage and indigenous practices as a management, this research is an endeavor in a process of filling the knowledge gap.

1.4 Researchers Position

As we begin with the introduction of the research methodology it is very important to clarify my position as a researcher. I was born and brought up in Kathmandu and that too in a typical Newar family. I had spent my whole life in Kathmandu until I moved for the PhD study in Portugal. As living within the valley the festival was a part of everyday life. The monuments, temples and squares have been just a backdrop that I pass by everyday. But my passions for heritage deepen after I did my masters thesis regarding conflict between the private house owners within the UNESCO World Heritage Site of Kathmandu Valley. After going through the researches done by many people from within Nepal as well as outside Nepal many of whom even not belonging to that culture and also the ones who have not lived the culture. So I strongly felt the need to do research from the people who know the context of the indigenous system and write about it. Not only from the people who can understand the culture but also who has felt and lived the culture. This was the beginning for my research in this subject.

Being the part of the community has been a boon as well as curse for the research. Belonging to the Newar community has given me a benefit of knowing the culture and language. People were easy to open with me and the information collection was comparatively easier. With the local people mostly the

conversation was in Newari, the language of the indigenous people. While it also carried the drawback as being women at most of the places I was not allowed to enter. And they considered me as one of them but not as a researcher so most of the time when I was trying to get the information (mostly the old people) consider as I should be knowing the answer for it. Also studying here in Europe helped me to gain the perspective of outsider for the festival and its management, which I would have been blind to if I was studying in Kathmandu. Being out of the place where I belonged helped me to look from the perspective of outsider and not to take things for granted. I was more conscious for whole time not to be biased towards the research based on my personal perception and I tried my best to be as neutral as I could. To avoid this I gave my writings to read among my friends and discussed my research with those who do not belong to that culture so that I can have their perception and improve in my shortcomings.

The course of my research has been filled with so many ups and downs. Along the way I had so many helping hands to teach me not what to and how to study but left with the curiosity to know and fill the knowledge gap. Since the start of this research I have been in contact with many people who has done the research in Nepal in cultural heritage as well as the people who are involved in the heritage conservation within and outside the Nepal. My inception of research was much vague and unclear was been crafted with the people who I interacted and discussed the idea of my thesis. Form the university professor to the experts and layman in the field has influenced greatly in this research. As for the title of the research came out of the interaction with the local people. Previously it was titled with the *“Indra Jatra”* which was a non- Newari way of addressing the festival and later I chose the title to be *“Yenya Punhi”* after returning from the field, which is the way local, addresses the festival. The local way of addressing the festival tries to cover the multidimensional and complex nature of the festival. *“Indra Jatra”* means worshipping of God *Indra* while *“Yenya Punhi”* means celebrations of Kathmandu and in a true sense it is indeed celebration of the existence of the city which will be clear in the chapter with the festival later.

Being in the CNRS (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique) in Paris for a week and having the opportunity to work with the researchers there has been a greatest asset for this research. Prof. Gerard Toffin in CNRS has been very helpful to guide who himself had done research in the culture of Nepal. The library there also helped me to increase the bibliography for the research. Some of the books like Kathmandu Valley, the preservation of physical environment and cultural heritage a protective inventory (published in 1979) that was an inventory before Kathmandu Valley was listed in the UNESCO WHS and out of print was available there along with the other research articles out of normal reach (Pruscha, 1979). Some of the materials in CNRS could not be directly used in this research but helped me to understand the research background and move on with the research.

While I was in University of Bergen, Norway for the summer school, the library there was also helpful in collecting research materials. In add to that interactions I had with the various people who had the experience of Nepal while some with the experience in heritage conservation help me a lot to have a wider perspective in heritage and its conservation. The various conferences and courses I attended all around the world during my PhD helped me a lot. The most being the networks I had with the heritage experts and institutions, which helped me to have the information regarding the current development in the field of heritage. I have tried my best to reflect all these experiences in this work.

1.5 Conceptual Framework

For any research to be conceptually clear is very important so here in this research also I am trying my best from the very beginning in that process and

also not to divert it elsewhere. The research plan is revolved around the four components. This research focus on the major component being the festival which takes place around the old city of Kathmandu with the various tangible heritage. Next is the traditional heritage management called Guthi system which is responsible for carrying out festivals, ceremonies, rituals or we can say intangible heritage along with the national policies and laws regarding the intangibility.

This four component of research can be represented in the diagram as in Figure 1.1. The inter-linkages between Place (Kathmandu) and Intangible Heritage (Place) can be studied in the presence of the formal practices and traditional system. These two systems that seem to be working in parallel in the support of the traditional practices. The research also aims to see the connection between those two systems in practice, policy and plans as shown in the diagram.

These four components are the guiding marks in the research as one of the defect of the Case study research is researcher tend to find many interesting things and subjects during the field visit and is tempted to do the broad rang of things.

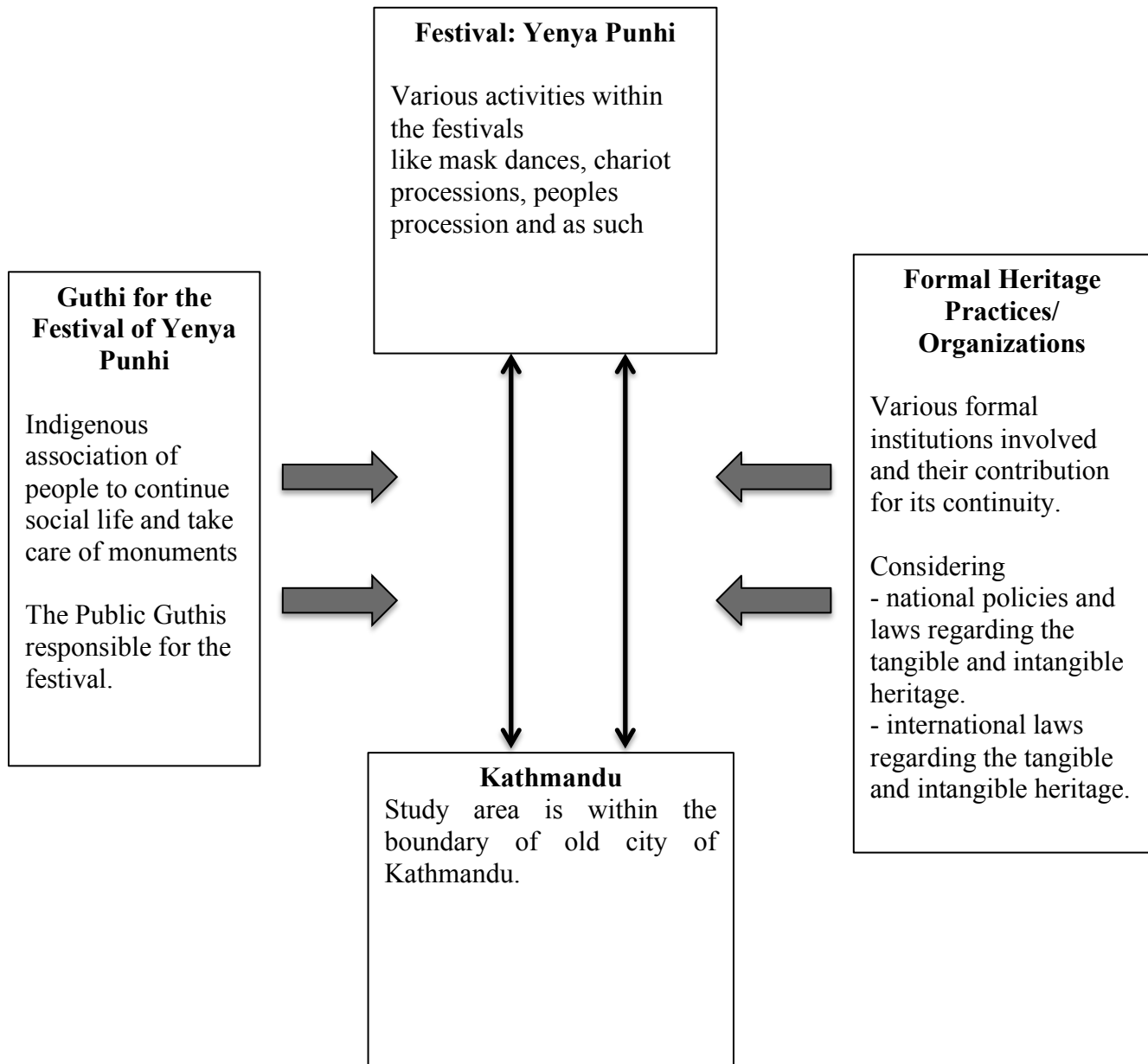


Figure 1. 1: Conceptual Framework of the research. (Source: Author)

1.6 Research Method and Procedure

Methodology

There are several ways of research in the social science such as ethnography, experiments, surveys, histories, archival analysis and many more depending on the questions and nature of the study. Some of the methods like Ethnography; Qualitative methods also could be used for this research. For the Ethnography method the ethnographer should invest much time with the community (O'reilly, 2005) and with the time limitation I had it was not possible. Also through this research I want to have the international perspective of the heritage conservation and not to be limited within the Kathmandu and Nepal. With the broader knowledge and understanding the result could be applicable in other cases outside Nepal as well. So instead of spending much time in the community I chose to have the wider knowledge in the international trends of the heritage conservation. So analyzing and going through the various research methodologies, for this research case study method was chosen.

Strategy	Form of research question	Requires control over behavioral events?	Focuses on contemporary events?
Experiment	How, why	Yes	Yes
Survey	Who, what, where, how many, how much	No	Yes
Archival analysis	Who, what, where, how many, how much	No	Yes/no
History	How, why	No	No
Case study	How, why	No	Yes

Table 1.1: Relevant Situations for Different Research Strategies (Source: Yin, 1994)

Every research strategy has its advantages and disadvantages depending on a) the type of research question, b) the control of researcher over the event and c) focus on the contemporary phenomena. (Yin, 1994). So according to the analysis of Table 1.1, regarding various research the case study method was chosen for this research. The benefit of Case study method is it help to do first hand in-depth research of the research topic as in its true situation without having control over the subject being studied. According to Yin on case study method:

“Compared to other methods, the strength of the case study method is its ability to examine, in-depth, a “case” within its “real-life” context” (Yin, 2006).

Case Study methodology is widely used in many fields as psychology, sociology, political science, business, social work and planning. It can be qualitative or quantitative; single case study or multiple and also can be descriptive (Yin, 1994). With the case study method the information could be collected in the natural setting and without having control over the situation. Case can be of different types like a person, a program, a group or a specific policy and many more (Yazan, 2015). For this research the single case study research of the festival was chosen and in-depth analysis could be made of the case. According to the nature of this research, it is not limited to one field of study. It covers many fields like sociology, anthropology, heritage conservation that also makes it more inclined towards the use of case study. So basis of this research is real life festival and its management where case study method is strong.

As suggested by Yin (1994), to make a good case study it is better to use as many sources as possible. So the various sources of evidence were used for the research and that too mostly during the field visit. The sources like documentation, interviews, direct observation and participant observation was used for this research. The use of many sources was not just an attempt to make the research better but also the sources were the need of research and the context of the study. This made possible to cross check the information collected

from one source with the other source and also not be biased with the information. The different sources of evidence collection used were as:

Documentation

Various documents like newspapers, reports, policy documents, laws and so on were referred from the very beginning of the research. The newspaper articles and the reports related to Guthi, Yenya Punhi festival and the management of heritage in context of Kathmandu Valley were reviewed. But the documents like unpublished reports, new policies were collected during the fieldwork. These documents helped during the field visit to verify what the people were saying and the actual condition of the case study. With the digitalization of the various journals done by the universities and research institutes outside of Nepal helped me a lot to get access to them. If I had to collect them through the library within the Nepal then it would have been a very hectic task and also next to the impossible.

Archival Records,

The archival records were used to some extent like the list of the Guthi from the Guthi corporation and expenses given to them and so on. But the old archives in form of the hand written notes in the records could not be used because of the difficulty in the understanding and limitation of the time. Also to get the records from the government institution was very much difficult.

Interview

Interview was one of the major sources of the evidence that were recorded with the permission of the respondent. The interviews were mostly open-ended and continued an hour or two. But there was some set of questions for the every group of the interviewee depending on which background they belong as categorized in research design. The interviewee was selected on two ways first as picked by the researcher while doing the literature review. The people who had knowledge of the subject were chosen. The next way of choosing the

interviewee was by snowball sampling method. During the field visit with the recommendation of the interviewee the people were interviewed which was a very good source of information. Not only the respondents provided the contact address and information about the person but also provided with their references so that the respondents would be more helpful to me. And this was of great help during the field interview.

Direct Observation

As the major aim of field visit was also to observe the festival so the field visit was planned accordingly. The interview and document collection process was started much earlier before the start the festival. So it was easier to get the information about the festival, groups responsible for the organization. It helped to get information of the preparation phase of the festival and observe it. The Guthi members even invited to observe the festival which was not allowed to everyone. Also belonging to the community helped to disguise as one of them and could observe the process and events without getting attention or disturbing the environment. Notes, pictures, videos were collected during the observation as an evidence.

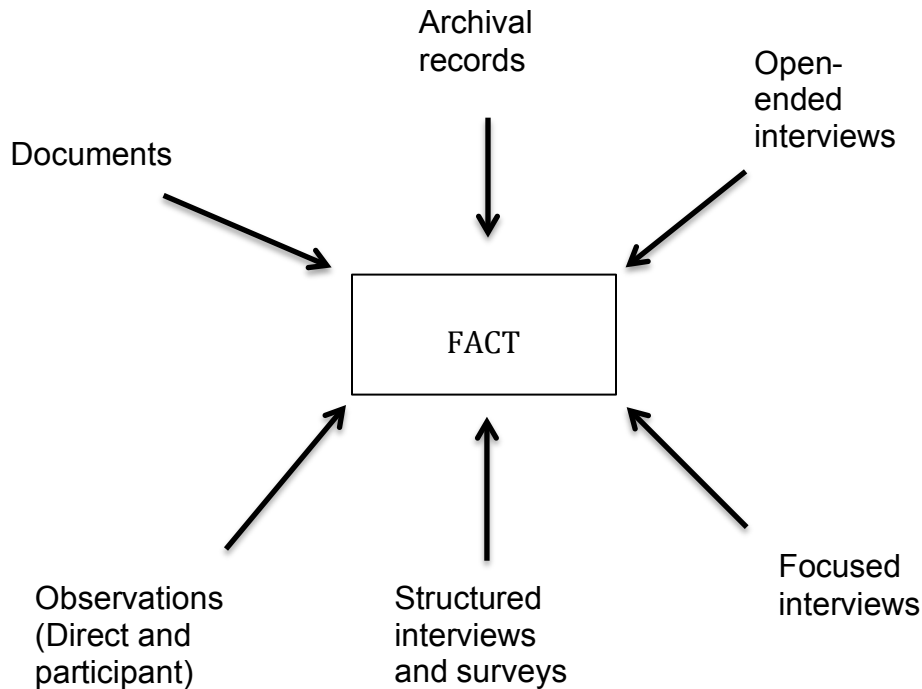


Figure 1.2: Convergence of Multiple Sources of Evidence (Single Study)
(Source: Yin, 1994)

By using all the techniques of data collection, it guide toward the same case study. The use of different techniques helped to cross check the data obtained from the different sources. For example, during the process of data collection most of the Guthi members pronounced the names differently so the document review helped to get the correct names. In add to that the observation helped to verify the claims being made by the government authority and also the events occurred in the festival was fresh source to get to know what actually happens even though different people says the different things.

1.7 Case Study Design

The case study was designed as a single case study of the annual festival of Kathmandu that is Yenya Punhi. During the festival the various other sub-festival takes place but all of them are considered under the same festival. For the organization of this festival the various institutions are involved. So for this case

to get the information I categorized them under the four components for the collection of the information according to their background as in figure 1.1. Guthi members who are not much active and only responsible for the organization of the festival cannot answer the question related to the funding form the government and management process so for that the Guthi member leaders were selected. They were the people who belonged to the Guthi, have roles within the traditional Guthi but also plays the role of negotiation with the government and other organization, responsible for the management and other work.

Experts are the people who were from the various sectors. Some respondents were professors of the university, some hold the position in the government offices while some are the people working for the heritage conservation. These experts were anthropologists, architects, social entrepreneur, media people and so on. While the government officials where experts also but mostly were people who were working for the government organization that are involved with this festival and heritage. Mostly were involved with the official work within the government. Also the people of non-government organization like local clubs and UNESCO were there.

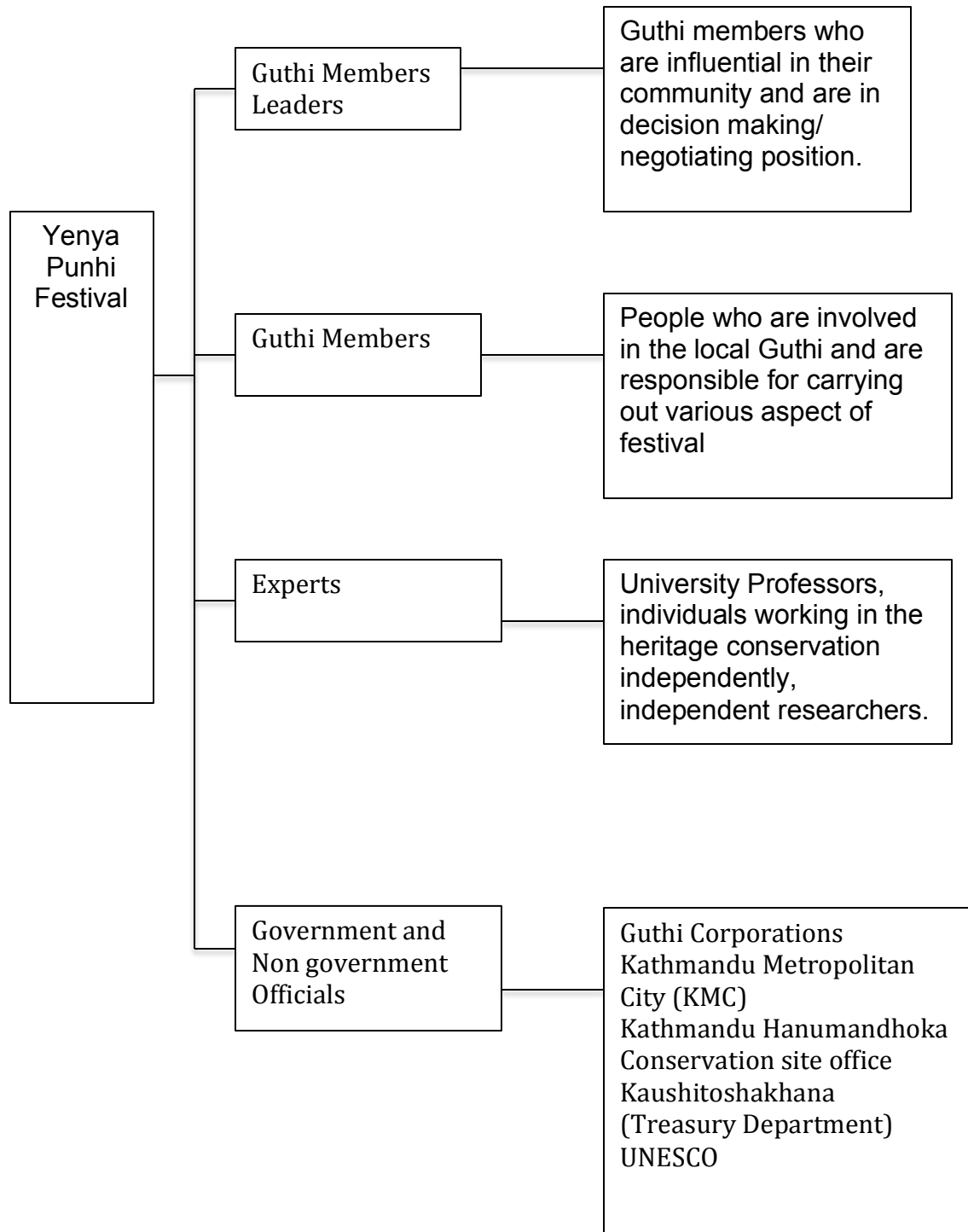


Figure 1.3: Components of study (Source: Author)

1.8 Validity and Generalizability

a) Quality of Research design

For any empirical research trustworthiness, credibility, conformability, and data dependability are the four major tests for the quality of the research. As Case study is also one of the empirical research and these four tests is valid in this study also. As Yin has developed for the tactic for the case study method which will be used in this research as well as presented in the table below

Tests	Case Study Tactic	Phase of research in which tactic occurs
Construct validity	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- use multiple sources of evidence- establish chain of evidence- has key informants review draft case study report	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- data collection- data collection composition
Internal validity	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- do pattern-matching- do explanation building- do time series analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- data analysis- data analysis- data analysis
External validity	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- use replication logic in multiple-case studies	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- research design
Reliability	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- use case study protocol- develop case study data base	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- data collection- data collection

Table 1.2: Case Study Tactics for Four Design Test (Source: Yin, 1994)

To ensure the construct validity is maintained the different sources of evidence collection were used which has been explained in the previous section. Also the chain of evidence was established. As for the internal validity, the explanation building was done.

For the external validity, the case study was even though for the single case but could be replicated to the other cases as well if followed the similar procedure. Many festivals in Nepal have the similar process of taking care of the festivals and also linked with the social life of the people. These festivals are being organized by the communities and with help of the various organizations. The reliability of this research is maintained by making the case study database. All the data collected during the research are maintained well. Also the case study protocol was maintained during the field visit by contacting and taking an appointment by phone or email to the informants before the meeting. In add to that the checklists of the questions were always carried during the meeting according to the background of the informants in order to guide the researcher.

b) Data Analysis

According to Merriam (1998) data analysis is “the process of making sense out of the data. And making sense out of data involves consolidating, reducing, and interpreting what people have said and what the researcher has seen and read – it is the process of making meaning” (as cited in Merriam, 1998, p. 178). For the analysis of this data the fragment analysis method was used. All the data in form of that were recorded were gone through repeatedly. Then the summaries of the each interview were made. These data in form of the summary were used for the analysis of the case study being done. All the summaries had the detail of the interviewee, location, time and background. Also the list of the code is provided in the annex of the thesis.

c) Data Management

Data management is one of the major steps for the reliability of the case study research. For that the data all the data collected in the different form were managed well and kept safely. The recordings of interview, pictures taken, videos of field visit are all well maintained and kept in the CD which have been submitted to the supervisor of this thesis. Also all the documents collected and

used are listed and list of the used documents are given as a bibliography in the end of this thesis. Some of the documents have been published in the website of the UNESCO chair of intangible heritage under which I am carrying out my research. All the documents collected could not be provided in the annex, as that will make this thesis huge. All the collected documents are in the CIDEHUS (Centro Interdisciplinar de História, Culturas e Sociedades da Universidade de Évora). As a sample of how the documents were collected and which types were provided in the annex. Some of the documents during the field visit that, were not given to make a copy by the concerned officials were taken in form of pictures. This way of taking pictures were quicker and all the information were there in the digital form too. In add to that the officials who did not provided in the photocopy or any other hard copy seemed to have no problem in getting it as a picture. Also this form of getting documents avoided all the hassles like visiting the offices repeatedly and demand of more papers form the researcher.

1.9 Data Collection Procedure

a) Primary Data

Different methods were used for the collection of the data for this research. The data collection was mainly done in during the field visit of June - September of 2014. Also during the field visit the observation during the festival and the meetings during the event was a major source of the data collection. Some of the remaining data collection was done in 2015 mainly some of the data, which needed to be rechecked by the assistant whom I hired to work for me in Kathmandu. But mostly through the email and the telephone conversation also helped to clarify the issues. As 2015 has been a very devastating year for the whole Nepalese people due to the Earthquake on 25th April 2015. So the close follow-up of the festival during the month of September 2015 was done with the email, Internet and telephone conversations. The tools that were used for the primary data collection were as follows:

In-depth Interview

It already been mentioned in the procedure of the research earlier about interview being the one of the procedure of data collection. Further detail of the interview for this research is as the in-depth interview was done with the respondent. Wide range of the people was interviewed depending upon the government officials to the local Guthi members. The interviews were long and open ended. The entire interviews were recorded in the recorder for the later use. The interviewees were categorized into four groups as explained in the earlier section as

Experts

Government officials

Guthi member leaders

Guthi members

The categorizations of the interviewees were also explained earlier in case study design. As the interviews were in-depth so no structured questions were prepared. But instead some of the semi- structured questions or directives were prepared for each group of respondents. The questions were also different according to the respondents, as the policy related to questions could not be asked to the local Guthi members. So separate set of questions were for the different groups and experts. The interview was conducted in Newari, Nepali and English depending on the groups. Local people when the conversation was done in Newari opened up more and talked for the longer time. The lists of interviewees were provided in the annex along with their details.

Personal notes/ pictures and videos

During the field observation, informal talks and interviews the notes were taken in the diary. Those field notes is also a source of the primary data, which has been helpful as a source of evidence in add to the pictures, videos taken during the same time. While at some places the photograph and video recordings were not allowed so such sentiments were respected. More pictures have been attached

in the appendix and some pictures were attached within the text of the thesis to explain the study better and give the clear idea of the context. Also along with the picture the explanation in form of short text has been provided.

Direct Observation

Direct observation during the fieldwork was also one of the tools. Observation of the meetings, festivals, preparations of festival, conflicts during the festivals, and the rituals performed by the Guthi members were observed. Some notes were taken during the observations and later it was written in detail in the computer. As the evidence of the observation photographs, audio/ video recordings were made. Some of the information on the direct observation is already been mentioned in the earlier section.

Participant- Observation

While during the festival I also participated in some of the events. Some with the Guthi members like participating in the ritual of going to forest at midnight to get tree. Or attending the private pole raising ceremony of Guthi members. Also participated in the public procession, which went around the city. This was the circumambulation of the old city walls that anyone can attend. As belonging to the community even not belonging to the exactly same Guthi I could manage to observe without being disturbing the actors and not being the center of attraction.

Informal talks

Informal talks was also very useful in getting out the information. Being the local resident of Kathmandu and that too could speak in the dialect has been a great assets for the informal talks with the local Guthi members. It was seen that when I took their approval to record in the recorder and started the conversation information could not came out easily and much was filtered. So with the informal talks much information could be collected regarding their issues. Also, while during the field observing the preparation of the festival or during the festival many people were encountered who had been a great source of information.

Some of them were contacted later to have meetings as in the rush of the festival conversations were not easy to carry out.

Involvement in community meetings

For the organization of the festival, local Guthi members hold many meetings within the Guthi and also numerous rituals, which does not takes place in public. I had opportunity to attended those meetings and rituals as well. Those informal meetings and ritual observations also was a source of the information. In add to that I also attended the meeting carried out during the formal start of the festival which was to solve the issue of the Guthi members by the Guthi Corporation during the field observation. These silent observation as a researcher without interfering in their issue was a good insight to understand the issue of the local.

Internet/ phone

Internet and telephone has also been a helping tool for the collection of the data. As I could not meet all the people whom I had planned to meet during the field visit and also some verification was necessary for the information collected. So through the email and the telephone those were possible.

b) Secondary Data

Books/ Thesis/ Journal articles

Books, thesis of other and journal articles have been helpful in shaping my research. On the basis of the past work that had been carried out I could guide my research and find out the knowledge gap in the field. Some of the information in the books and journals were used as materials to cross check the information I got during my field visit. While some on the basis of the books and journals I could trace out my viable informant for the research. Centre National de la Reserche scientifique (CNRS), Paris library of the Centre for Himalayan Studies was also very much helpful in getting the necessary thesis, books and journals. I collected the materials form there during my stay there in January 2015. The

library of the University of Bergen, Norway was also a good source for the added increase in the bibliography.

Online/ Web base information

Now a day's online source has been a greatest source of information. I had used online source for collecting information as most of the journal published from Nepal has been kept online like Purnima, Ancient Nepal and so on. Also to make appointments before I went to the field has been done through the emails. Even after returning from the fieldwork I could make contact with them via email for the validation of the information I collected.

Apart from this social media has been also a good source for the information as during the festival it was impossible to know the time and places of the event. But due to the excessive users of social media in Kathmandu it was possible to use the social media as a tool to get information about the event and reach there.

Pictures/ maps/ drawings of other

Pictures, maps and drawings were used to make the comparison of past with the present. The changes or the things that has been lost could be analyzed. Also the drawings or sketches made by the artists were useful to know the status of Kathmandu at the past.

Videos/ movies etc

The old videos of the festivals were also a good comparative source for the information. Those videos are now available in the websites like the festivals of Yenya Punhi during the 60's. Some videos taken by the tourists were useful to some extent.

Official documents

The official documents of the government were collected during the field visit like the policy documents, rules, unpublished government reports and so on. But it

was been a great difficulty to get the documents from the Guthi Corporation. Even though with the repeated follow-up during my stay there and even after I came back was so difficult to collect. Some of the documents could not be obtained until the last days of my writing thesis. Personal connection was very helpful in getting the official documents, which were not published like reports and policies. In add to that the informants of my research especially who were in leading position provided me those official documents.

1.9 Research Limitation

This research has to be finished within the limited time of thirty-four months due to the fund of the European Union under Erasmus Mundus Program. So many components could not be gone into the deep. Like the issues with the Guthi Corporation were not dealt in detail, their financial matter with the local Guthi. This can be the separate subject for the PhD thesis and also it was very difficult to get the data form the Guthi Corporations regarding the financial issues and properties as staff out there were not cooperative. The detail analysis private Guthi that functions within the Yenya Punhi Festival were not considered because of its huge nature and most of them were just family affairs.

Chapter II

Social, Geographical, Political and Architectural context

After the discussion of the research strategy and its methodology in Chapter One, to explain about research setting becomes very important. Going through this chapter it will be easier to know why the particular research and the way it has been set will be clear. Starting with the geographical setting of the place, this chapter deals with the sociological, geographical, political and architectural background. Since the heritage is much dependent on the history so it becomes important to provide a brief history of the area of study in this chapter. The architectural setting of the ancient city with its functions has been described as well so that it will be easier to correlate with the findings of the research later in this research. The indigenous people of Kathmandu Valley and their social lifestyle, festivals have been described as well in brief who are the part of the architecture of the place or visa-versa. In a way this chapter is a base where the research will be founded.

2.1 Geographical context and Population

Nepal

Nepal is a small Himalayan nation in Asia with the area of 147,181 sq.km and population of 26.5 million (GoN, 2012). It's a landlocked country, sharing border with China in the north and with India on three sides: south, east and west. Geographically Nepal can be divided into three regions as High Himalayas in the north with eight out of ten highest mountain peak of the world, middle hills and flat land on the south. Geographical location has also helped in shaping the history of Nepal so it is important to mention in a brief about it. Due to its geographical difficulty also Nepal have never been under any colony. Nepal gained its present geographical boundary only in 18th Century (Hutt, 2010).

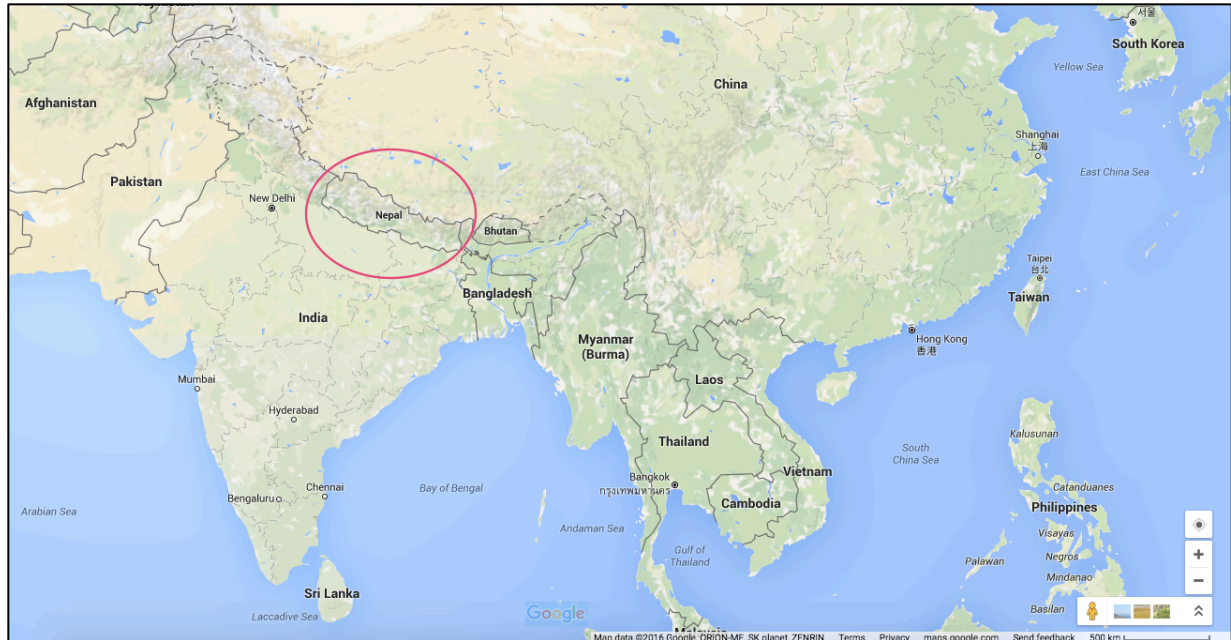


Figure 2.1: Map of Nepal with its neighboring countries. (Source: Google)

Kathmandu Valley

Kathmandu Valley is deep elliptical bowls shaped Valley with area of 665 sq. km. and house a namesake capital city of Nepal called Kathmandu. It lies between the latitudes $27^{\circ} 32' 13''$ and $27^{\circ} 49' 10''$ north and longitudes $85^{\circ} 11' 31''$ and $85^{\circ} 31' 38''$ east and is located at a mean elevation of about 1,300 meters (4,265 feet) above sea level. There are four hills acting as forts natural fort for the valley, Phulchowki in the South East, Chandragiri/ Champa Devi in the South West, Shivapuri in the North West, and Nagarkot in the North East. At the northern side of the Valley, snow capped mountain are seen beyond those mountain range. It has major rivers Bagmati, Bishnumati and Manohara and along the bank of these rivers the ancient settlement started (Thapa & Murayama). The geographical setting of the Valley will be clear from the 3D picture of Kathmandu Valley in 2.3 below.

Kathmandu Valley comprises three districts Kathmandu, Patan and Bhaktapur, together covering the area of 899 sq. km. in total. Among which the Valley covers total area of Bhaktapur district, 85% of Kathmandu district and 50% of Lalitpur

district. Kathmandu Valley has five cities, Kathmandu, Patan, Bhaktapur, Kirtipur and Thimi as seen in the map in Picture 1.2. The first three being ancient cities from the very beginning and the small villages which were scattered over the Valley from the ancient time which is now taking the shape of towns and smaller cities. Kathmandu Valley is most vibrant place in Nepal as being having a capital city with the development and facilities concentrating in the Valley, people from all over the country are migrating to the Valley. According to the census of 2011, the population of Kathmandu Valley is now 2,517,023 and Kathmandu alone is 1,14,4240. Kathmandu is the most crowded city of Nepal and over the decade the population of Kathmandu has increased by 60% (CBS, 2011). The nearby adjacent villages are now emerging smaller towns and cities; which are also growing in terms of people and buildings, now the whole Valley seem to conglomerate into one big city.

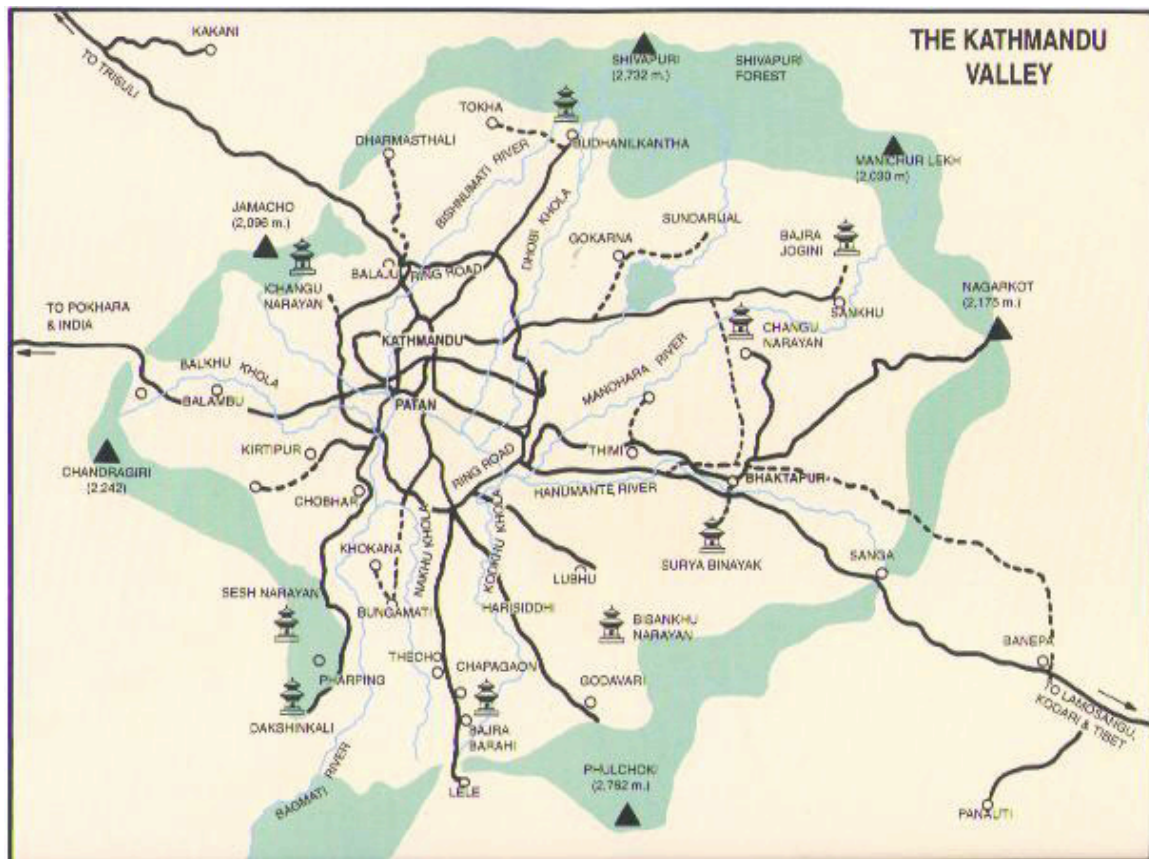


Figure 2.2: Map of Kathmandu Valley with three districts which are the three important cities in the Valley

The growth in population in Kathmandu Valley is mostly due to migration from other parts of Nepal. People migrate to the Valley for higher education, in search of employment, better life and more opportunities. A decade long Maoist civil war in the country also fueled the migration in Kathmandu Valley. Making it as one of the fastest growing cities in the world (Mohanty, 2010). Changes in the landscape of Kathmandu Valley has been recent in the few decades. According to Thapa and Murayama (2009, p. 553), *“Urban build up area has increased by four times in last four decade in Kathmandu Valley”*. As in figure 2.3 shows the built up area with the surrounding mountains and river that goes within the Valley. Also in the Picture 2.4 can be seen the four decade growth pattern of Kathmandu Valley in map. In add to that, also it’s seen how the ancient core area has outgrown over the period of time and the agricultural land has also been converted to the buildings. This process has seen even rapid, even the suburb area has seen the rapid increase in built up areas.

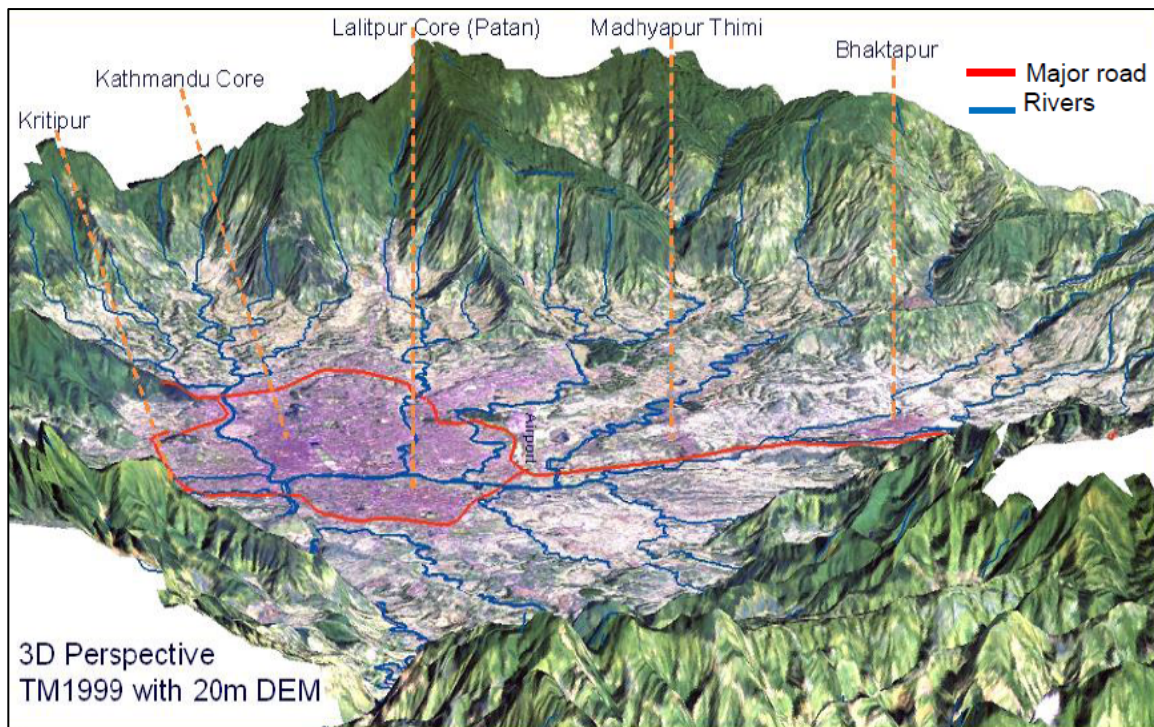


Figure 2.3: 3D representation of the Kathmandu Valley. The dense pattern of urban area in pink is seen in patches with the three major cities and smaller adjoining towns. The red line is the major road of the Valley joining the three cities (Source: Thapa and Murayama, 2009)

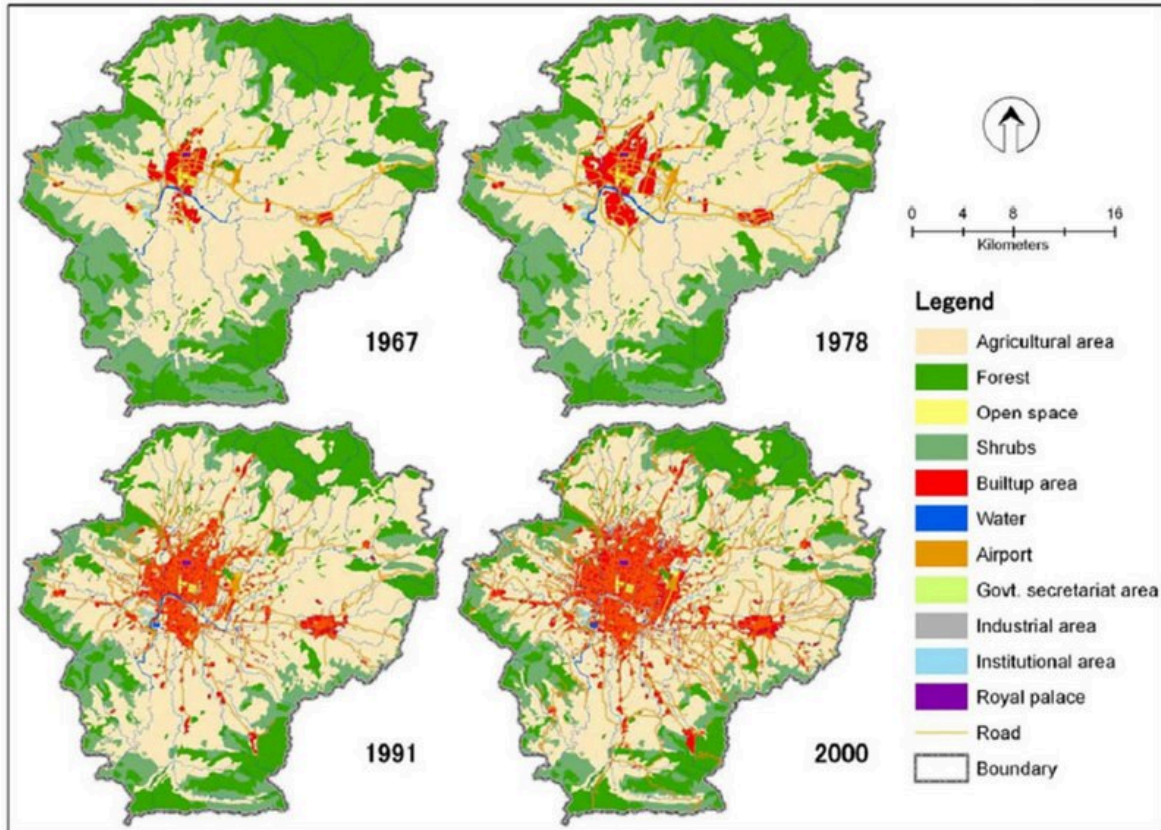


Figure 2.4: Changes in the Land use pattern in Kathmandu Valley over the period of four decades. The red patches show the built up areas, which kept on growing rapidly. (Source: Thapa and Murayama, 2009)

The ring road in Kathmandu was built in the 1970s helped to urbanize it more. Along with the houses in the agricultural land, the extensive networks of roads has been developed all over the valley. The forest area were been cleared for the agriculture whereas the agricultural land has been converted into the buildings to accommodate the people who were migrating form outside the Valley. The roads made easier access as well as the houses started to be built along the roads (Thapa & Murayama, 2009). As in the figure 2.4, the city Kathamndu and Patan has already been integrated as a single city while Bhaktapur is growing in its own. The patches of the growing buildings can be also seen in the open spaces in the Valley.

2.2 Historical Development of Valley

The geological positioning of Kathmandu Valley (KV) provided with excellent climate and soil for people to start settlement. Before starting the historical context let us consider that the history, legends and folklore area all mixed up. Sometimes the line between history and legends is so thin that it creates confusion and takes to the mystical land. Lets us start with the legend of the formation of the Valley, as legends are the integral part of history making here. According to the popular legends that is not less interesting than some fictional story. Almost all legends and myths describes the Valley was believed to be a huge lake thousands of years back before the settlement began. The after the water was drained out from the Valley the human settlement began. According to the most accepted legends being written in a Buddhist text called *Swyambhu Purana* also the Valley was filled with water and also was a home for many serpents¹¹. Then Bodhisattva Manjushree seeing a light in lotus in middle of the lake came from the North and by his sword cut down a hill and let the water flow out of the lake. The place where he cut the hill is nowadays believed to be a gorge at *chovar* hill and Bagmati River leaves the valley through this gorge (Gutschow, 2011). The flame, which Manjushree saw, is now believed to be a Buddhist shrine which is protecting the flame called Swyambhu at a hill called *Singum*. The meaning of Swyambhu is self-born or self-existence as it existed out of the lotus bloom. The Buddhist shrine at the hilltop now is one of the World Heritage Site (Hutt, 2010).

There is another version of Hindu which also account for the drainage of water from the Valley but by the Hindu god. It says river goddess *Vagbati* (Bagmati) was captivated by demons and Son of God Krishna called Pradyumna freed the

¹¹ Still in Kathmandu Valley, the serpents are associated with rain, water and agricultural fertility. There is the annual ritual for worshipping serpents called *Naag Panchami*. As homage to serpents we can see the representation of serpents in temples and monuments all over the Valley. Numerous terracotta images of snakes in temples, wells, stone sculptures in wells, water spouts, ponds signifies that humans are consuming the place of snakes who were ones the inhabitant of the Valley. Local people also believe to have serpents dwellings in land where their house are now built.

goddess. As water started to flow out of the valley along with its serpents also started to leave, so there are also the stories about the restoration of serpents in the smaller lakes of Valley. Whatever the myths and legends tell, the geologist has also proved that Kathmandu Valley was a big lake in a prehistoric time. Maybe due to some geological change, lake was drained and settlement started (Tiwari, 2001). The excellent quality of soil proves it to be the alluvial soil, which is very fertile and almost all the crops grow in the soil of Kathmandu Valley. The fields of Valley are never left fallow and grow crops two or three times a year. (Slusser, 2008; Hutt, 2010; Tiwari, 2001)

The first settlers of the Valley were believed to be pastoral dynasties called *Gopala* and *Mahisipala*, the dynasty of cowherds and buffalo-herds (Regmi, 2007; Slusser, 1998). But the researcher like Gutschow (2011) explains that such dynasties were constructed by the chronicles, which were written later, and archeological and inscriptional evidences were used to support such statements. But according to Tiwari (2002), these dynasties were so strong that even after the arrival of Kirata Dynasty they remained in the Valley which could be verified from the Lichchhavi period. After the dynasties of cowherds, the dynasty that comes chronologically is Kiratas. Newars, indigenous people of Kathmandu Valley, are believed to be descendants of Kiratas. Indian literatures have ubiquitously denoted the people of Himalayas as Kiratas. Also there is a single ethnic group now in Nepal called Kirat and are divided into the tribal units like Rai and Limbu in the Eastern middle hills that now denoted as Kirat Pradesh (Slusser, 1998).

While according to Tiwari (2002), the present days Kirat group are very much different from ancient Kirat. Kirat dynasty has left no authentic record like inscriptions or colophons (Regmi, 2007). But folklore and legends present but still a large mass of Nepalese and literate people believe, Kathmandu Valley was once ruled by Kiratas. In add to that Tiwari explains that before the arrival of Lichhavi in the Valley it cannot be considered there was a cultural vacuum which

could be explained by the influence of Kirtat in Buddhist and Hindu Culture (Tiwari, 2013).

Then after Kiratas, the dynasty, which comes in the history of Kathmandu Valley, is Lichchhavi but there is no any documentation of seizure of power from Kiratas by Lichchhavis and from 300 AD to 1200 AD is considered to be a Lichchhavi period. This long period in the history of Lichchhavi went through various ups and downs. The main sources of the history in Nepalese context is from inscriptions on stone slabs, stone pillars, on sculptures, paintings, copper plates, gilt copper plates etc. The mention of the earthquakes and fires or the repair of the temples some inscription mentions about the king are the evidence of the dynasties (Gutschow, 2011). In add to those writer's remarks at the end of manuscripts give the brief idea of ruling kings, there are presence of local chronological, religious texts, journals, gleanings from the literatures of India, Tibet, China and the west are very important documents to tell the history of Kathmandu (Slusser, 2008).

Lichchhavi period can be also divided into the three periods, the earlier period where the documented history started from 464 AD though Lichchhavi period is considered from 300 AD and the Later Lichchhavis and the transition phase or decline phase. Later Lichchhavi seem to have political stability and prosperity in the country. From the very beginning of Lichchhavi have the connections with the neighboring countries either political, trade or commerce or cultural. Even with geographical difficulty, the Valley was well connected with the neighbors in trade (Slusser, 1998). The Lichhavi were skillful administrator, they established law and the society was regulated by complex institutions. They also have good policy over the land use and even had land grant since the start of 5th century along with the Guthi (when was known as Gosthi or Gosthika) system for religious and social purpose (Regmi, 2007). They were liberal regarding religion as a result along with Buddhism and Hinduism, other autochthonous worshipping

of mother goddesses and demigods flourished which were been originated in the local cult (Slusser, 1998). Still those deities are worshipped in the Valley.

Literatures, art and culture flourished, and they used Sanskrit language as the official language though people used Newari language in daily life. Bronze casting, metallurgy, metal reposing, jewelry making, stone sculpture were highly developed. In the transition phase though seem the decline of Lichchhavi institution but socio-economical life of people continued as before. In that phase Buddhism flourished and became the safe place for the other Buddhist who escaped Muslim invasion in India, along with that Kathmandu became teaching place for the Tibetan Buddhist. With the prospering of Buddhism, Hinduism also flourished side by side. In this phase of Lichchhavi it also saw the excellent mark in woodcarvings (Slusser, 2008). Even though no remains of the architecture (houses or temples) from the Licchavi phase can be found in the Valley. This may be due to the geological morphology where earthquake is so frequent and every hundred year there has been a massive earthquake in the history of Nepal. Also due to the material used for the building like mud, brick and wood that is not much durable compared to other materials. The alluvial soil of the Valley which was used as mortar, brick was made from the same soil and the surrounding forests provided the supply of the wood (Tiwari, 2002a).

After Lichchhavis, Mallas ruled over the Valley but according to Gutschow (2011), Mall does not refer to the dynasty but rather suffix adopted by the King to their names, which literally mean wrestler or victor. There is no any documented history of Lichhavi's overtaken by Mallas. Some historians even speculate that Mallas were also the decedents of Lichhavis as form 1200 AD, the next ten Kings of Malla kept surfix Deva in their name. The period from 1200 AD to 1769 is considered Malla period. Though early Malla period, does not have the much contribution in the art and architecture of the Valley due to less political stability. But the mid Malla period with the strong king and stable political situation saw the excellent development in art, architecture, literature etc. Dance dramas, dramas,

poetry and music flourished that were mostly composed by pundits and nobility at courts. Mostly literary works were in Sanskrit, Mithali and Newari but later on more of it were in Newari only, though common language remains Newari (Slusser, 1998). In Malla periods also kings, nobles and ministers built temples and vihars, water tanks, fountains, rest houses and also the lavish endowments for their maintenance. The Malla kings also frequently initiated, elaborated or resuscitated great festivals dedicated to the gods. These festivals are still continuing in the Valley till date with great faith. All these advancement in the art, architecture and culture were possible because of the wealth Kathmandu Valley were attracting because of the trade relations it had with neighboring countries i.e. India and Tibet (Slusser, 1998).

Buddhist monasteries glided gold roof temples, many monuments and statues were the result of fortunes that trans-Himalayan trade route brought to the Valley. Because of the geographical location of the Valley, only at the certain phase the crossing could be made from India and Tibet. In the summer malaria ridden forest make it impossible to cross in the south and in the winter snow filled mountains made it impossible to cross in the north. So traders had to wait in the Valley for favorable climate to cross their specific routes. This made Kathmandu Valley a junction for commercial trading the place for cultural, art, literature exchanging (Slusser, 1998). In add to that for the Tibetan monks it was a place to learn Buddhism. During the Malla period also both the religion Buddhism and Hinduism flourished. It seem that the Malla king had the very good sense of the trade as Muslim merchants were also allowed to trade along with Newar merchant in Kathmandu Valley. It not only merchants but also Malla kings maintained good relations with Tibetan kings in North and Mugals in the south. The influence of Mugal art and architecture can be seen in the Valley in the later phase of Malla (Slusser, 1998).

Though Kathmandu Valley had a golden age in Malla period but also during late Malla period it also saw political unrest. Later Malla period can be seen as the

period when the Valley is was ruled by the independent Malla Kings. As there were three kingdoms in three cities of Kathmandu, Patan and Bhaktapur with the adjoining villages. Kings of those kingdoms competed among themselves for power and also in other fields. Each king wanted to beautify and magnify their own kingdom than the other competing kingdom of their cousins. This competition helped in creating excellent masterpiece of art and architecture. This may be the reason behind all three ancient cities having similar monuments and palaces. Most of the art and architectures seen in the Valley are for Malla period. (Slusser, 1998)

Taking advantage of Malla rivalry among them, King from Gorkha attacked Kathmandu Valley in 1768 and took over it when Kathmandu was celebrating *Yenya Punhi* Festival or Indra Jatra festival. To gain absolute control over the entire Valley took Shah King a year. Then a new country was formed with Kathmandu Valley and other smaller countries. The Shah dynasty was from 1769 to 2008. Gorkhalis were interested in maintaining and expanding geographical boundaries of their country. They proved to be warrior but not a skillful administrator as it went on war with the neighboring countries where Malla had a good trade relation (Slusser, 1998). It lost the trade route, which brought prosperity to the Valley and along with that the art and architectural progress diminished. Nepal which was connected with the other countries even though having the geographical difficulty was isolated during the Shah period. This continued for the centuries to come. The Gorkhali shifted their palace and moved to Kathmandu in Kathmandu Hanumandoka Durbar (former palace of Malla king). The architecture of the Valley was adopted by the Gorkhali kings as well. The Palace in Gorkha (place of the Shah king) was constructed by the Newar craftsmen according to the Newar style (Gutschow, 2011).

Even Shah Kings also adopted the Newar architecture in their palace at Gorkha and became patronage of Newar culture but they did not give priority to art and culture of Newars. The still art and culture declined from the Valley. But still the

festivals and traditional practices of the Malla period continued due to the endowment it had and peoples involvement (Levy, 1905/2007). The Shah Kings also could not maintain the strong government, as there was tussle for power. Taking advantage of this, the new power emerged of Ranas in form of Prime Minister. From 1846 to 1951, the power of state was within oligarchic Rana family and king was a mere puppets (Slusser, 1998).

Ranas also adopted the isolation policy as by the initial Shah Kings. In order to maintain the control over the country, education was not feasible for everyone or any development in any field including art and culture. Because of the good relation with Britain, the first prime minister of Rana visited Britain and France, and brought European style in Kathmandu Valley. All these new style were in the form of lavish palace for the Rana families which were copied from the European style. Mostly Rana's palaces were outside of old town cities, built in the agricultural fields. All the decorations were imported from Europe that showed their magnificent power over the country at that time. Its influence can be also seen in the Malla palace of Kathmandu in which a part of it was modified in form of European architecture. They spent very less on the development of country but more on their lavish lifestyle and palaces. After 1951 the political revolution overthrow 105 years long Rana rule and placed king in power. Then after that Nepal became known to the outside world and vice versa (Hutt, 2010).

This event wrote a new chapter in the history of Nepal and also helped to have relations with other countries than India, Britain and China. Also it attracted the international attention because of strategic location of position between India and China. Nepal is one of the few countries in the world that was in isolation and was unaware of modern development till 1950's (Hayes, 1976). Not only the whole Nepal was in isolation but also Kathmandu Valley was in isolation even from the other parts of Nepal. Even the Nepali from Nepal had to take permission to enter Nepal until 1950's. The roads were developed only within Kathmandu Valley and to travel outside of the Valley was only on foot (Toffin, 2013). Lack of

foreign influence in politics, development and education might be also the prolonged reason for the autocratic Rana rule. After the political revolution parliamentary government was formed with political parties and still King having the power. Later in 1962 King took all the power to himself and made a partly less Panchayat System. Though the constitution was there but King being a sovereign meant anything. All the ministers were in this system were actually serving the crown (Hayes, 1976).

Even after the fall of autocratic Rana rule of hundred years (1848-1851), the country could not have the stability and prosperity for a long time. The partly less Panchayat system introduced by the King was and multi party democracy was established. This was after the political coupe by the King in 1964. During the Panchayat time Nepal did not saw much development. But Nepal was connecting to the world. The development of roads, airports helped connection with the outer world. Also many embassies were opened in the Valley to establish the diplomatic linkages (Toffin, 2013). Unsatisfied with the autocratic rule, people revolted under the leadership of Political parties. This movement was called Peoples Revolution I. After the successful revolution multiparty democracy was established with King still being in power.

This new development in politics gave people many expectations. From this time on people were more aware about the politics and raised concern about their identity and rights. This new turn around made a significant impact in the new development of the country like development in education, cable channels, foreign companies, nongovernment organizations, restaurants, roads, vehicles and as such (Toffin, 2013). Later Maoist insurgency form 1996 was the initiation of next phase of history, which they call Peoples revolution that went violent in the later years. The second peoples revolution led by various political party including Maoist, compelled King to step down in 2006. Then on 28th April 2008, Nepal became a secular republic state form the Hindu Kingdom (Toffin, 2013).

Recently in September 2015, Nepal had the new constitution written by Constitution Assembly members chosen by the Nepalese People (GoN, 2015).

Table 2.1: Chronological order of the Dynasties in Nepal

S.N.	Dynasties	Timeline	Remarks
1.	Gopalas/ Mahisapala	Undated	Dynasties of Cowherds and Buffalo herds. No documented evidence.
2.	Kirat	Final centuries BEC	Not much monumental evidence found except some statues. While some researcher argue about the presence of city plan form Kirat period.
2.	Lichhavi	300-879 AD 879-1200 AD (Transitional Phase)	First Document history started but still no evidence of the architecture from this period except the inscriptional evidence and the sculptures. There are many inscriptions from this period and even the mention of the palaces. Guthi tradition was established in this period that has been continuing till date.
3.	Malla	1200- 1769	Most of the palaces and monuments now seen in the Valley are from this period but that too in the later period. Art, architecture and festivals reached apogee during this period
4.	Shah	1769- 1846	Start of the first unified Nepal. Nothing improvement seen or new addition in art and architecture.

5.	Rana	1846-1951	Shah King being in power, Rana Prime Minister was in power. Introduced the European style palaces and houses. But nothing significant for the general people. Were the dictator who enclosed Nepal with the outside world
6.	Shah	1951- 2008	After the overthrown of Rana, Shah King's full power was established. Started the modern in the history of Nepal. But the changes were seen in later decade of century with the establishment of multi-party democracy.
7.	Republic	2008-	In the history of Nepal for the first time Nepal became Republic of Nepal due to many political changes in the country.

2.3 From Nepal Mandala¹² to Kathmandu Valley:

Since the Lichhavi period word Nepal was known to its trading centers i.e. India and Tibet, and Nepal meant Kathmandu Valley during that time. The word "Nepala" was found in the famous pillar inscription at Allahabad (India) dating from the fourth century AD (Hutt, 2010; Slusser, 1998). Also, in many other Buddhist and Indian literature it can be found name Nepal in add to which the currency with name Nepal in early Christian era shows Nepal was word known to outside world even before the formation of which now Nepal is. The first local inscription with the word Nepal is seen from the early 7th century where king Amsuverma from Lichhavi Dynasty with expression "*svasti nepalebhyah*" that means peace to the Nepalis. Other inscriptions are also there from 7th and 8th century with word Nepal and Nepal Mandala (Slusser, 1982). Until the late 18th

¹² Sanskrit word meaning the symbols with dynamic relationship between man and cosmic. In circular shape.

Century Nepal used to denote for Kathmandu Valley only. Nepal was extended to the region ruled by the Shah by the beginning of 19th Century by the British. Still illiterate people from the remote village refer Kathmandu Valley as Nepal. (Gellner, 2003) Even though the early Shah Kings formed a bigger kingdom by conquering all the smaller country but whole territory was not integrated as a Nation. It was only after 1951 major steps have been taken to integrate all the parts of Nepal as a one kingdom (Hayes, 1976).

Nepal Mandala was one kingdom until 1484 and from 1484 to 1619 a series of event made Nepal Mandala ruled by the cousins from the same Malla King making it three kingdoms. The three ancient kingdoms were Kathmandu, Patan and Bhaktapur (Hutt, 2010). But the Newars call these cities as *Yea*, *Yala* and *Khopa* respectively and these words are still in use to the Newars. Nepal Mandala had other adjoining towns and villages about thirty-five in numbers apart from three cities that were in control of these three cities (Slusser, 1982). These three cities being the three kingdoms in later Malla period have palaces, similar architecture and festivals all around the year. Each kingdom having at least one major festival of the each city, which is still celebrated with great enthusiasm, and people's participation. Apart from the major festival there are numerous festivals, rituals and practices that takes place in the different cities, towns and villages of Kathmandu Valley. Most of the Newar populations in Patan are Buddhist while most of the populations in Bhaktapur are Hindu (Gellner, 2004).

The grandeur of the ancient architecture is still seen in the Valley. These three ancient cities are now in the UNESCO World Heritage List since 1979. It's not only due to architectural development it received outstanding universal value but the cultural significance associated with these monuments and which are still living (DoA, 2007). As Slusser mentions of the life of the people in the Valley, its monuments and practices as:

"The tangible ancestral monuments of the Valley-temples and shrines, scared sites and images - are by no means disconnected "historic" monuments. They

function vigorously in contemporary Nepali culture. Through legend and folklore the names of rulers whose dynasties have been extinct for a thousand years or more remain vividly alive, if historically garbled. Outstanding tantric practitioners and the remarkable deeds that own them fame live on in legend as if such persons had but recently crossed the stage of the Valley history. The great body of primary institutions that govern contemporary Nepalese life – religious, social and often political- are the lineal descendants of those that governed Valley society of the past. Indeed it is perhaps the total merging of the past and present that gives to the Kathmandu Valley the charm – or perhaps more properly, mystique – that captives most outsiders who make their way within” (Slusser, 1998; p. 4).

2.4 Kathmandu, the capital city:

Kathmandu is one of the three major cities of Valley and is also a namesake for the whole Valley. Its name came from the big *sattal*¹³ i.e. rest house called *Kasthamandapa* which meant wooden pavilion. *Kasthamandapa*¹⁴ is the biggest rest house in the Valley standing between the highway of India and Tibet of ancient trade route. The legend says it was made from the wood of single tree. The first documented use of word “Kasthamandapa” was found in 1143 A.D. and since then the word *Kasthamandapa* was very frequent as a name of city frequently after 13th century until 17th century. Kathmandu also had an alternate name till seventeenth century called “*Kantipur*” meaning city of lights. It was the Gorkhalis¹⁵ whose pronunciation made the word *Kasthamandapa* to Kathmandu (Slusser and Vajrācārya, 1974). Now, the accepted name of city is Kathmandu.

¹³ Sattal are the rest houses made for the different purposes like shelter for travelers, for religious purposes etc.

¹⁴ In the Earthquake of 25th April 2015, the magnificent *Kasthamandapa* came down to rubbles. Until it is renovated it would be fair to say it was the biggest rest house of the Valley which gave the identity to the city. The detail of the earthquake is explained in the concluding chapter and pictures of the *Kasthamandapa* before and after the earthquake is annexed in the end.

¹⁵ People from Gorkha who came to Kathmandu after the Shah ruler conquered Valley.

Kathmandu was an independent Kingdom under Malla rule until 1769, and when King of Gorkha conquered it, and later into a greater Nepal. Shah King made Kathmandu capital city and moved to the Malla palace called Hanumandhoka Durbar¹⁶ (Hutt, 2010).

According to the legends the city Kathmandu was founded King Gunakamadev in year 724 A.D. at the confluence of Bagmati and Bishnumati River (Slusser, 1998; Gutschow, 2011). Even though there is no historical record of it but there are many festivals to support the legend associated with King Gunakamadev. The festival Yenya Punhi for this research study is also associated with the King. In 1483 A.D. Ratna Malla made Kathmandu the capital of his kingdom. The local legend says that it was designed according to the shape of *Khagda*, the sword of Hindu goddess as in the Picture 1.5 below. Various mother goddesses were placed along the boundaries. As in the picture there used to be numerous gates and still out of thirty-two gates of the wall, still 24 can be identifies (Gutschow, 2011).

Slusser (1998) present Kathmandu as a planned city as it was a walled city with many gates that was present till the conquest by Shah King. But later after the conquest by Shah they let the walls to ruins and consider mountain as a natural fort that is surrounding the Valley. While Gutschow deny any archeological evidence about presence of the gate and forwards the argument as the houses lined in the boundary might were used as wall (2011). Even now without the presence of any physical boundary the local people can clearly distinguish between the outer and inner city. People still connect with the memory of the place as people go around the old boundary of the city during the festival of Yenya Punhi (detail about this festival will be discussed in Chapter 5), During this occasion the procession is made by locals around the old city boundary to

¹⁶ Hanuman Dhokha Durbar Square is now one of the seven-monument zones, which is in UNESCO World Heritage Site.

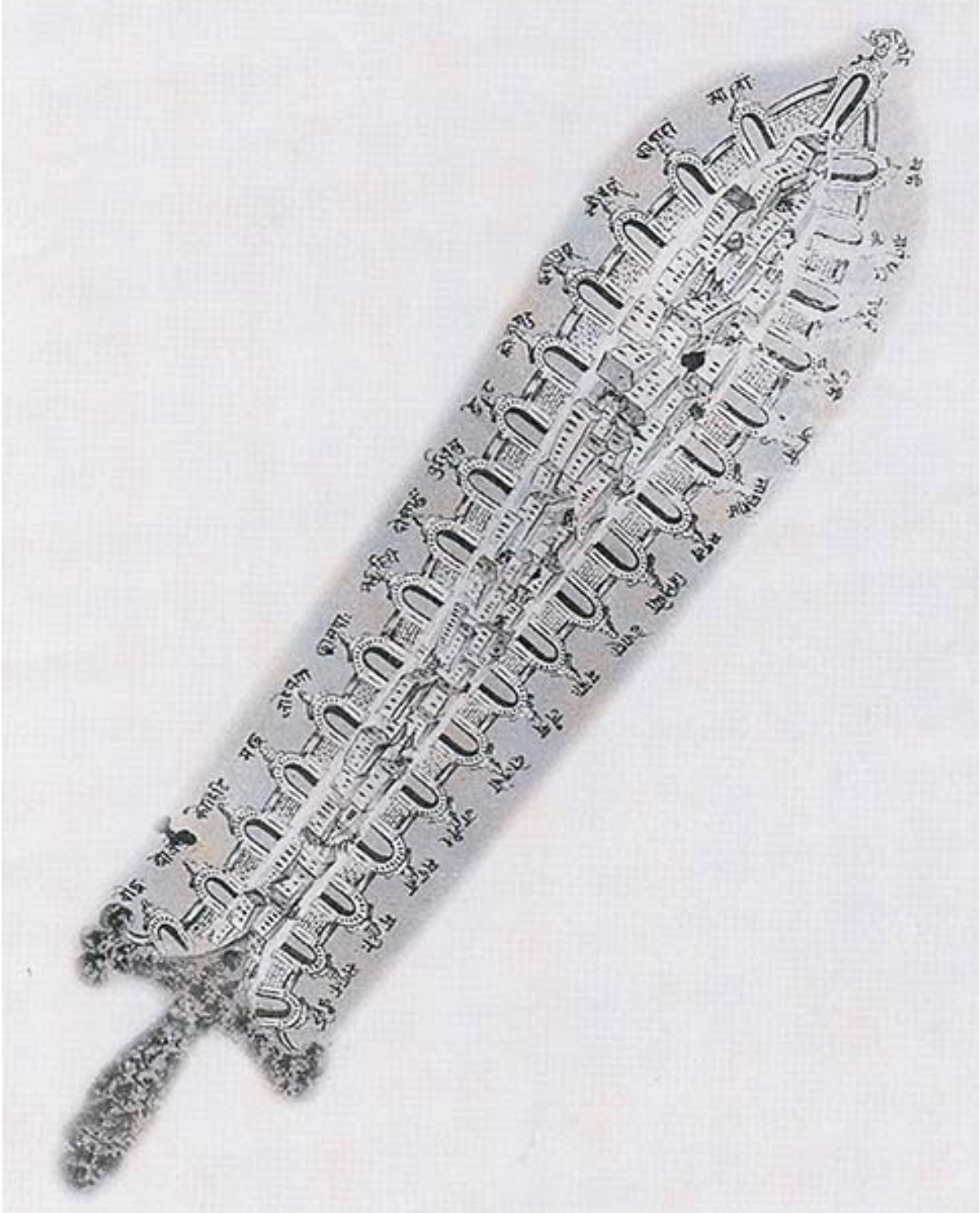


Figure 2.5: 19th Century painting in the National Art Gallery of Bhaktapur presenting the urban setting of Kathmandu in the shape of *Khadga* (Sword of Goddess Mahalakshmi) . According to Gutsow, which is believed to be in Khagda Shape (Sword of Goddess).

receive place for the deceased people in heaven with butter lamps and incense sticks in hand.

The nucleated settlements in form of villages during the time of Lichhavi can be still be traced in present modernized city. The three scattered villages were Koli, Daksinkoli and Vaidya; and villages were identified as *grama*. Koligrama must be identical to present day middle quarter, Dakshinkoli must be lower town extending from the present day *maru* and Viadyagrama must be around present day *lagan* (south-eastern tip of city). Later from 11th to 18th century, Koli was known as Yambu and Dakshinkoli as Yangala (Gutschow, 2011). These all settlements were integrated as a city centuries ago but the ancient division of the city can be still seen during the festivals and rituals (as in the picture 1.6). Along with that the local Newar still refer the city as lower town, middle and upper town. This division will be further clarified in the chapter five regarding the festival.

Kathmandu has gone a significant change along with its architecture. Some of the changes started to happen after the great earthquake of 1934 where Rana prime minister made broader roads called as New Road now as in picture 1.5 (Slusser, 1998). The old city of Kathmandu has rapidly grown beyond the old boundaries into the fertile fields that used to cover the surround the old city (Hutt, 2010). Slusser explains the ancient architecture of Kathmandu as

“Here to be counted almost a hundred viharas, several monumental stupas, hundred of temples, shrines and fountains together with innumerable caityas, stone sculptures and inscribed stelae. Beyond this core historic monuments are scattered, and many are characteristically located at the outlying cremation grounds” (Slusser, 1998; p. 92).

Kathmandu now has grown in unrecognizable way as compared to the ancient one and that too in the rapid scale. Even if we look at the trend of growing population it shows the exponential growth. Figure 2.5 below shows the map of Kathmandu with the new development and the boundary within the red circle

used to be the ancient city boundary. This can also provide brief idea on how much the boundaries of Kathmandu has grown. According to the census of 2011, Kathmandu is the district with highest population density i.e. 4416 persons per sq.km, compared to national population density of 180 persons per sq.km.. Also the population growth of Kathmandu is 61.23%, which is the highest as compared to 1.35% of national population growth. The following map show the growth in the population has triggered to the new developments outside the old boundaries of Kathmandu (CBS, 2011).

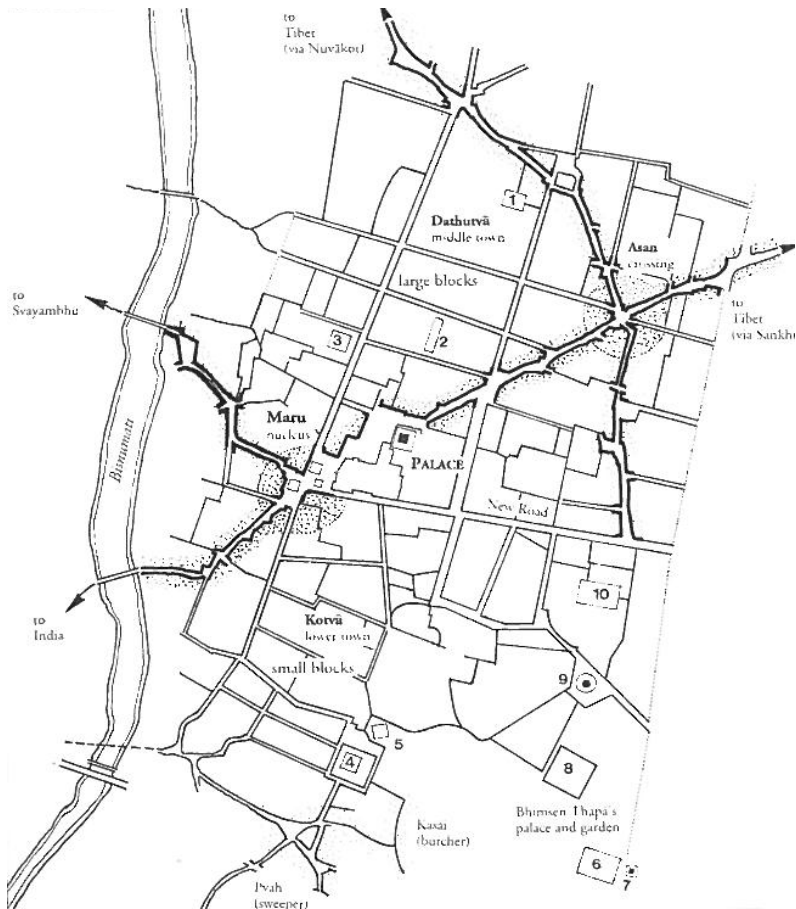
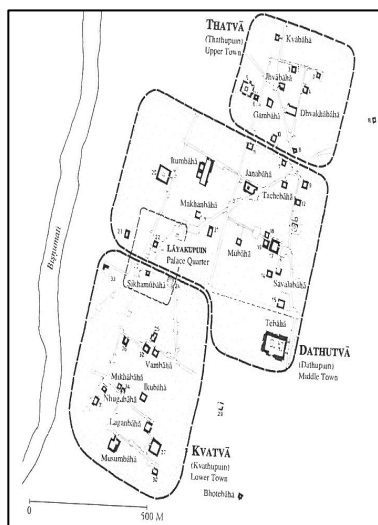


Figure 2.6 (Left): The urban fabric of ancient Kathmandu with the diagonal trade route. In the middle of the ancient town is the palace of Malla King. After the earthquake of 1934, new development of road named new road as in picture.

Figure 2.7 (Below): The division of the ancient city into upper, middle and lower parts which is not seen in the physical form but still present in the social structure of the society.

Source: Gutschow, 2011



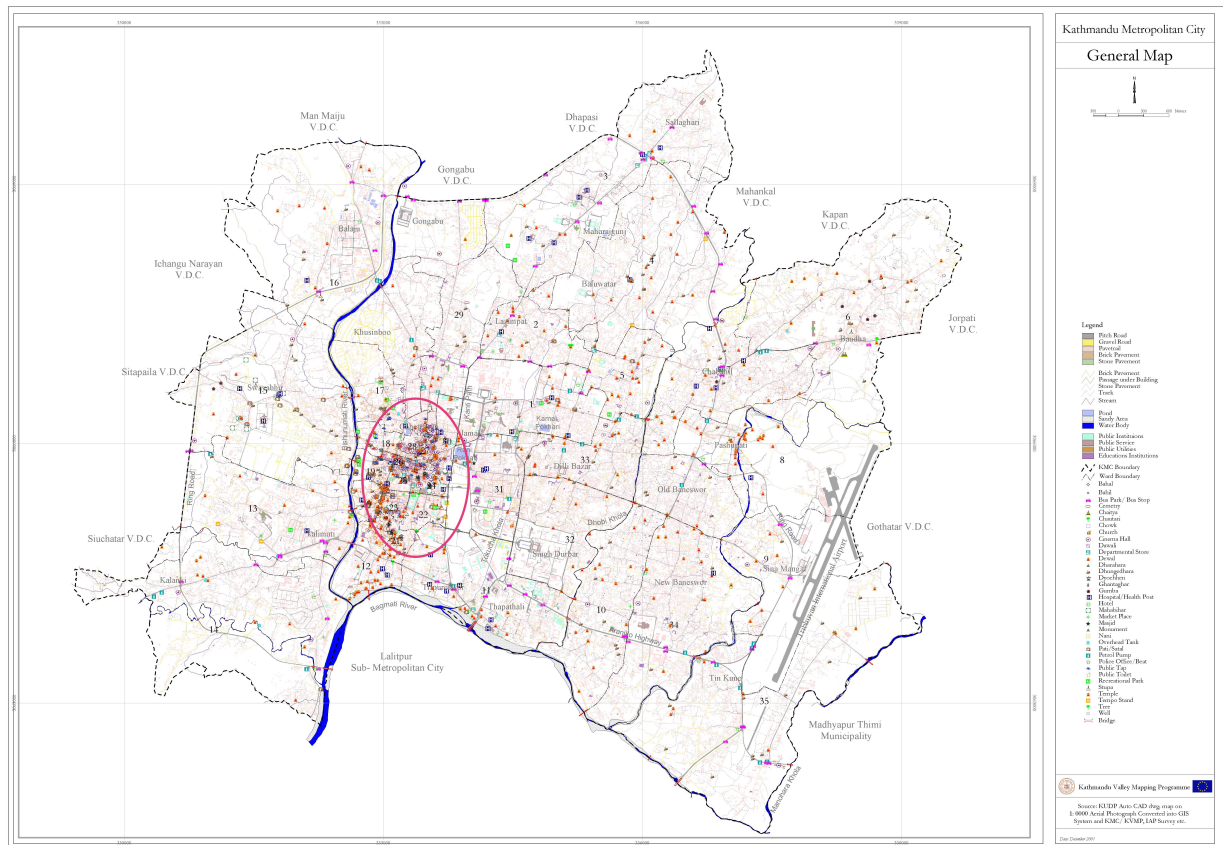


Figure 2.8: Map of Kathmandu with the new developments. The red circle in the map shows the ancient city of Kathmandu that is the picture 1.5. The map shows the built structure of Kathmandu including temples, courtyards, *chaityas* and roads. Still the ancient city boundary is most crowded with many traditional architectural structures. (Source: Kathmandu Metropolitan City)

2.5 Newars: who are they?

Newars are the traditional inhabitants (Gellner, 2003) or indigenous¹⁷ people of Kathmandu Valley and the largest ethnic group within it and speak Newari. They have a rich sense of cultural identity and may be the community with the

¹⁷ United Nations does not have a proper definition of the indigenous people but the working definition is as "Indigenous community, people and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing on those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as people, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal system".

most tangible and intangible heritage in Nepal. They have a complex caste division. Even though their number and place of inhabitants are very small, are divided by locality, religion and even dialect (as their dialect varies to some extent according to the place). One of the interesting features of Newar culture is intermixing of Buddhism and Hinduism, for outsiders it will be very difficult to distinguish. Though the ancient history of Newars can be traced back to the first settlers of the Valley but the word “Newar” is relatively new. As the word “Newar” came to existence from the mid of seventeenth century only. It is believed to be originated from language they speak which is called Newari. Until eighteenth century Kathmandu Valley was called Nepal and the people spoke “Nepal-Bhasa” (in Nepali) or “Newa Bhay” (in Newari) meaning language of Nepal and Newari in English. So it can be assumed that Newar word is originated from the language they speak (Gellner, 2003). Also there is another argument that Newar was the term used to denote noble predominantly Hindu caste which is now known as Shrestha and their use was first started in mid of seventeenth century and till the nineteenth century it was used to denote Shrestha only. Later the word was used to all people who spoke Newari language (Gellner, 2008).

Though the predominant inhabitants of old cities of Kathmandu are Newars and still most of the residents within the old city boundaries mostly Newars. There is a huge numbers of people are non-Newars. Currently Kathmandu Valley has a population of 2.51 million and out of which is 0.67 millions are Newars (CBS, 2011). In figure it the population Newars seems less, it's due to the migration of people from all over the country in the recent decade. The migration started with the conquest of Shah King to the Valley and also the Newars migrated to other cities of Nepal for trade (Slusser, 1998). If we look at the census data, now there is presence of Newars in almost all district of Nepal. Total population of Newars in the country is 1,321,933, about 5% of total population are Newars. Newars are majority in the Valley but are minority in the country.

The unique feature of Newar is syncretism of Buddhism and Hinduism in its culture and have created a complex caste hierarchy. As there are two religions within Newar so they have the double-headed caste hierarchy as well. Newars Traditionally there are six types of major caste and within caste there are other sub castes as in the following table 2.1.

S.N.	Caste Division	Sub- castes
1.	Priest	a. Rajopadhayaya Bhramin – Hindu b. Bajracharya and Shakya - Buddhist
2.	Nobles and merchants	a. Shrestha (also Joshi, Pradhan) – mostly Hindu b. Tuladhar (Uray) – Buddhist
3.	Agriculturists	Jyapu – Maharjan, Dongol, Singh, Prajapati, Suwal
4.	Various ritual and artisan specialists castes	Chitrakar, Manandhar, Ranjitkar, Mali, Ranjitkar,
5.	Butchers	Khadgi, Shahi
6.	Sweepers - Dyahla	Nepali

Table 2.2: Caste Hierarchy of Newars in Kathmandu Valley as adapted from the book Nationalism and Ethnicity (Gellner, 1997)

Among the other caste groups it is possible to distinguish between either they are Buddhist or Hindu according to the priest they keep except the sweeper caste who find the priest within their caste. Although for the outsiders to distinguish between Hindu Newar and Buddhist Newar will be very difficult. The reason

behind this being the same idol is worshipped by both Hindu and Buddhist but with the different names.

Newar castes are divided according to the profession they follow and in the Valley there are still people who work according to the profession assigned by their caste. In the caste hierarchy, the highest position is occupied by Priests, either Hindu or Buddhist and performs the rituals of the other caste people. Rajopadhyas are the priest with Hindu orientation, though they do not consider themselves Newar. The Buddhist priests are called Bajracharyas. Shakyas belonging to the Buddhist priest community are also by profession goldsmith. Shrestha and Tuladhar are merchants and noble castes in which Tuladhars are mostly involved with trade and commercial activities where as Shrestha were the jobholders or court men. A large number of Newars are Agriculturalist, also major contributor for the cultural heritage. In add to that they are the only caste group within Newar who does not claim to be from Indian or other place origin and are the true indigenous group of the Valley (Gellner, 1986).

In the fourth group there is a specialist caste like Manandhar – oil presser, Chitrakar – painters, Ranjitkar – Cloth dyer etc. Butchers and Sweeper comes on the last places of caste hierarchy. Jayasthiti Malla, one of the prominent Malla king, made many laws for the kingdom and among which caste system is also one of them. But historians believe that caste system was present from the Lichhavi period as the Lichhavi Kings consider themselves “Kshtriya” and are patronage of Bhramins in their temples. In the phase of time the caste system evolved and during Jayasthiti Malla period it was more structures. The caste system within Newar obtained more rigidity after the Shah rule so as to get legitimate by the new ruler. Newars were skilled craftsmen’s, farmers, merchants, artists, performers and as such. Many Newars went outside for work and trade by the invitation of new Ruler after 1769 AD. So Newars are now scattered all over Nepal but majority being inside the Valley (Gellner, 2005).

Traditional spatial arrangement of cities in the Valley was also arranged according to caste system that will be explained in the next section. Till Rana oligarchy, people were mostly involved in the profession given by their birth and society. Now according to the law of Nepal, anyone is free to choose their profession and religion, and to discriminate on the basis of their caste is against the law this has started to happen since 1951 A.D. (Gellner, 2003). Still there exist caste system plays significant role in maintaining the cultural traditions of Newars. People responsible to painting gods are still Chitrakars, priests for some temples are Hindu priest and for some Buddhist priest, for performing dances are still from the same caste that used to be and as such. This caste division of labor will be more clear when we deal with the festival chapter.

Newars has a system of joint family and all the family live together until their parents are alive. Marriage is forbidden with known agnatic kin and with blood relation in the mother's lineage up to seven generations. Marriage takes place within the same caste. Married women are not entitled for the share of inherent property of parents. So daughter and sisters are married properly, given dowry and also moral support after marriage by inviting sister, her children and husband in every festivals and feasts. Property is usually divided between sons and also the family house is also divided among sons, so the family live very close to each other even after the separations. All the family members come together and celebrate every festivals and feasts together (Gellner, 2008). One of the major features of Newar is they never live alone as Quigley has quoted the French Sanskritist Sylvain Levi that the, *"One of the dominant feature of Newar character is the taste of society. The Newar never stay alone; he likes to live, a little like Parisian, in houses which are several storeys high and bursting with inhabitants....."* (Quigley, 2003,p.). Also Newars are the urban dwellers; even to the trade towns developed by Newars after migration outside the Valley for trade and other have urban characters with shops, temples and urban architecture. May be because of skill in trading Newar developed, they carried a

part of Kathmandu everywhere they went outside Kathmandu either in the form of architecture or culture.

In the “*Mulukin Ain*” or Law of Country made by Rana ruler in 1854 kept Newar as a single caste though Newars have a complex caste system within itself. Also it placed Newar priests below the rank of Bhramin caste though inside Valley they hold the prestigious place. Newars have their own language with own script even more than two scripts. Prachalit Script (Newar script) is a script registered in United Nation as a National script of Nepal when Nepal applied for entry. Even though, Nepali is a national language and script is Devnagari because it was registered by India before. Today most of young Newars are bilingual as official language being Nepali (Gellner, 1986). Newars are now not limited to the traditional occupations, and are in almost every field including politics, army, government bureaucrat and modern professionals. Even though the changes in the traditional occupation and the Newars being modernized but still they are identified by the traditional practices they are continuing. Once the festivals, practices and rituals come in existence in the public and social space one can still identify whom Newars are.

2.6 Urban and Social Plan of Ancient Kathmandu

Before we move on with the architecture within the city of Kathmandu it will be very much interesting to discuss in brief about the spatial plan of it both socially as well as structurally. As already discussed in the earlier section of the origin and the city formation but this section is about the social plan of the city in accordance with the physical plan of the city. The physical orientation of the ancient city was also done according to the social order that can be seen in the Figure 2.1 below as adapted from Pradhan (1986). The caste order of the ancient Kathmandu has been explained in the earlier section and that pattern of the caste hierarchy is seen in the city order too. The King being considered the

incarnation of Vishnu and receives the high status. King and Palace occupies the center position.

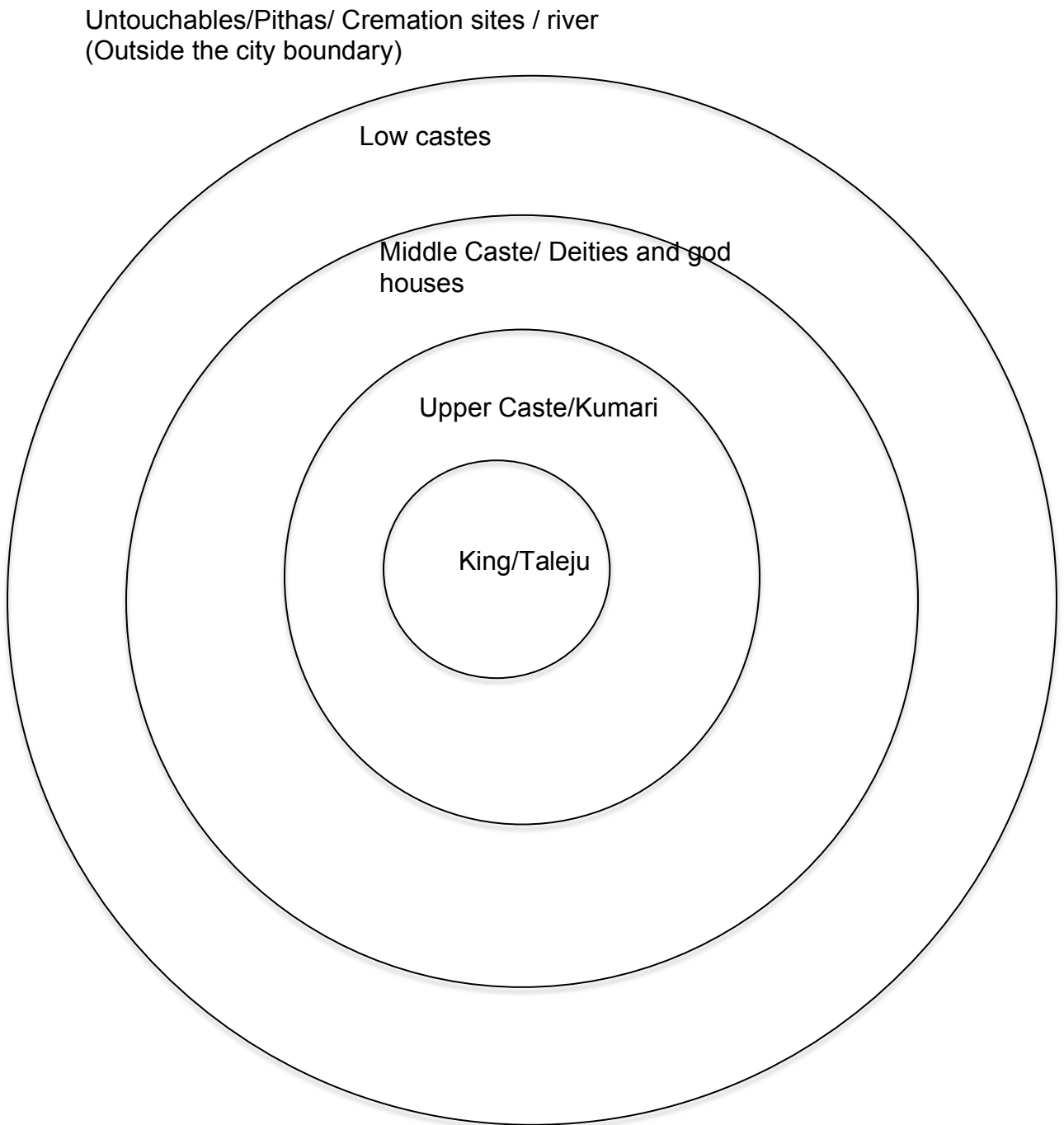


Figure 2.9: Spatial arrangement of the social order in the ancient urban structure of Kathmandu. Still King and Taleju occupy the center space while other components are being weak erasing the boundaries. (Source: Pradhan, 1986)

Then the nobility and the high-ranking priest are found to have a place nearby the palace along with the Kumari, the goddess of King. Then come the occupational castes that occupy the middle position in the social hierarchy as well as in the physical space of the city. Then surrounds the lower caste but not untouchables. Mostly on the boundary of the towns are people who were considered to be of low caste in a caste hierarchy. Then the untouchables like butcher and sweepers are mostly kept outside of the city (Pradhan, 1986).

King occupying the highest and center space in the city is the most important. The social status goes on decreasing according to the proximity of distance with the palace. This can still be seen during the rituals and festivals as every festivals like in Yenya Punhi festival, chariot processions and so on has to pass through the ancient palace. If we look at the map of the ancient city of Kathmandu in Picture 2.6, then we can still see the king and palace occupying the center space surrounded by the high caste and Kumari. Though with the modernization, the caste hierarchy is being erased and the social order is also being distorted in the pattern of the city. The constitution of Nepal also does not promote the discrimination based on caste and religion and every citizen has an equal right (GoN, 2015).

People who were reluctant to move out of the ancient city boundaries is now moving out of the boundary building modern houses and facilities. The reason behind not moving out of traditional space must has been the stigma of being labeled as low caste and also funeral Guthi members not coming to help during the time of death (Pradhan, 1986). But now this is not the case. Also ancient belief of people was outside the city lived ghost and impure spirits. Within the city being pure and secured. As Pradhan explains it as “.....*Kathmandu has the spatial pattern which operates on the principle of inside and outside; center and periphery*” (Pradhan, 1986; p.379).

2.7 Architecture for the People

Marry Slusser (1998; p.127) has defined architecture of Kathmandu Valley as “designed for God and Men”. The architecture of the Valley fulfills the need of social function of the people as well as rituals for the God. Squares, Temples, Chaityas, Stupas, Courtyards, Gods houses, Water sprouts and so on are all the structures which were designed according to the need of people and simultaneously fulfilling the religious purpose as well. As explained in previous section about the foundation of city weather it was developed in a planned way or just the gradual development but in either case the architecture of the Kathmandu seem to be in planned to meet the needs of people. Newar Cities have been described as traditional or “archaic”, as opposed to “modern” cities, *“the terms referring to their character rather than their chronology”* (Gutschow, 2011; p. 75). Although being very ancient these traditional architecture within the come alive during the festivals and traditional practices. The inter-linkages of people and architectural structural of the Valley has been explained by Gutschow as:

“The presentation of types of architecture, places, Hindu and Buddhist temples, Buddhist devotional structures such as caityas, Hindu monastic institutions, Buddhist monasteries, arcades, needs to be illustrated in the urban context. Many of these types of building do not stand as independent structures but are integrated into the urban fabric, only occasionally recognizable by a pinnacle or spire crowning the pitched roof, or an ornate door frame topped by a tympanum.” (Gutschow, 2011; p. 75)

Houses and Palaces

The traditional architecture of the Valley followed the similar style and materials of wood, brick, tiles, stones and clay as mortar (Hutt, 2010). The building materials for the Valley were mud, bricks and wood. The house of nobility and palace was not much different than of the farmers, as farmers were also the town

dwellers and live within the boundary of the city. The houses of nobility and rich were the elaborate version of the farmhouse (Slusser, 1998; Ranjitkar, 2006). The typical Newar houses were three stories with the attic and sloped tile roof. Windows, doors and all the supporting structures are made of wood. The typical Newar house is narrow, brick walled rectangle in shape. Most of the houses are aligned with the roads with the varying height and length. The wealthier families have a bigger houses even with the courtyards were four sides of the courtyards belonging to same family. As in the Figure 2.8, some houses are places parallel along the streets while others are inside the courtyards. The courtyards can be of small size and private within the families (Slusser, 1982) while it may be larger and be public. The uses of courtyards are many from the drying of agricultural products to public rituals and social functions. In Figure 2.9 can be seen the houses with the private courtyard while in Picture 2.10 the traditional houses with the larger public space and temple. These public spaces and courtyards are still functional as in Picture.

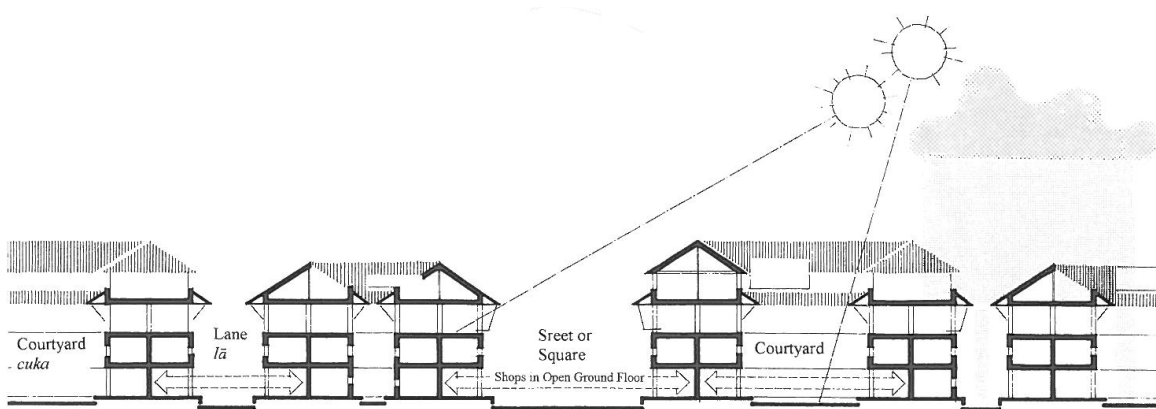


Figure 2.10. Cross-section of the traditional Newar houses with the street and courtyards. Ground floor is for the shops and uses according to the profession of the house owner. Second floor being private use especially sleeping while the second floor with the large wooden windows for the adequate sunlight. The attic being the kitchen and storage, worshipping and so on. (Source: Gutschow, 2011)

The ground floor of the house is mostly used according to the profession of the house owner, as the farmers use it for the storage of the farming materials, while merchants use as a shops, craftsmen use as workshops while the wealthy ones



Figure 2.11: Traditional Newar house with the private courtyard. In picture can be seen galvanized iron sheets and reconstruction of floor in place of attic replaces the traditional brick tiles. The house on the right still has the traditional brick tile. (Source: Impact Production)

use as the porters guard room and reception hall. The first floor of the house is mostly private are used for sleeping. Even the windows are lattice only little light and no visibility from outside. Second floor of the house is used as the meeting place and have the large windows. Depending on the wealth of the person the windows and doors of the houses are designed. Especially the wealthy house owners have the artistic large windows with three or five openings. The topmost attic is used for the kitchen as well as dinning. The part of the attic is also used as the store and also the place of worshipping. Some wealthy people have a separate house for the god within the courtyard. The traditional house does not have the running water, toilet or heating system in the winter. The common tap as water sprouts and wells were used (Gutschow, 2011).



Picture 2.12: Public open space with the traditional houses with the tile sloped roof and in the background the new high raise concrete buildings. People utilizing the public space for an event. (Source: Impact Production)

So the houses of the rich and poor were similar in design depending on wealth the artistic and size of the houses increases. Palaces were the grander version of

commoner house and it seems during the medieval times the distinction between the palace and houses were not clear (Ranjitkar, 2006). The three cities of the valley have the three palaces, as it was an independent kingdom from 1482 till 1769 (Hutt, 2010). The Malla palaces have the many courtyards as of wealthy people and surrounded by many temples. According to the needs of the Kings the quadrangles in the places keeps on adding. Bhaktapur had once ninety-nine quadrangles, Kathmandu fifty-five while Patan fewer than dozen. Palaces even resemble the temples with the artistic wood carving and painted with polychrome. There are another types of palaces within the Valley but mostly outside of the old quarters built by the Ranas. These palaces were inspired by the European architecture with the large gardens.¹⁸

Temples of Hindu and Buddhist

The tired roof temples are the typical feature of the skyline of Kathmandu Valley and also called as pagoda style but the tired roof of the Valley is very much different form the pagoda styles in other countries (Tiwari, 2013). Even though the styles of building are similar but the roof may be from one to five in the square or rectangular shape according to the plan of the temple while some are octagonal too. They may be dedicated to Hindu or Buddhist gods and Goddesses. Some may be free standing while some maybe attached to other buildings, enclosed in the courtyards or within the Palaces (Slusser, 1998). Most of these temples do not acquire names from the building but the god or goddesses housed inside it but some temples like *Nyata pau* temple in Bhaktapur, which means five tired temples. These temples are mostly supported by the plinth that may be low or high depending on the number of plinth (Hutt, 2010). Mostly the number of plinth is equal to the number of the tires of the temples (common tire temples in abundance are two to three) (Slusser, 1998).

¹⁸ Since these Palaces do not have any connection with the local people and the study of this research so it would be necessary to go through those architecture. These palaces are now owned by government and used as government offices, some private turned into hotels while some are in the depleted state.

But some temples like *Maju Dega* and *Jaisi Dega* of Kathmandu plinth exceeds the tiers of temples (Slusser, 1998), Maju dega plinth have the elevation of 23.5 meters high and *Nyata pau* of Bhaktapur even higher. Even though the roofs are multi tiered, the only used functional ground room while the other upper ones are empty space (Hutt, 2010).

The roof of these temples are either form the tiles made out of fire brick clays or some with gilded copper depending on the importance of the temples. As the important temples have many patrons and donors. These temples are also decorated with elaborate carving of strut that supports the roof (Hutt, 2010). Most of the temples have deities in the ground floor while some of the Gods and Goddesses are housed in the first floor (Slusser, 1998). Most of those temples which are in the main streets of the Valley, now providing it to be rented as shops and the income is has been a source of income for the temple.

Apart from the pagoda style temples there are other style temples called *Shikara*, which is tapering tower and usually made of stone (Hutt, 2010). This style was from the Indian origin (in India from 6th Century) built in stone and bricks but there were presence of those styles with the secure dates from 15th century in the Valley (Korn, 2014). But according to Slusser (1998) *Sikhara* style were present during the Lichhavi rule. There was another form of architecture for temples appeared during the Rana period in dome shape. They were mostly built with the tendency to replace Newar pagodas or shikara style temples. They were inspired from the Mughal architecture in India (Hutt, 2010). After the earthquake of 1934, damaged Newar temples were reconstructed in the dome style, which was ill advised as an appropriate way (Slusser, 1998). Whatever the style or architecture type of the temples, the Newars called them *Dega* for temples and if its made from the stone then called *lōdega* while the general Nepali word is Mandir (Korn, 2014). The opulence of a temple does not depend on its size as it mostly dependent on the popularity (Slusser, 1998). There are temples even in

smaller sizes are richer in architecture and decorations while the temples like *maju dega* even with the enormous size is comparatively plain looking.

Buddhist Monastries (*Vihara*): *Baha* and *Bahi*

Vihara is the Sanskrit name of the Buddhist monasteries (Hutt, 2010), where the temple is integrated into one side of courtyard with the access to the temples (Slusser, 1998). These were the place where Buddhist celibate monks used to live and the oldest in the Valley is believed to be built by the daughter of King Ashoka from India. There were references of presence of fifteen Buddhist monasteries during the period of Lichhavi but none of the structures are found later than late Malla period (Hutt, 2010). These Vihara are also resembles structurally with the Newar houses but with the rich decoration of the windows and doors (Slusser, 1998). The Vihara are of two according to Newar called Baha and Bahi. They are words not to distinguish in architectural style while still some architectural difference are there. Bahi is the continuation of the traditional Vihara word *bahira* comes from *bahira* (which means outside in Nepali) and are mostly outside of the city boundary. They have a single patron which may be king, monk or religious teacher. While Baha is formed by the monks who started to marry and have a family life under the influence of Vajrayana Buddhism. The community of each monastery became in essence a patrilineal descent group: a boy joined the monastery of his father, and no one from outside the family was admitted to the monastery. (Hutt, 2010)

Baha and Bahi both have the courtyards with at least one chaitya in it while baha tend to have a numerous. Bahi are simple in architecture compared to Baha with the Shakyamuni Buddha while Baha have one of the five Buddha as a deity. One of the distinguishing features of Baha to separate it from Bahi is *torana* over the entrance and stone lion guard. Both the Baha and Bahi have a finial or a small tower on the roof above the main shrine, which is mostly elevated than the adjoining sides of quadrangle (Slusser, 1998). There are altogether 356 baha and bahi within the Valley, bahi being comparatively few (Hutt, 2010).

Sutpas and Chaityas

Apart from the temples in pagoda, *shikara* and dome style there are other forms of the Buddhist architecture as *Chaitya* and *Stupas* present in the numerous amount in Kathmandu Valley. “*Stupa was originally a burial mound of earth that was derived from ancient pre-Buddhist Indian Traditions*” (Hutt, 2010; p. 54). They are mostly Buddhist although the Hindu deities may coexist to the place *Stupas* and *Chaityas* are enshrined. These *stupas* contain relics of saints, texts and images inside. The mounds of the *stupas* are white washed each year and also due to the constant renovation and repair it is very difficult to know the evolution of *stupas*. Also Hutt explains that the shapes of dome *stupa* varies during the time. There are various sizes of *stupas* in the Valley and there are eleven larger *stupas* in the Valley. The largest being at the Boudha (one of the World Heritage Monument Zone of KV) surrounded by the two-to-three story dwarf houses compared to *Stupa*. While there are numerous *chaityas* around the Valley. Mostly these *stupas* are found in the courtyard of Baha (Slusser, 1998).

Chaityas are another form of Buddhist shrines, which are the smaller version of *Stupa* and mostly made of stones. Even though the *chaityas* and *stupas* are the interchangeable words but the smaller ones are called *chaityas* while the bigger ones are called *chityas* as well as *stupas*. (Hutt, 2010)

Priest houses

Priest houses known as *math*, originated lately only on 16th Century after the strengthening of the Hindu orthodox (Hutt, 2010). They are no difference from the normal houses of the people except with the superior quality of craft in the windows and doors. Also they do not have courtyards as the Buddhist monasteries. There are only thirty *math* within the Valley and half of them are in Bhakatapur. These *maths* used to be the seat of the religious leader called *mahant* but now these *math* are not functional (Slusser, 1998).

Gods houses

Gods house also known as Dyahchen in Newari (Dyah means God and Che means house) is “*an earthly residence for the mainly form of God in the form of the house of the family man*” (Tiwari, 2013). The houses structures of the Gods house are similar to the house of common man but rich in decoration. With the artistic tympanum above the entrance, richly carved windows (sometimes tympanum above it also), struts and with the finial at the top of the roof (Gutschow, 2011). Everyday the deities in the Gods houses are worshipped by its caretakers and also they are responsible for the annual festivals taking the deities from the first floor around the city (Slusser, 1998). During the field for the research it has been seen the family of the care taker using the gods houses for living as well as the God houses in the prime location are given out for rest (mostly ground floor for shops) for sustaining the rituals and festivals related to those deities.¹⁹ The remaining floor of the God houses were used for the feast and rituals by the Guthi members as well as the storage of the things associated with deity.

Rest houses: *Pati, Mandapa and Sattal*

Another noticeable structures present in Kathmandu Valley were small rest house known as *pati*, *mandapa*, *sattal* in Nepali and *phala*, *madu* or *sataa* in Newari. These rest houses even outnumber the temples and monasteries in the Valley (Slusser, 1998). These are the small rectangular buildings with the raised platform of the bricks. They are found free standing or in conjugation with the other buildings and temples. They are found in all the temples, at the major intersections, alongside every trail, which were built by the people to acquire the religious merits (Hutt, 2010).

¹⁹ During the field visit of 2014 it was seen that the caretakers of Lakhey were staying in the Dyah Che of Lakhey. While caretaker of Kumari also stays in the Kumari Che. In add to that there were Guthi Like *Pulu Kishi* were well off because of the rent they were receiving form the God house of Pulu Kishi which was in the main road.

The larger version of the *phala* is called *sattal* with multi story and are for resting as well as temple. Kasthamandapa is also a *sattal* which gave name to the city. These *sattal* and *fala* have the various functions form being a resting place for travellers and pilgrimages, market exchange, meeting hall or even coronation hall (Mani Mandapa in Lalitpur) (Slusser, 1998; Hutt, 2010). With the urbanization these traditional *falcha* are being lost. Some of them being destroyed as the urbanization plan of the City as one famous rest house known as *Shorakhutte* (rest house with sixteen column) in Kathmandu was dismantled to broaden the road in 2015.

Water sprouts, Ponds, Riverbanks and Wells

As the Newar houses did not had the facility of the running water so had to be dependent on the public sources of water as water sprouts and wells. Water is the scared element and is also used for the purification in the religious and social context. Water sources in the Valley like river banks, ponds, water sprouts and wells does not only fulfill the basic needs of human but also are aesthetically pleasing in harmony in harmony with the architecture. The water sprouts made of stones and beautifully carved and sometimes made from gilded metals (as in *Sundhara* of Patan which means golden fountain and mostly within Palace fountain). Near the water sprouts also a stone tank were placed for the water reservoir even though water were running all the time from the sprout. Also there are numerous wells in all the community for drinking and other purpose.

The ponds were another sources of water, which fulfills the basic needs of water and also as the water reservoir. The rivers are considered to be a holy place as all the water sources. Riverbanks are also the cremation site and have many holy sites around the riverbanks within the Valley. The purification process is also done in the riverbank along with many rituals. All these water sources whether small or large are associated with the scared images, temples or idols as serving for men as well as God. Water sprouts, ponds and wells are constructed by

Kings and people to obtain the religious pity. The rest houses are mostly found in association with the water sources.

Raised Platforms

Within the magnificent architectural context of the Valley, plain looking raised platform in square or rectangular shape might go unnoticed. Even though plain in architecture but functionally those platforms are very much important. It is known as *Dabali* in Nepali and *Dabu* or *Phala* in Newari. The height and side might vary of the platform but usually; they are of two-three feet height and twelve to fifteen feet wide. Made of the brick and stones. These platforms are mostly constructed in the public place, within the place and adjoining to the temples. They are used for the performances like mask dances, display of gods even the coronation of Kings (Slusser, 1998). Still now these platform are used for the various modern cultural events, or meeting place. Also now used for the temporary vegetables and food stands.

All these architectural structures explained above are not secular, as every piece of monuments are decorated with images of gods yet serving purpose of men. Water sprouts, ponds, raised platform and everything are decorated with the images of Gods and Goddess. Even the buildings that are devoted to Gods are shared by men (Slusser, 1998). Now even the temples ground floor are used as shops to fulfill the economic needs of god and people. All the architecture within the Valley was designed accordance with the need of the people. It's mainly because of the communal lifestyle of Newar as they try to spend more time outdoor (Slusser, 1998). Tiwari elaborates it as:

"The communal life philosophy of the Newar of Kathmandu demanded a lot more space for interaction than allocation in the classical Hindu patterning of town, and, along with the durbar square and neighborhood chowk, many crossroad nodes also transformed into communal activity spaces such as market squares or just festive squares" (Tiwari, 2013; p. 52).

2.8 Meetings in public spaces: Festivals and festivities

“The Nawab (alternatively: Parbatiya, Chetri)²⁰ ruins himself with luxury, the Newar by feasting” (Lowdin, 1998). This is the common sarcastic phase among non-Newars to tell how much time and money Newars waste in the festivals and festivity. But these festivals and festivity are the major identity of Newars as these festivals are linked to temples, gods, localities and social life of people. Festivals are one of the prominent features of Valley’s life and Newars are the most enthusiastic community in Nepal for conducting those festivals. These festivals are celebrated every year in the same time and same season according to the almanac, and are believed to bring peace, prosperity and harmony in country and society (Sharma, 2015).

Festivals are and always have been a part of social life in Kathmandu Valley. Most of them involve the gods, and local people rejoice in participating in these romantic interactions with them. These festivals bring out the ancient Kathmandu alive in 21st Century (Tiwari, 2013). Tiwari further explains the relation of festival, people and place as:

“Festivals in the towns of Kathmandu Valley are a fascinating depiction of this romantic perspective. Resident play-act and animate gods as if their great-grandfathers had seen them walking the streets only a few decade ago. Annually, or sometimes only every twelve years, elaborate rituals are executed to re-enact celestial events and scenes of the past. Weather demons prowl the streets, giving the gods a reason to come out of their temples to save humans, or weather the gods just need to renew their relationship with celestial relatives through a regular visit, whatever the theme or reason, festival come into play. They are grand occasions and whole settlements come alive with them. Whatever the reason for a festival is, almost all of them are place- rather than caste – specific. In this sense, festivals link places in a town or village and make a visible the existing social structure as well as how it was built up form the past.”

²⁰ Bharmin caste outside of Kathmandu Valley and considered to be of the highest caste.

Festivals of Newar are very complex and makes the social and domestic life of Newar society more complex (Vergati, 2002). Most of the festivals are so complex that for the outsiders studying the festivals, it is impossible to figure out what is going on. The various functions happen in the different parts of the city simultaneously. All around the year there is festivals in the Valley. Everyday there must be some sacred festivals being observed in some part of the city (Slusser, 1998). Almost all the people participate in the festivals that are observed in the Valley. In some festivals it is celebrated by some locality, in some by the city and some by the whole Valley.

There are various types of festival, which involves inviting the relatives and especially daughters, and sisters who have been married. The festival involves wide range of social and religious practices as religious fasting in the honor of deities, festival of the local deities in which the deities are carried in chariot around the city of locality like Chariot festival of Kumari, Chaorit festival of Seto Machhindranath in Kathmandu. The festivals were various mask dances takes place people acting like Gods and Goddesses some of which will be explained in the following chapter. The festival for the circumambulation of the town for the dead spirits. The festival even to ward off the evil spirit and malevolent spirits. In add to the festivals concerning eating the specific dishes according to the season of the year like *yomari punhi*, *kwati Punhi* and many more. There are the festival also for the charities as charities like *samyak* and *panchadan*. There are many more festivals apart from these categories (Sharma, 2015).

Among these festivals mentioned above there are some specific festivals that become the identity of the city or town. Since the Valley had the three individual cities as the kingdoms. So there were the festivals specific to these cities that were considered the major festival of the city. Yenya Punhi was the major festival of Kathmandu, Bisket Jatra was of Bhaktapur and Rato Machindranath Jatra of Patan. These festivals have also become the identity and pride of these three cities. In add to that the adjoining villages also have one major festival, which has

also become the identity of each of those specific place. These festivals are celebrated in these three towns mainly but people from other cities go to worship it and participate in it. Though these festivals are the major festivals of the people living in these cities only, there will be fests for relatives during the festivals. For the celebrations of festivals not only family members gather together but also people of same locality and caste come together. Since Newars has the caste division according to the occupations so this also makes them very much dependent upon each other and in these festivals even more. Every localities and caste group has got some responsibilities for the smooth operations of festivals in form of Guthi (Sharma, 2015).

Festivals take place in form of chariot procession, mask dances, offerings for needy, worshiping of gods and goddess, worshiping and ceremonies in the name of deceased family members, lightening of butter lamps, taking vows, ritual baths and as such (Slusser, 1998). A series of complex activities takes place during the festivals like participation of music from the different castes. These festivals have been taking place from the centuries and every community has specific roles to play. So all the festivals takes place in the rhythm that it is so automatic and systematic in itself.

If we look at the annual calendar of Nepal we can see many festivals mentioned and the holidays due to it. For a brief idea on the numerous festival of Nepal in the annex is attached the list of the festival mention in the annual calendar. Apart from the festivals in the table there are many more localized which is not mentioned in the calendar. Among the numerous temples and communities, there is always something going on related to god, society and culture. Also there are occasional festivals like twelve-year festivals that occur every twelve year only.²¹ In add to that there are some special festivals, which organized according to patron, or with the willingness of some groups. We can also say that Valley is

²¹ According to one of the respondent regarding the twelve yearly festivals, mentions as 12 years of human is equivalent to one year of the God.

always in the mood of celebrations. Apart from the major festivals there are no public holidays for celebrations even though people celebrate festivals and take part in it.

If we make the analysis of festival calendar then most of the festivals are according to the farming pattern. During the monsoon there is very less festival or not so important festivals i.e. June and July observe less festivals. Sithi Nakha festival which is water sources cleaning festival marks the end of festive season as after this rainy season starts. And during the rainy season people of the Valley will be very busy in farming especially rice plantation, as rice is the major staple food of Kathmandu Valley. Then the Ghantakarna festival, which is worshipping of demon god during July end, marks the beginning of festive season. The myth behind worshipping demon god is, this it is suppose to help during farming and after the hard working season is over the demon god is worshipped and pulled out of the old city boundaries and thrown in the river. So every festival in the Valley is associated with myths, legends and some scientific logics. Whatever the festivals either big or small all festivals are associates with feasts, celebrations, family and societal gatherings.

For all these festivals celebrated in Kathmandu Valley these is a great importance of public space. Public space in the form of squares, raised platforms, courtyards, rest houses, pith holes (which are covered during non festive days), water sprouts and as such are very much associated with the festivals. The raised platforms seen in inside of old cities are used for the traditional dance and some in the special functions coronations (Slusser, 1998). The courtyards are also very much important for the different religious functions as well as social functions. Even the pith holes, which seem non-existence during other days, are dug out during the festive season and inside is worshipped as a god Shiva. These pith holes are mostly in roads of the ancient cities that are closed by the concrete slab now during non-festive days. Festivals make the places that are very ordinary during the regular days so vibrant. Some of the

festivals also have the wooden poles erected in the main centers, lightening lamp posts; display of god's statues in the streets, making of chariot in the squares etc takes places which brings life to the brick and wood materials of the Valley. Sharma (2015; p. 186) explains regarding the complex relation between place, people and festival as:

“From the family shrine in the buigah (attic) to the courtyard of the house where lukumadyah is kept, to the niches and shrines of twa-Ganesa and nasa dyah in the locality, to the more renowned temples of the town, and to the pre-eminent deities of a pan-following farther away, the Newars are bound to each one of them not only in personal devotion, but also in multiple social and ritual obligations.”

Chapter III

Managing Heritage: the indigenous Guthi system a heritage in itself

This chapter deals with the traditional community system of taking care of the festivals and monuments. This indigenous system is so much integrated within the social life of the Newars, which reflects in the public space in form of temples and festivals, so its very much necessary to explain this system “Guthi”. In add to that the title was also given as *“heritage in itself”* as its very unique and sustainable way of maintaining the festival, which has the history of more than thousand years. I tired my best to explain the complicated indigenous system in a simple way, when even Newars, non-Newars and Government have a different perception and understanding regarding this system.

3.1 Guthi in Brief

Guthi is a Newari²² word derived form Sanskrit “Gosthi” meaning society or association and with the course of time the word became corrupted to Guthi (Regmi, 1968). For the indigenous people of Kathmandu Valley “Guthi” is a fundamental unit of social organization based on caste, kinship or territory. *“By ensuring the organization of festivals, feasts, funerals, religious ceremonies and worship of Gods, the system regulates all social and religious life”* (Toffin, as cited in Quigley, 1985, p. 2). But for non – Newars this system is a just a means to finance religious and charitable institutions or endowment in itself (Regmi, 1968). Government or the rulers of the country of the unified Nepal seem to be interested in Guthi with endowments and not much reference was made about the other types of Guthi, which runs without the endowments may also be, the reason that most of the Nepalese think Guthi means endowments. Guthi may or may not have the endowments, as there are several Guthi in Newar society, which runs without the endowment but through the voluntary contributions of

²² Language Spoken by the Newars but now people prefer to call it as Nepal Bhasa. As Nepal used to refer to Kathmandu Valley and it was British who referred Nepal to overall Nepal.

goods, money and time of Guthi members. For some Guthi operations there were funds available as land revenues, properties and jewelries where as other were operated by the voluntary contribution in form of cash or kind by the Guthi members.

Most of the religious and social functions within the Newar society are carried out through the Guthi system (Slusser, 1998). It's being an integral part of social life to Newars, they should be members of at least one Guthi. But a single person can be a member of numerous Guthi with different functions. The main idea behind the system was to involve people within community, socialize them and help each other to accomplish certain task. And some of the compulsory Guthi where the family are not member then they are treated as outcaste which meant a great deal in the traditional Newar society. Prayag Raj Sharma has mentioned in his book about the Guthi record in the inscriptions found in the Kathmandu and it has been continuing since 5th-9th Century CE till date (Sharma, as cited in Toffin, 2005). But until 1768 this system was confined within Kathmandu Valley but only after the Shah rule this system was seemed to spread all over Kathmandu Valley (Regmi, 1968) but Toffin forwards argument that as the Guthi records were not found outside the Valley before that does not mean that it was not present (Toffin, 2005). But Guthi has an inter-woven linkage with social life of Newars from birth to death other than just endowments, temples and festivals. The Guthi system is the distinctive feature of Kathmandu Valley (Slusser, 1998). Even though Guthi found outside Kathmandu Valley were to fund the social and religious institution but not associated with the daily life of people as in case of Newars. As Slusser mentions Guthi within Newars are "organic" (Slusser, 1998).

Land endowment made for the Guthi plays a major role in upkeep of festivals and conservation of monuments. Endowments were mainly land as it provided mutual benefit for the people who tilled the land as well as the Guthi holders. It seems as a most effective form of investment at that time, since most of the people were dependent in agriculture and even the payment for the skill were done in the agricultural products. Regmi mentioned various cases where the priests, helpers

in temples as well as the revenue collectors were paid with agricultural products. For example “*Kushle*” musicians by caste were allocated 5-6 *ropani*²³ (3048 sq. m) per person for ten people of the Suryavinak temple in Bhaktapur and 3.5 *ropani* (1778 sq. m) for the communal feast in total. Also the temples in Kathmandu used to appoint the people to collect the revenues and they too were paid in grains like for every 20 *pathi*²⁴ 1 *pathi* were given to the person who helped in collection (Regmi, 1968).

Not only King or Royals constructed temples and monuments, and made endowments but also by the ordinary people. Guthi always has religious and social purpose as a base but with the numerous objectives like maintenance of rest houses, maintenance of temples, water sprouts, supplying flower for rituals, organizing festivals and as such. Whether Royals or ordinary, the endowment was driven mainly by the three reasons specifically (Regmi, 1968):

- a. People who did the endowments were considered to receive good fortune until next seven generation.
- b. The Guthi land was non-taxable in the time of Malla. People can make the endowments for temples and other purpose, and the income after performing the rituals goes to the patrons. People who made the endowments in the name of certain temples secured the right to reap the benefits of land and the portion of it is used in the temples and rituals.
- c. Guthi once endowed was non revocable so in order to prevent Guthi land form confiscation during the time of political unrest in the country endowment was made. And it was considered to be a great sin to do such act.²⁵

²³ Nepali measurement unit for land where one ropani equals to 507 sq.m.

²⁴ Nepali measurement unit for grains and liquids where one *pathi* equals to 2.5 kg approx.

²⁵ There are the cases when the confiscation of all the property by the country because of the treason against the state and the Guthi land was spared because of sin associated with it.

In ancient times, who gave land endowments were considered to be of the high statues in society. Not only kings but also general people made land, property or jewelry endowments with the belief of spiritual blessings for seven generation in family (Toffin, 2008). This land endowment system supplied steady flow of funds for the smooth operation of rituals, taking care of temples and festivals as well as provided source of income for the community who tilled the land. The monuments and temples that are seen in Kathmandu Valley have existed for so long not just because of design and material used but also due to the system of reconstruction renewal, which is enhanced, by the indigenous system *Guthi* (Tiwari, 2002b).

Guthi can be for the big task of carrying out the national festivals or taking care of rituals everyday or annual. Or it can be for the small task like lighting oil lamps in the temple everyday as mentioned by Daniel Wright in his book History of Nepal. In 1655 A.D. Malla king built a temple in Bhkatapur where he set aside twenty-four *ropani* of land just to light oil lamp. He has also mentioned about many stone inscriptions after building temples, monuments and stone sprouts where there was mentioned about the Guthi endowment for the various purposes from big to the small events (Wright, 2013). But the Guthi endowment for the charitable purpose like education, Ayurvedic hospitals for poor etc are comparatively very new one. It started during the time of Rana period and even seems to be established to benefit the Rana family members or the followers of Ranas (Toffin, 2005).

3.2 What Guthi mean to Newars?

“Guthi is the basic integrating factor of Newar society, whose primary function is to enable the individual Newar to fulfill his many social-religious obligations through group action” (Slusser, 1998, p. 12). Guthi is a unique social organization of Newars among ethnic community in Nepal (Quigley, 1985). Guthi in Newar society is made up of extensive network of various Guthi based on caste, place of residence, functions and many more. Most of the Guthi are mono-caste while

some of the Guthi which has the bigger function is made up of multi caste like the Guthi of *Machhindranth* or *Karunamaya* Chariot festival in Patan (Toffin, 2008). Guthi can be compulsory or voluntary depending on the nature of Guthi like *Si* Guthi or *Sana* Guthi meaning death Guthi are compulsory Guthi for all Newars and *Tva* Guthi meaning locality Guthi are compulsory for the Jyapu caste of Kathmandu while other Guthi like related to temples and festivals depend on the wish of the family.

Newar society is divided into different caste groups according to their professions, which they are in. These various caste groups have their own Guthis with various functions where most of the time one group helps the other Guthi member to fulfill the task. Within the Guthis distinction between the senior and junior is well maintained as the seniors are always respected by all and called as “*thakali*” meaning senior. All the members in the Guthi are called “*Guthiyaar*” and the person in charge of Guthi for ceremonies or temples are called “*Guthi Pala*” (Sharma, 1983). Guthi can be of various types depending on the functions and different scholars in the Newar culture had tried to categorize Guthi in the various ways. Anne Vergati has categorized Guthi into three as lineage guthi, death function guthi and guthi associated with residence to temples (Vergati, 2002), also Toffin categorized into three skipping lineage Guthi with adding locality Guthi (Toffin, 2005). So when we consider all formal structure of Guthi it can be categorized as:

- I. Digu Dyo: Guthi
- II. Sana Guthi
- III. Twa: Guthi (Locality Guthi)
- IV. Guthi for temples and festivals

I. Digu Dyo: Guthi

This Guthi is the association only within the family members where they come together once or twice every year and celebrate the worshipping of their lineage

God (Quigley, 1985). Commonly also called as *Dhyo: Puja* Guthi by Newars meaning worshipping of God. This Guthi can be also called lineage Guthi, as the group of patrilineal descendants paying homage to the same deity in the same date and in the same sanctuary and also they believe themselves to be related by blood (Vergati, 2002). These lineages are the brothers and sisters of the same family that with the passage of time has grown into a larger member. If the group becomes very large they break up into other groups but they have the same place of worshipping and same God. The lineage group members who worship together even though no longer lives together or in the same house come together during the worshipping. Those lineages are called *Phuki* in Newari. *Phuki* must belong to the same caste with the same caste hierarchy, in death of the member must follow same period of impurity, cannot marry within lineage (for the seven generations), members of the lineage deity and worship at the same time of the year. Women who marry has to leave the lineage of her father and joins the lineage of her husband, and she is no more the member of her father's lineage (Vergati, 2002).

This lineage Guthi is very interesting that the God they worship is in form of small stone without any artistic carvings which are kept in the house of the *nayo*: (meaning leader of the family) who happens to be the senior most member of the group. And on the day of worshipping it is taken out of the house to the place where the worshipping is done. There is a turn to organize this festival among the family members. Then all the members of the family gather in the house where the festival is being organized. The God in form of circular stones along with jewelries for God is taken to the site of worshipping. The site is always outside the boundaries of old City wall. The worshipping place is very modest where it has only the stone plaque for placing the god as in the figure 3.1 and 3.2. This is very interesting as Kathmandu Valley is famous for the wood, stone, bronze and as such types of art and craftsman and to see such type of plane stone being worshipped as in the Picture 3.1 and 3.2 below. These worshipping place are

called as *Khyo*: meaning a big ground and to go to there *Khyo*: are said as “*Khele: wonu*” during Digu Dhyo puja.



Figure 3.1: Place of worshipping for Digu Dhyo Puja in the Kaldhara of Kathmandu. (Source: Abishek Srivastava/2014)



Figure 3.2: Digu Dhyo puja place in the same area as the picture one but for the different group. (Source: Abishek Srivastava/2014)

People can relate among themselves by the lineage god they worship. The worshipping takes place twice every year, once with the feast for a four days during from April to May/June which is the main worshipping and next is for one day during September / October. Only during the four days worshipping the all the members gather together and go to the worshipping place “*Khyo*”. For the people of Patan it takes on only one full moon day of December. Every Newar has this Guthi either Hindu or Buddhist except for the priest household of

Bhaktapur (Vergati, 2002). These worshipping are mostly done at the expense of members of this Guthi and they are organized in the rotation.

This Guthi is less talked about as it is mostly private affair and does not have a large endowments as other Guthi have. But this is interesting to note, as according to the legends this was the first start of worshipping God. Also some Newars say the meaning of this *Digu Dhyo* or *Dugu Dhyo* as *to have god*. It may be analyzed that from the God they worship it must be very primitive. Also various caste has various God worshipped as a *Digu Dhyo* and most of the people don't know which God they worship during this worshipping (Quigley, 1985). There is no difference between the Buddhist and Hindu when it comes to worshipping Digu Dhyo as it is indistinguishable to God that they are worshipping (Vergati, 2002). Also the statues they worship are in form of small round pieces of stone with no carving of figures of Gods and Goddess. Different families within the same caste also call their God to be different as according to their belief and wish they had the name of God.

To get integrated in this Guthi mean a lot to the Newar family as every new bride and newborn child has to this Guthi as a full integration in the family. Some of the people who marry the lower caste and the bride of lower caste are not integrated into the Guthi. There are the cases where the Guthi even breakdown with the disputes regarding the integration of low caste bride in this Guthi. The woman who marries joins her husband lineage and leaves her father lineage. The integration of the new bride is very important which is done only after one year of marriage. But now due to the choice of nuclear family and inter caste marriages there Guthi are celebrate less and less. With the modern way of lifestyle it is not possible to celebrate the several days feast, collect people at the same time and go to place of worshipping together in a traditional way. People celebrating in traditional are very few. Now people celebrate it just for a day doing a simple puja in that place of worshipping without carrying God with individual family. The day is at the same day or people also celebrate in the last day of worshipping on the

Sithi Nakah: on the month of June. Many castes, especially high castes, have given this up in the recent years, continuing the annual worship of the lineage deity only in individual households or two or three closely related households (Toffin, 2008).

In add to the modern lifestyle, the changes in place of worshipping have also brought difficulty in worshipping for this Guthi. The place of worshipping was always outside the city boundaries which were considered to be big ground where many families could go and organize as a picnic. But now due to expanding city landscape these places are now within city core. Some at the busy roadside, some surrounded by high rise buildings and the one in figure 3.4 and 3.5 is just in the middle of busy road.



Figure 3.3: one of the many *Digu Dhyo*: in Kathmandu Valley, in Lainchwor, Kathmandu which is now the middle of busy road. The traffic is less in this picture as it was taken early morning on Saturday. (Source: Author)



Figure 3.4: The inside view of above picture, the worshipping site covered with dirt. The red vermilion seen is the worshipping done by the Guthi members. (Source: Author)

II. Si or Sana Guthi

Si means death and *Sana* means a death procession so, from the name it is clear that this is an association related to the death cremation ceremony. Of course, death is a very serious issue for every family and society but Newar society treats death rituals very seriously in the aspect of purity as well. There is a strong belief among Newars that if the death rituals are not performed well and in the pure manner then the spirit of dead keep on wandering which may even do the harm for the deceased family (Gerard, 2005). This is a compulsory and mono caste Guthi and every head male member of family must be member of Sana Guthi. As most of the Guthi only male member of the family join this Guthi and this is sufficient for whole family to be integrated. Female members are strictly not allowed in this Guthi. Every locality of specific caste has their own

Guthi and if the Guthi members are large then they break down into the two Guthi. People can change this Guthi when they change the locality but they always have to join the Guthi of his caste (Gerard, 2005).

This *Si* Guthi and *Sana* Guthi members come in help perform the rituals related to the family in grief. Like form buying things necessary for the cremation rituals to procession of the death to the burning of the crops is done by this Guthi. These Guthi members are invited for the ritual feast by the family members of the deceased until two years. This Guthi is not only give the material support in time of need but also provides as a psychological support. There are many cremation sites along the riverbanks that are outside of the old city wall for every city and villages in Kathmandu Valley. And among many cremation sites, there is specific for specific caste and locality. Some caste group have both *Si*: Guthi and *Sana* Guthi which for some this both is just same and only one. *Si*: Guthi members are responsible for staying in the cremation site until the corpse is burnt fully and remains there until the end that are responsible for everything. While *Sana* Guthi members leaves the site, as pyre is light (Toffin, 2008).

This Guthi is operated by the contributions of the members every year while some Guthi may have money deposited in bank or Guthi house's rent for bearing cost. These member meet every year, performs rituals, collects membership fee, collects the fines and holds a feast. The fines are collected for the Guthi members who fails to participate in the funeral procession of the dead families of Guthi members and also for the failure to attend the meetings called. Every year there is a turn to hold the feast among the Guthi members that goes in the rotation. The cost of feast is bear by the contribution of members and the rest of the expenses by the person who has turn of holding the feast that year. Some of the upper caste people like Shakya in Kathmandu does not seem to have this association as their funeral right are carried out by the close relatives only. As mentioned by Toffin some of the caste group does not have this Guthi due to the internal quarrels among the Guthi members like the Rajopadhyas in Patan does

not have this Guthi and close relatives are responsible for the funeral rights (Toffin, 2008).

Also most of the people are leaving these Guthi because of so many restrictions and complicated nature of Guthi. Younger generation disagreeing with the older generations and their rule is also making people to leave the association. Now for the cremation of the dead and procession there are many alternatives like the vehicle to carry dead body and does not need to have the traditional procession of people carrying dead body in a bamboo plaque by the people. The traditional way of procession also has a special music for the death procession. So now younger generations preferring the simple modern and simple way instead of the traditional complicated ways of Guthi. But still there are many people who believe that those traditional ways will only lead to the purification of the dead soul.

III. *Twa* Guthi or Guthi of locality

Twa means locality, which is different from the formal administrative unit of City. Every locality has their own Guthi for specific purpose. Toffin has given the excellent example of farmer community of Kathmandu regarding the *Twa* Guthi in his article “Farmer in the City”. Kathmandu city is divided according to 32 *twa* or locality and these locality are used to teach young boys musical instrument called “*Dhimey*” specific for this community as in Figure 3.5 below. Dhimey is a barrel shaped musical instrument that is played with one free hand and the other with rolled cane stick. This musical instrument is considered to be the indigenous and original instrument of the Valley. This locality Guthi is very important to integrate the male child into the farmer community (Toffin, 1994). By completing the musical apprenticeship of this Guthi only then one is fully considered to be “*Jyapu*” meaning farmer. Most of the people of farmer community in Kathmandu recognize each other by the *twa* they belong to and not to have a *twa* are considered to a shame, also looked as out caste. Each locality has a house of God for learning music and worshipping. In add to that people to worship God as

the locality they belong to in the major rituals even though they change the place of residence. One cannot change the Guthi even though with the change of residence as it comes with the birth and transferred from father to son (Toffin, 1994).

Oil presser community of the Valley called Syami or Manandhar also have their own division of Kathmandu. They used to have a communal oil-pressing place and for the maintaining the function of their community this locality Guthi was important. Also Chitrakar, the painter class of society also had a locality Guthi called Desla Guthi in Bhaktapur (Toffin, 2008). This Desla Guthi was responsible for taking care of painting works, taking contract for painting frescos in various temples, making mask during the annual festivals and as such. Also Rajopadhaya, Newar Hindu Bhramins have to be the compulsory member of “*upakarma* guthi” that not only initiates young boys in the *Bhraminhood* but also maintains the order within the Rajopadhaya caste. They meet once every year and have even the power to expel people from Rajopadhaya community (Toffin, 2008).



Figure 3.5: Farmer community playing musical instrument called *Dhimey* during the Gai Jatra festival (the festival for cow procession done by the family member of dead in that year). This musical instrument is played by the members of farmer community only and has become the identity of this group. The dress these members are wearing is the traditionally worn by the farmer community and now has become the identity or the traditional dress of whole Newar community. (Source: Author)

IV. Guthi for Temples and festivals

There are numerous temples around Kathmandu Valley and all year around festivals. Wright estimated number of shrines in Kathmandu Valley as 2733 at the time of his visit which was more than 175 years back and regarding festivals his opinion was “...it may be supposed that the religious festivals are somewhat numerous. To a stranger indeed they seem never ending and the marvel is when the people find time to earn their livelihood.” (Wright, 2013, p. 34). After nearly two centuries later this statement still proves true in Kathmandu Valley. Even with the massive urbanization and pressure of modernization there are still numerous temples with year around festivals in the Valley. The festivals are always related to the worshipping and rituals but with the entertainment attached to it. There are

some festivals specific to certain locality only while some celebrated all over by all Newars. In that way there is hardly any day without some festivals, rituals or celebrations happening in the Valley.

The important feature of festivals and temples of Kathmandu Valley is that for its celebrations, rituals, managements and taking care of temples there was the fund for it. The fund was in form of land endowment made for the temples and festivals, from whose revenue the expenses were covered. *“What is more remarkable is that every temples or monasteries has been munificently endowed with Guthi Lands by successive kings and rulers of Nepal, as well as by ordinary individuals”* (Regmi, 1968, p.14). So there was no burden for state nor Guthi people who were responsible for taking care of it. Every temples and festivals had Guthi which are espically associated with the temples and specific work. But now with various changing circumstances over the period of time the loss of endowments there festivals and temples are at risk which will be explained later in this chapter.

The endowment as land provideid for the specific Guthi paid revenue in form of rice, wheat, oil, flower and as such necessary for the rituals and temples. People with the specific skills provideid with their skills like carpenter provided service related to wood, oil presser provided oil, painters took care of painting, flower growers provided flowers and so on. In return of that they were provided with land or food grains (Regmi, 1968). So the agricultural was the major backbone of the guthi system and most of the festivals are celebrated accoring to the farming calender (Toffin, 1994). For example during the monsoon season where there is work of paddy plantation there is no festival celebrated. The surplus amont of food grown in the fertile soil of Valley lead to the richness in the cultural heritage.

There is Guthi for every temple and festival; where the responsibilities are also divided accordingly as mentioned in above paragraph. Community divided by caste and locality, knew their responsibilities well and everyone performed according to their role. This could be clear with the Figure 3.6, 3.7 and 3.8 below

with the text on it. There is a turn of every Guthi members to take care of temples or for certain rituals in the festivals. This turn is known as *Guthi Pa* in Newari and it means a lot of responsibility for the family that has this turn. Most of the festivals and temples, which are under the control of state, are performed by the traditional Guthi members and the state is responsible for providing only funds which is not sufficient. For the detail understanding of the festival and funding will be clear with the example of the *Yenya Punhi* festival which will be explained in the next chapter. So it is the responsibility of people in the community to organize, worship and do everything related with it. For the monuments and temples with the establishment of Department of Archeology, responsibility related with the entire material heritage comes under it. Still with the festivals and rituals that are not in the national level it solely under the interest of the people.

It is very interesting that in Kathmandu Valley the people who are taking care of temples, for worshipping and rituals in temples are not always upper caste priest but are wide range of caste like farmers, cloth dyers and even the untouchables who are responsible for the temples outside of the city boundaries.



Figure 3.6: People of Manandhar Community of *Layku Sa:* near the old Royal palace making the stand to light oil lamps during Indra Jatra festival of 2014 at the Malla Palace area. As the territory divided by Manandhar were called Sa: where Sa: means place to make oil from the mustard seed. Manandhar or *Syami* in Newari are people who make oil out of mustard seed and are also considered to be expert in making scaffoldings.



Figure 3.7: The stage being made to celebrate the festival Yenya Punhi in Kathmandu. The Temple at the back is of Aakash bhairab where the deity is kept for the whole year and during the week long festival the deity is kept in front of the temple in the high raised stage which is decorated beautifully.



Figure 3.8: In above picture the Guthi members of the Aakash Bhairab Guthi or *Wong gaha* Guthi are preparing for the celebration of *Yenya Punhi* festival.

As for understanding the Guthi in a simple here I divided it into four groups but these Guthi are neither so simple nor in the isolation. Each Guthi is linked to the other Guthi. It is like a tapestry interwoven in the social structure, everyone with the specific responsibility for the specific task. So people living in the same locality of specific caste may have same Si: Guthi, same shrine to take care of or the responsibility during the festivals. These Guthi which becomes bigger with the many Guthi members then break down or also due to the internal disputes.

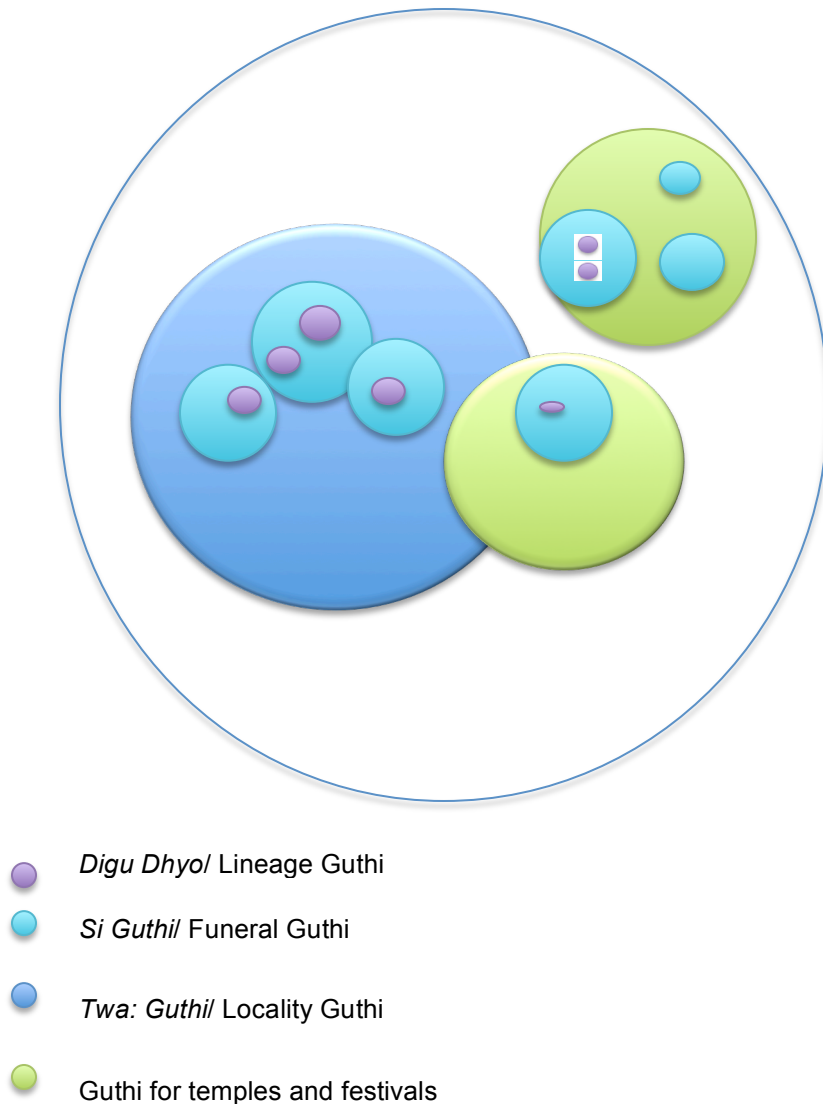


Figure 3.9: The above diagram representing the association of Guthi with various Guthi. Guthi cannot be represented by the 2D diagram, as it if functional has a various linkages with each other, as they are the fundamental unit of the Newar Society. There will be the overlapping between the Guthi as shown in picture as well as one person can be the member of many Guthi.

Some of the Guthi are there in Kathmandu Valley which cannot be categorized under there four headings such as Guthi for repairing roads, taking care of water resources, supplying drinking water to the participants for some events (Amatya, 2006b), or constructing seasonal bridge. These Guthi can be a part of some Guthi or the independent association established by some people to get the merit or place in heaven. For example there was a seasonal wood plank temporary bridges in the various rivers of Kathmandu Valley. They were kept during Newari New year (October/November) when the water in river starts to get fallow and cold; and taken out on the full moon of Chaitra (March/April) before rainy season and summer. Those bridges were made when the water level was low and cold and dismantled when the water level starts to get high and warm. The permanent bridges now replace these bridges and some Guthi disappeared due to lack of funds.

3.3 Guthi from the perspective of Government/ Endowment

From the state point of view, Guthi was a endowment in itself as The Guthi Corporation Act define Guthi as:

“... a movable or immovable property or any other income-yielding property or fund for the operation of any shrine (matha) or festival, worship or feast of any God, Goddess or for the construction, operation or maintenance of any temple, shrine (devasthal), shelter (pati), inn (puwa), well tank, road, bridge, pasture, garden, forest, library, school, reading hall, dispensary, treatment facility, house, building or institution foe any religious or philanthropic purpose” (GoN, 1964, p. 2-3).

The definition by Guthi Corporation had changed the true meaning of Guthi limiting the broader scope of word to just endowment or assets for religious and social purpose. So according to Mahesh Chandra Regmi, who did extensive academic work in the land tenure system of Nepal, categorized Guthi as follows:

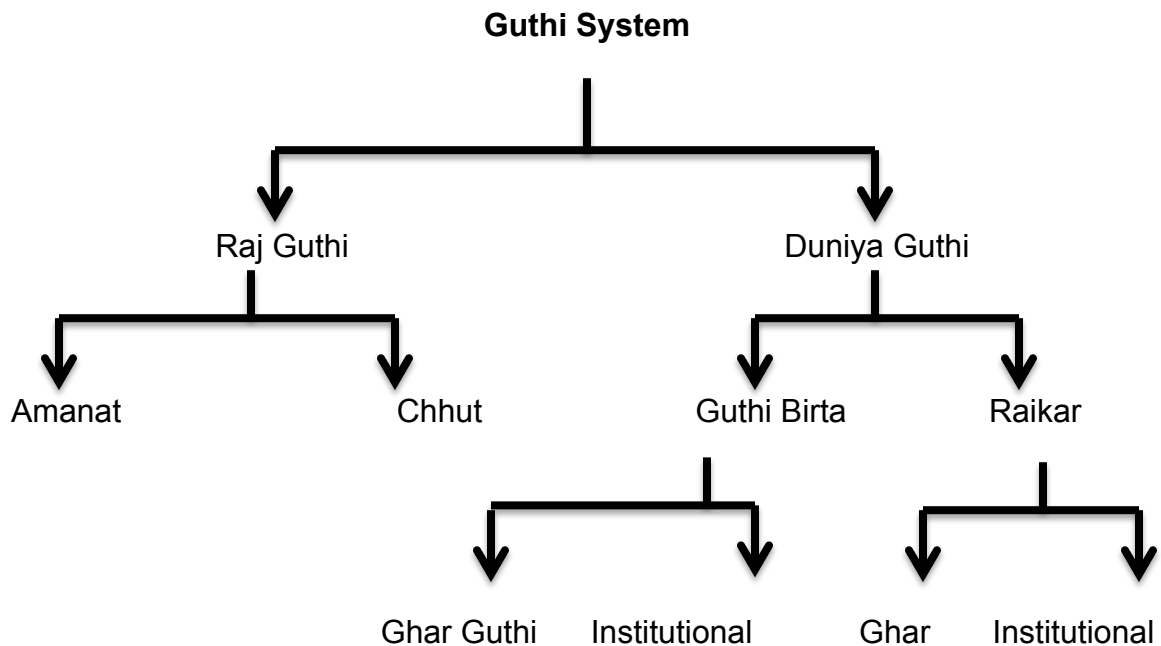


Figure 3.10: The above table represents the Guthi according to the Guthi Corporation and is adapted from the book Land Tenure and Taxation in Nepal volume IV by Mahesh Chandra Regmi

I) **Raj Guthi**

As the name denote this is the endowments made by the King and Royals. But this condition does not applies now as Raj Guthi now incorporated many endowments made by general people, ministers and so on either through confiscation of the Guthi by state, voluntary handover of Guthi by the donor, absence of the Guthi member. The unclaimed and abandoned Guthi were also taken by state and incorporated into Raj Guthi. In add to that after the downfall of Ranas, the endowments made by them were converted into Raj Guthi. This made Guthi increase its endowments into exponential rate. Raj Guthi are the Guthi where the state has a direct control over it.

Raj Guthi can be further divided into Amanat Guthi and Chhut Guthi.

a. Amanat Guthi:

Amanat system of guthi function under the direct control and supervision of the Government. This system was under the contract system until 1920 and after

which this system was evolved. Now this amanat system exist no more but under the control of Guthi Corporation. Eventhough Amanat system was introduced in 1920 still with the high benefitting guthi were given in the contract form by the Ranas to their family members and favourables. Amanat system did not prove to be fruitful in terms of collecting the land revenue due to the high administrative expenses and many irregularities. According Regmi contract system was much better and also was in profit (Regmi, 1968).

b. Chhut Guthi:

The Guthi where Guthiyaar²⁶ are allowed to keep the surplus amount after performing the religious duties. Even Raj Guthi were converted into the Chhut Guthi to provide benefit for the Rana families by Ranas during their rule. But now Guthi Cororation intends to convert all the chhut guthi into the Raj Guthi which is under the direct control of Guthi Corporations. Not all the Chhut Guthi were allowed to have the surplus amount but they need to be paid to the Government which was utilized in the social welfare like for ayurvedic hospitals, education of sanskrit and english languages, water suppliesetc. Also with the surplus amount the guthi has to carry out repair and maintainamce of the buildings or temples. Some of the Chhut Guthi had just to pay a minimal token money just to maintain the authority of Government over the Guthi. This guthi was inbetween state control amanat guthi and privately owned guthi (Regmi, 1968).

II) Duniya Guthi

This is the Guthi endowment made by the general people for their personal purpose or for the welfare of the society. For the endowment to be made by the general people they can endow the land owned by themselves which were called Guthi Birta or can ask for the land which were not under control of anyone for the endowment which were called Raikar Guthi. If the government takes over the

²⁶ Trustee who is entitled to enjoy the surplus amount.

Raikar Guthi land then no compensation were necessary for the Guthi according to the law (Regmi, 1968).

Ghar Guthi was totally a family affairs like for certain family rituals, ritual for the dead of family members and so on. The main reason of this guthi was to protect the land from confiscation form the state during the time of political unrest. The right of the Guthi remains within the family and does not have any guhtiyars (Regmi, 1968).

Whereas the Institutional guthi were made by the individuals for the social purpose which benefited people in mass as construction and maintenance of temples, rest houses, water sprouts and as such. The family does not have any ownership of guthi and were appointed the *guthiyars* (Regmi, 1968).

Now, the Guthi Corporation which takes care of all the Guthi nationwide divides guthi into Rajguthi, Chhut guthi and personal guthi. Personal Guthi being the private guthi other than Raj guthi and chhut guthi. For the general people Guthi with the endowments are they classify according to two types as *Niji* Guthi/ Personal Guthi for which all the expenses the Guthi members are responsible and the other as the Government Guthi which gets funds from government for its continuity. But in both the Guthis all the responsibility for the continuation of Guthi is local people.

3.4 Changing Guthi with changing political context

When a political situation changed, then the management and collections of the revenues also changed in the country, as Guthi was associated with land, which were the major assists of people. A very few information is available regarding the status of Guthi system and endowments made before the Shah rule due to the lack of documented proof. There were the documented proofs in form of the stone slab where the information for the person who made the endowments and

for the cause could be found. This was not in detail but few points. As the land is much associated with the power and wealth, so for these phases of Guthi for this study I divided it into the five phases. Pre Shah Period which will try to shed some light on the Guthi before Shah rule. Rana Rule where during the period of prime minister that went as a hereditary in the families of Ranas. During the phase of democracy and the fourth being present or modern context.

a) Pre-Shah Rule

Guthi system has existed in Kathmandu Valley since the Lichhavi period according to the stone plate was found from 3-5th Century. It is very surprising to find so less about the endowments made by Malla rulers where the art and culture during that time reached apogee. The temples, monuments and rituals are still continuing started by the Malla kings but lacks the documented proof of endowments or very few documents are available. Regmi points out the cause being the new rulers not wanting to document the history of the previous rulers. In add to that the victorious dynasty made the same endowment in the fresh name. Most of the endowments made by the Malla Kings and the influential people of that time were confiscated and were distributed among the allies of the Gorkhas after the take over of Kathmandu Valley by the Ghorkha (Regmi, 1968).

b) Guthi during Shah rule

After Shah King conquered Kathmandu Valley in 1769, first the Shah did not interfere with the religion and culture of the people. Even though took all the Guthi endowments made by the Malla Kings and were divided to their allies in war (Regmi, 1968). The Shah was in a drive of expanding the territory by conquering the nearby small principalities. Later in 1806 government nationalized all the Guthi land and made the Guthi land taxable whereas the tenants were kept as before. This was mainly due to financial issues as the nation was preparing for war against British in India and ex-King of Nepal. The confiscated

land were also given to the army people. But the Guthi land endowment made by the ruler at that time to Bhramins (non-newar priest) to perform the mystical rituals for the victory in wars were not confiscated. Also there was *pota* tax on Guthi Birta during the time of King Prithivi Narayan Shah in Kathmandu Valley which was later extended to all hill lands. There were cases where the land of the Newars were distributed among the Shah's and the people who helped Shah's to conquer Kathmandu (Vergati, 2002).

c) Guthi during Rana rule

During the period of Ranas much alteration with the Guthi endowments as they had the whole power over the whole Kingdom as King being a mere puppet. When Jung Bahadur Rana came to power, he showed in much favor of the Guthi land endowment for the religious purposes and even criticized over the move of confiscation the Guthi land by the previous ruler. This can be clearly seen in the Legal code of 1853 directed by him, which stated that:

"Foolish Kings and evil-minded ministers who damaged temples, rest houses, roadside shelters, bridges, water sprouts, tanks, roads, wells, gardens, etc. constructed by others, or who confiscate Guthi endowed by others, block their way to heaven and pave their way to hell. Incapable of tolerating the religious merit acquired by good people, they act against the public interest. Such people sink in sin" (Regmi, 1968, p.71).

Even though he criticized the move he was reluctant return the Guthi land to the original landholders, as he knew the value of the revenue the state could collect with that. Also he made the point that as most of the confiscated land were given by army and if land was taken back they will not be motivated to be in army and in return National security will be at risk which will in turn weaken the identity of Hindu. Mahesh Chandra Regmi emphasized that due to the lack of legislation during Rana regime, they acted according to their wish (Regmi, 1968). The Ranas were influenced by European style of palaces after the visit to European

countries by first Rana Prime Minister and after that they started to build the huge palaces in the fields of Kathmandu Valley where most of the land were of Guthis (Bajracharya, 2009).

Guthi land were supposed to be exempt from the taxes which is one of the feature of Guthi. But the records have shown that the endowment of Raikar land guthi has to pay taxes. Taxation on the Guthi land has become one of the general policies of Shah rulers which often lead to disruption of Guthi functions. Regmi refers to one event when Nepal on to war with Tibet in 1854-55 and Prime Minister Jung Bahadur Rana ordered to tax Guthi land nation wide (Regmi, 1968).

Birta land is the land, which is not taxable, and *raikar* lands are the taxable land. Originally the sale of Guthi land was an offence and the punishment could be the confiscation of the endowment. But in 1853 the legislation was enacted which could sale Guthi land and the sale of that land should buy the land with the similar yield. This law led to many misuse of Guthi land and then again in 1886, the law was amended according to which Guthi land should not be sold or mortgage in any manner. This law has been continuing till date (Regmi, 1968).

Rana also made a parallel guthi like the Raj Guthi called as Tin Sarkar Guthi²⁷ with their own endowments for temples, monuments and social welfare. This has nothing to do with the Raj Guthi and had their own revenue collection and audit system. Also during the Rana rule many Chhut guthi seen to be assigned to the families of Ranas were they were entitled to keep all the surplus amount.

d) Post Rana period

After the overthrow of Rana rule in Nepal in 1951, then there were many changes in government system. So the many reforms were made in the land

²⁷ Rana Prime Minister were denoted as Tin Sarkar and the Guthi established by them were called Tin Sarkar Guthi.

tenure system as well which made impact in the Guthi system also. Birta²⁸ System was abolished in 1959 AD and all Birta land was converted to Raikar²⁹ land. With this law several Guthi land under Birta guthi by government or private were taken over by the Government and converted to Raj Guthi. In add to that all the Birta land were converted to Raikar land (Regmi, 1968). Birta Guthi endowments made by the state was automatically a tax-exempt but not for the endowment made by the private until and unless were the specific provisions. Even the birta was taken by the state the tax over this land continued.

Birta Abolition Act, abolished certain Guthi tax but only favoring Government. The exemptions were Guthi endowment made by government, Guthi endowment made by the private but later confiscated or taken by the state Guthi birta made by the permission of the government. Private Guthi Birta was converted to Raikar and then was taxed. Prior to 1961, there was a provision in legal code which states that the state can acquire guthi land for the King, Prime Minister and for the government use. For the Raikar land no compensation was necessary and also Government treated the Guthi land under Raj Guthi as a Raikar so no compensation was necessary for the Raj Guthi land as well.

After the Rana regime also many Guthi land were taken by the government some were compensated while other were not. But the land takeovers by government were mainly for the public use. There have been many cases of Government taking over the Guthi land. Such as in May 1957, the Government acquired Rajguthi land in Kathmandu to make British Embassy at Rs. 400 (4 Euro as of now) per Ropani, the rate that was for the Raikar land. Also Regmi here mentions that the land of Pashupatinath temple which was used as pasture land to graze the holy bulls were taken to build airport and no compensation was provide. The negotiations were done to get the compensations but the

²⁸ Birta land- Birta is word probably derived from Sanskrit word Britti meaning livelihood. So it means land granted to individuals to make a living. It does not have to pay taxes. All the Birta land were turned into Raikar land (taxable land) in 1951 but was functional only after 1959.

²⁹ Raikar land- Derived from the Sanskrit Rajya meaning state and Kara meaning tax. So it denote land where the state levies taxes.

government provided Rs 0.50 per *ropani* in sarcastic way. Even though with the land policy act the confiscation of land continued for the development of country, building the government builds, Roads and as such (Regmi, 1968).

The formation of Guthi Corporation in 1964 with the Guthi Act was the government imitative to make all the Guthi related land and its activities under one umbrella as an autonomous body. But still due to the direct control of government over the government and ban on the political parties, this *Panchayat* system of government was not less than a dictatorship.

In 2041 BS (1985 AD) the law passed to convert Guthi land into the Raikar System has made a drastic change in the Guthi. The result of which was many Guthi land was converted into private land. There are many people who converted the Guthi land into their private land paying a mere amount of money to Government. At a point people saw an instant personal benefit but this also many loss of many properties of Guthi. Taking the benefit of new land reform many peasants who were tilling the Guthi land converted the land into their private land by paying nominal amount to government (Toffin, 2008).

e) Democratic Phase

I try to call the phase from 1990s onwards as a democratic phase because after the people's revolution in 1990, which is also, now called "People's Revolution I" the direct control of king went on to the multiparty system (Gellner, 2008). After this phase the changes in the country was more accelerated. The increase in media, education, people raising their voices and as such were common (Toffin, 2008). In the mean time with the development, urbanizations, roads and transportation; the land prices in Kathmandu Valley reached sky high, which made encroachment, embezzlement in Guthi land even more. The questions over the management of Guthi Corporations are being raised more often, its money and issues related to the funding of the festivals. The revolution in 2008 over the curtailing of fund by the Guthi Corporations as directed by Government

also was a step where people protested over the government decision and the Government was compelled to take back its decision. This 2008 conflict will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

So with so many ups and downs Guthi has come a long way in when we see from the perspectives of endowments. But there remain no change in the operation of Guthi at the local level. The way Guthi has been managed since centuries long it is still being managed by the people, cultural context being the same. But with the new changes within the societies and global context, people are leaving the Guthi now or making it shortened.

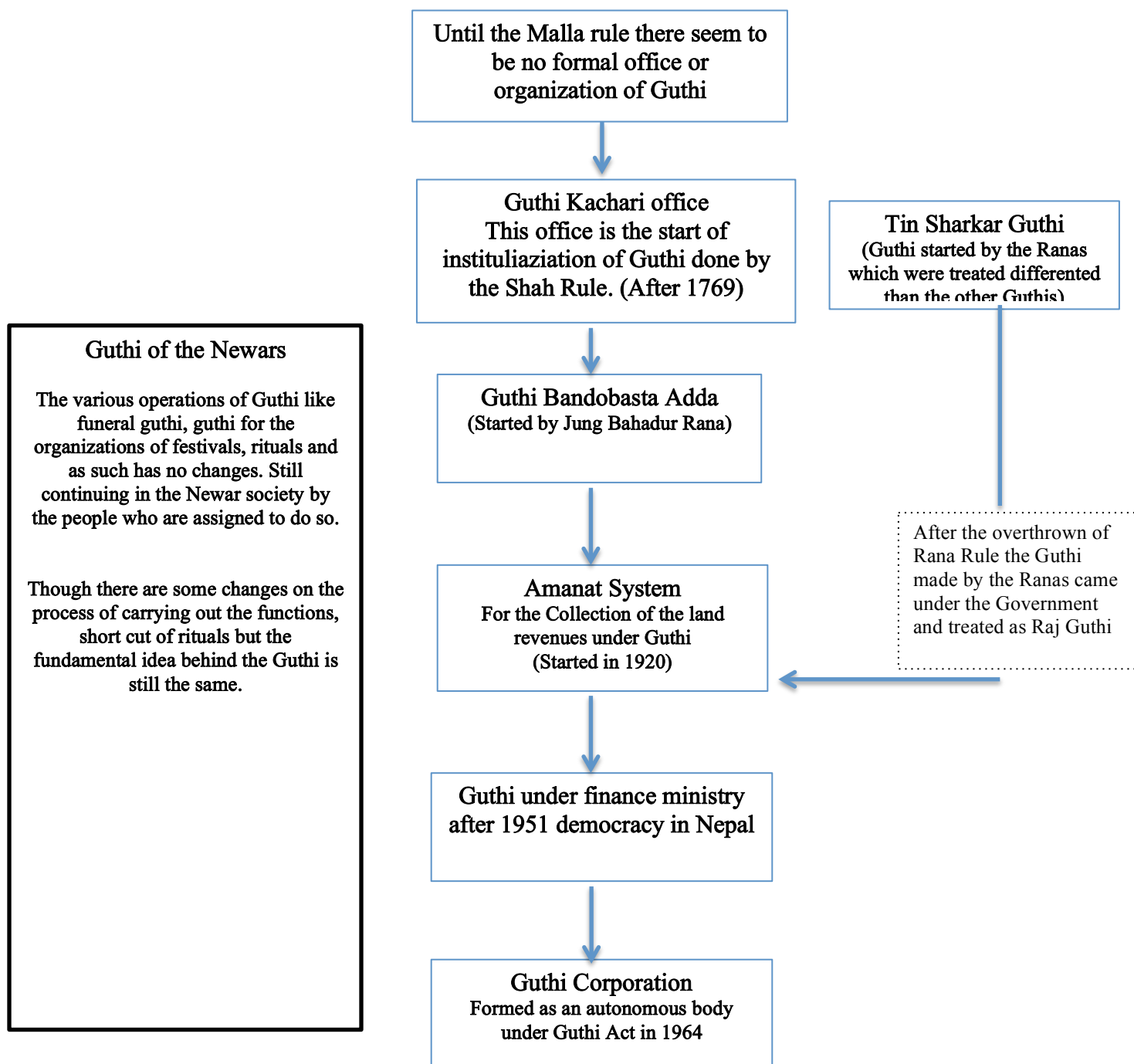


Figure 3.11: Diagrammatical representation of the changes in the Guthi management form the Government Level and the local people's level.

3.5 The turning point- 1964 Guthi Corporation Act

Most of the people believe that establishment of Guthi Corporation was the start of integration of Guthi into the formal bureaucratic structure. But the truth is Guthi Corporation does not seem a sudden and revolutionary step as the nationalization of guthi endowments and streamlining into the system has already been started hundred years back. The establishment of Guthi Corporation was not a new in itself as it was superimposed over the existing Guthi administrative the first Rana Prime Minister Jung Bahadur Rana has initiated the contract system to collect revenues. This was further carried on by Prime Minister in 1920 by introducing the Amanat system under which all the responsibility for collecting revenue was done by government (Regmi, 1968). But the establishment of Guthi Corporation under the Guthi act 1964 is a landmark step. Guthi Corporation was formed in 1964, which was autonomous body with all the responsibility and management regarding Raj Guthi. Guthi Corporation was allowed to utilize the surplus amount, invest for its benefit but was not allowed to sale without the approval of Government. Even the Guthi corporation was an autonomous body but the control was still with the government (Regmi, 1968). According to the Guthi Corporation Act, Guthi Corporation was established to

“remove state trusts (Rajguthi) from the jurisdiction of the Government of Nepal and place under a corporation, and operate the state trusts in a systematic manner, and it is expedient,... , to make more effective and timely provisions by amending and consolidating laws relating to Guthi with a view to maintaining cordial relation between the people of various classes and economic interest and morality of the people generally” (GoN, 1964, p. 1).

The Guthi act 1964, mainly focus on record keeping of lands, giving money for the operational of festivals and rituals as in traditional ways, renting the properties of Guthis under it and as such. It insists on the management of properties rather than the cause, neither process it was formed for nor it talks about tackling challenges of the modern times. Lands were just a means for

meeting the needs for taking care of temples and all intangible this associated with it (GoN, 1964).

Guthi Corporation after fifty years of establishment seems to be degraded even more. Guthi Corporation does not have a good image in public. The indigenous system then turned to government bureaucratic system, which were responsible for the operations of festivals and maintenance of monuments could not do their job well. Due to mismanagements of properties led to the loss of endowments within the jurisdiction of the corporation. This has been even accepted by the Corporation regarding the flaws in the management; lack of record keeping and mismanagements ("About Guthi Sansthan," 2011). During the fieldwork for during festivals, I found out from the Guthi members that when the people of concerned Guthi went to know about the condition of their Guthi properties, they could not get record of it. Also the land of the Guthi were converted to *raikar* that means land were sold and money kept in Guthi Corporation's account without the knowledge of concerned with members. In add to that the money in Guthi account was not clear and not disclosed to the concerned Guthi members (Bajracharya, 2009). There are 717 temples and 647 rest houses under the Guthi Corporations and 2082 recorded public Guthis (About Guthi Sansthan, 2011).³⁰ But there are numerous private Guthis while only few were recognized by Guthi Corporation (Toffin, 2008).

Lack of record keeping system about the properties of Guthi is making it loose income. Land and properties are becoming very rare in Kathmandu Valley. So the encroachment and embezzlement of it has become a major concern. The High Commission Report also emphasized the difficulty of Guthi members to conduct traditional festivals with money being distributed by Guthi Corporation and other various issues (Bajracharya, 2009).

³⁰ Information form the website of Guthi Corporation.
<http://www.guthisansthan.org.np/>

Its not only after the establishment of Guthi Corporation in 1964 but there seem to have a drawback in formal management of Guthi form the very beginning. During the Rana rule when until 1920 it was assigned to contractor to collect the Guthi revenues but after 1920 may be because of the profit the contractors were earning, the Rana government made it directly by the Government cancelling the contractors. The revenues collected were in form of kind, cash or both. The kind will be mostly paddy but in Kathmandu Valley it was also as mustard oil, soybean, straw mats, eggs, potatoes and curd also. After the introduction of the direct control of Government over the revenue collection that lead to arrears of 44,975 muri of foodgrains and Rs 22,000 by the year 1931 and until 1934 it was 107,290 muri of grains and Rs 87,000. There were lot of administrative shortcomings but also the cultivators withheld the payment because of disparities in payments in Raikar and Rajguthi lands³¹ (Regmi, 1968).

The Guthi Corporation also seems to be in the trap of the political power and they helpless even to fight for their own right. There was an issue over the property owned by Guthi Corporation, which was given in a lease to the Nepal Eye Hospital. In 2013 Guthi Corporation wanted to shift its office in the building of Nepal Eye Hospital but the Hospital refused to vacant the space claiming to have an agreement to occupy the place as long as they want. In add to that they were not paying the rent to the Guthi Corporations. But the Guthi Corporation's Chairperson rejects any agreement made between the Corporations and the Hospital. In the end the conflict was resolved as the Hospital gave an old building for the corporations for their office and the Guthi Corporations also agreed to provide the building and the garden area in a subsidized rate. The staff of Guthi Corporation had to make protest to get their property back ("Eye Hospital," 2013). This is just one case, which came to public knowledge with media attention, but there are many cases where even the Guthi Corporations is a

³¹ The disparity in the collection of revenue between the Raikar land and Rajguthi were s high that sometime were up to 50% higher than the Raikar. Cultivators who has share half of the produced form the field to the landholders.

victim in it. It has got 1.6 million ropani of land in 68 district of Nepal and in Kathmandu alone has got 80,000 ropani of land (Sunuwar, 2008).

The High-level commission report also showed that there were many irregularities within the Guthi Corporations. The record of lands and money in the bank does not match from one branch office to the next office of Guthi Corporations. Most of the land under Guthi Corporations were used by the Government and did not paid rent. Some of the land under the Guthi was now registered under the different Government institutions and Guthi Corporations does not get money from that. The report also pointed out the issues of the rent-collected form the shops in the Kathmandu Durbar Square, which is the World Heritage Site, used to go to Royal Palace until monarchy and now it goes to Nepal Government. Also the entry fee collected for the UNESCO World Heritage Sites goes to concerned Municipalities not to the Guthi Corporations. In add to inability to raise the income, the expenditure of Guthi Corporations is very high. For the salary and pensions of the Guthi Corporations staff only it need yearly NRS 30,000,000 (272,727 Euro) (Bajracharya, 2009).

Guthi Corporations has been running in the traditional style and is under the political influence also. But still Guthi Corporations still has huge assets in form of properties and some liquid assets in bank, even though lot has been lost over the time. The question now is how to take the Guthi Corporations ahead.

3.6 Guthi in the changing context

As seen earlier Guthi system has gone through various changes with the political changes in the country. But the interesting part of Guthi is the way of its functioning by the people is still the same. Guthi, which were organizing the festival, taking care of temples and monuments, performing rituals and as such are still continuing. Though there are the cases where the loss of Guthi due to the lack of funds (Bajracharya, 2009). It's not only due to the lack of funds but

due to the various reasons the Guthi is at risk. Some of the reasons are as follows:

Rigid nature of Guthi

Guthi system is based on the caste kinship and territory. People who marry with the other caste are reluctant continuity the Guthi and also most of the Guthi does not allow the people from the lower castes.

Internal Disputes

Due to the internal quarrels also there are cases where Guthi were divided and even the discontinuation of the Guthi. Like for the Rajopadhayas in Patan who does have the funeral Guthi due to the internal quarrel between the Guthi members (Toffin, 2008).

Urbanization

As the Guthi is linked to the territory, people moving out of the core area now is making less attached to their community. Due to the growing cities and villages people are moving out due to the various reasons and also the transpiration is very easy these days compared to the past. As already discussed in the Chapter Two regarding the ancient city plan according to the social structure. So with the changes in the social structure of the people it changed the urban fabric and vice versa, which were both inter related.

Some of the places where people organize feasts for the Guthi and the worshipping place are not usable as before. Like the examples of the Dhugo Dhyo Guthi is in the main roads now. Some of the rest houses for the place to sit or functions are turned to shops etc.

Land Reform

Due to the land reformation act in many of the Guthi land were converted into the private land after paying certain amount to the Guthi Corporations. So Guthi, which had money in bank instead of land face difficulty in rituals. Quigley has stated that the Shrestha of Dhulkhel have Guthi money in bank which only is enough for grains to make distilled alcohol in annual feast (Quigley, 1985).

Changes in Occupations

The traditional system was mainly kept intact due to the agriculture based community and community management of the system. Most of the people in the ancient time practiced the profession inherited by caste. But now people are choosing the work they like and in add to that there are so many new professions in with people are like in media, information technology, abroad work and as such. So the agriculture is also being less practiced and less in Capital city because of turning city's fertile land into concrete jungles.

Modernization

The change in Nepal is very recent compared to other countries and there has been an unprecedented change in the lifestyle of people mainly in Kathmandu Valley. The revolution in the media, social networking and as such change has been drastic. The new lifestyle that people have due to which they don't want to be involved in Guthi. The new profession which people are in making people less time to contribute in the community especially the official salary work (Gerard, 2008).

Some of the services provided by the Guthi in the ancient times are now obsolete like seasonal bridges in the river, providing water to pilgrimages, repairing roads and as such. For some people found the better options also. For example the case of funeral Guthi. Now there is provision of vehicles to carry corpse and people can do the cremation by the other priests in the cremation sites, which

was not possible in the old days. People found it tedious to be within the funeral Guthi and follow the rules and regulations of it.

Apathy of Guthi Corporations

Guthi Corporations provided fund for the festivals and temples of the national interest or the Guthi that are recorded within the Guthi Corporation only. So the other Guthi, which are not recorded, are in the phase of extinction due to the fund crunch and peoples disinterest. Some of them that are getting the fund also have complains of very difficulty in getting the money on time. They have to go in the government institutions for several times to get their money assigned for Guthi. The money they are getting is very less and also the process to get money is very tedious and behavior of the Government official very negative towards Guthi members.³²

Division of the Guthi Corporation responsibility

Also the functions of the Guthi which were also maintaining the tangible heritage were divided formally by the formation of Department of Archeology with formation of Ancient Monument Preservation Act in 1956. According to which *“Ownership of the public ancient monuments shall be vested in the Department of Archaeology. The Department of Archaeology shall conserve, maintain and renovate such public ancient monuments”* (GoN, 1956; p. 6).

So, the monuments under the Guthi Corporation for the conservation, renovation and maintenance will be done by Guthi Corporation with the technical support and advice of Department of Archeology. If Guthi Corporation does not carry out its function then Department of Archeology will take the responsibility of it (GoN, 1956). But due to the lack of funds Department of Archeology is not able to renovate, conserve and maintain as stated in the law.

³² These views are based on the respondents during the field visit.

Even though Guthi facing so many challenges, still there are numerous Guthi operating still date some with the occasional support of government or some with the initiation of the local people only. Some of the rituals of Guthi have been also shorten due to constrain in time and resources. The cases like 2009 revolution during the Yanya Festival draw the serious attention from all the people regarding the Government apathy toward the indigenous system. It also made some good changes for some Guthi members of those festivals but its very less and still not sustainable. Most of the people who are with the Guthi and are involved in the various functions of Guthi seem to have separate profession for the income. They are still involved with the Guthi due to the compulsion and some as continuation of their forefathers.

Guthis are being modernized with time. Most of the caste within the Newar community like Jyapus (Farmers), Painters (Chitrakars), Oil Pressers (Manandhars), Rajopadhayas and as such have now a formal associations with the particular interest of identity formation of overall community and also various castes within the Newar community as well (Toffin, 2008). These associations are based on the traditional Guthi system as divided by castes and territory whose main interest in identity formation with the various functions like cultural programs, various campaigns for the languages, castes and as such. Some of the associations even have the name Guthi like association of farmers in Kathmandu is called "*Jyapu MahaGuthi*" that literally means Grand Association of Jyapu. These types of associations are more formalized and structured which even have their websites and Facebook pages as in figure 3.12. And also being more organized with registering all the Guthi members for their presence and having penalty for those are absent in the event (see Figure 3.13, 3.14). These are the new changes in the Guthi with the modernization. But some of the new-formed Guthi like Jyapu MahaGuthi is more socially oriented than traditional Guthi. After 1990 political uprising these associations has become more active and conducting the socail activites for the identity of their groups than the rituals.

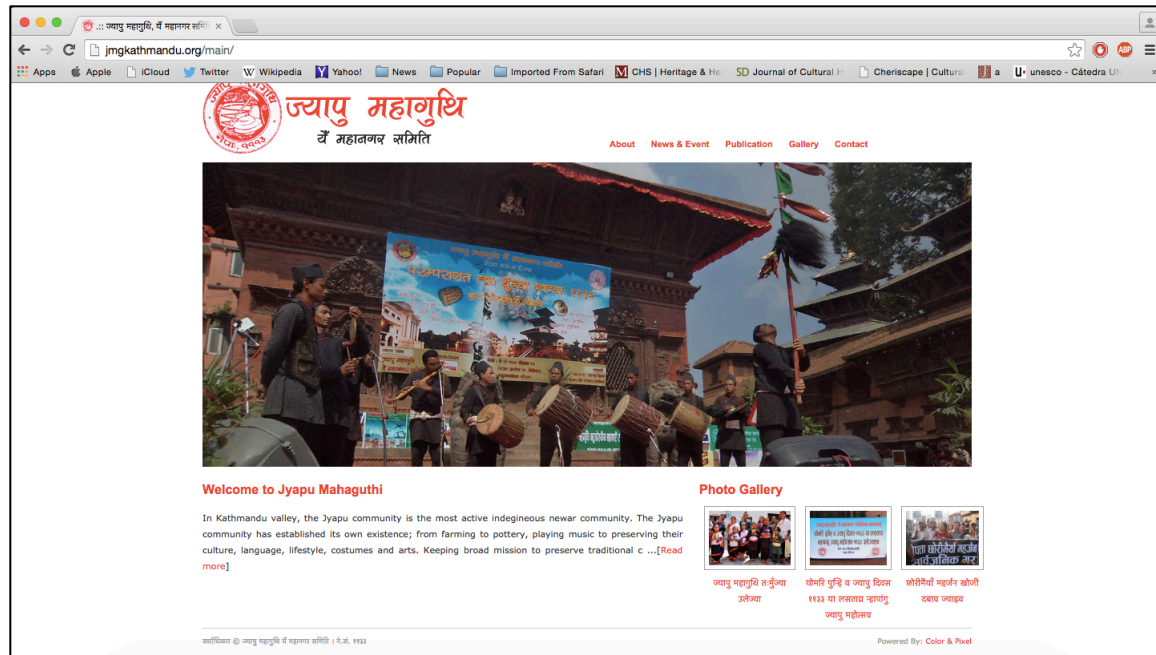


Figure 3.12: Formal website of Jyapu Mahaguthi which represent the farmer community of Kathmandu Valley. (Source: From the website)

Some association are helping to revive the traditional heritage but in the formal way. As for example the case of Manandhar community of Kathmandu. Manandhar of the *Layku Sa:* were responsible for erecting the pole during the Yenha Punhi festival which they discontinued due to the lack of fund. This process was carried by the help of army personal and was given to contractors. Later the Manandhar association called *Kendriyea Manandhar Sangh* or Central Association of Manandhar took the responsibility of it by negotiating with Guthi Corporations. And the money that went to the contractors are given to the associations. During this all the male members of associations participate.



Figure 3.13: Manandhar community of Dhalashikwa locality of Kathmandu representing themselves with the banner during the pole erecting ceremony of Yenya Punhi Festival. During this process the pole is being carried toward the old palace area from the outside city boundary of ancient Kathmandu. (Source: Author/ 2014)

These associations are also seem to be modern as they initiated to teach playing musical instruments for girls of the community, which once were even forbidden to touch. As a way for the conservation a various musical instrument teachings were being performed by these associations within their community. Some have even gone to commercial as playing musical instruments during the wedding procession of bride and groom. These new associations are uniting community people among themselves and more they are fighting for their language and identity as a reaction of the suppressive nature of Government during Rana regime and party less Panchayat system (Toffiin, 2008).



Picture 3.14: Manandhar association taking the attendance of participation among the people of Manandhar community. The people who are not present will be fined during the meeting, which is also one of the sources of income of the association. The traditional Guthi like this are getting more organized with the initiatives of record keeping which used to be mostly informal and oral. (Source: Author)

Chapter IV

Yenya Punhi Festival

This part of chapter will deal with the festival Yenya Punhi, which is also the theme of study and in fact, this is the moment to present the festival itself. This Chapter will have detail about the festival, its origin, evolutions and its linkages with the political power. Also it tries to summarize all the aspect of festivals even the lost ones with the detail on the place of occurrence and responsible people. The major part of this chapter is written on the basis of fieldwork conducted in 2014 and also direct observation of the festival from the eyes of the researcher. The detail of the festival is mostly discussed from the perspective of management, organization and association with place and people. Rituals are the major component of the festivals in Nepal but here it tries to cover more on the function, management and responsible Guthis as there are already studies done and written about rituals.

4.1 Celebrations of Kathmandu

All around the year festivals are a part of daily life of Kathmandu Valley. Apart from the common festivals, which is celebrated all over the Valley and Nepal, there are unique festivals, which are specific to cities and villages within the Valley. Festivals are celebrated according to the lunar calendar in Kathmandu Valley as mentioned in the Chapter Two. Most of the festivals revolve around the agriculture calendar. The festival *Yenya Punhi* is celebrated after the rice plantation is over and people have more leisure time, as large population of Kathmandu were dependent in agriculture. Most of the Nepalese festivals are also with the worshipping of nature, water, gods and goddess. During the Malla period the three cities were used to be three Kingdoms with their own major festival. The major festivals are Bisket Jatra of Bhaktapur celebrated on January/ February, Karunayama Rath Jatra or Ratomachindranath Jatra in Patan celebrated in April/ May and in Kathmandu Yenya Punhi celebrated in

September/ October. The exact festive dates cannot be given as the festivals and rituals follow the lunar calendar that is different from the Gregorian calendar. These festivals are not only for the rituals, worshipping and get-together but also has been identity of cities and is pride for the people of these cities. The main festival of each was called *mu* or *des Jatra* meaning “main” or “of the country” (Toffin, 1992). The festival that this research will try to deal with is a specific festival of Kathmandu, although it is celebrated in the other parts of Kathmandu Valley as well. For this research not to get distracted and avoid confusions, this research will consider only this festival in Kathmandu City.

Yenya Punhi is a Newari word, which has different meaning according to the different interpretations of different people. Some say its came from word “*Yen*” which means Kathmandu, some say *Yenya* is procession in Kathmandu but some of the local people also believe it to be “celebrations of Kathmandu”. When we break down the word Yenya Punhi and it means in Newari language, as *Yen* is Kathmandu city, *ya* meaning a procession and *Punhi* meaning full moon. The literal translation of the word also gives sense that the festival is indeed the celebration of Kathmandu City. Several activities take place during this seven to eight days long festival at the various places. Local people also have a saying that the festival is the celebration of birthdate of Kathmandu as Newar culture celebrate birthday or founding day with traditional rituals. According to one of the legends, *Yenya Punhi* (the full moon day during the festival) is the founding day of the city. King Gunakama Dev established the city Kathmandu and with that he started the festival (Allen, 1996).

But for the non- Newars this festival has another name called Indra Jatra meaning the festival of God Indra and in the national calendar also the festival is marked as Indra Jatra. Hoek mentions for Newars Indra Jatra means just one single day, the starting day of Kumari chariot procession, on which there is an official holiday for the Kathmandu Valley (Hoek, 2014). It would be quite unfair to say it as the festival of Indra only as during this seven to eight days long festival

various other activities or sub-festival takes place in all old parts of Kathmandu. Because of the complexities of series of rituals in this festival Pradhan had raised the question like is Indra Jatra one festival or a conglomeration of festival? (Pradhan, 1986). The most important of all, the people who celebrate this festival – Newars, for them the name of this festival is still “Yenya”, and they are the ones who is responsible for all the activities in the festival, so in this research here the researcher tries to keep the festival name of the local which they refer with.

But the prominent scholars in Nepalese History and Culture, Satya Mohan Joshi has stated that this festival was started in the name of God Indra from the very beginning which continues till now. And later on different sub-festivals were added to this festival in the course of time. When the Aryans became civilized they started to be more religious. Previously they worshipped nature like water, sun, and earth and as such but later they replaced with many male and female deities. Also Indra is considered to be the God of rain and there are evidences were Indra was worshipped for rain and in case of drought. He adds that the festival was started with the worshipping of Indra and Joshi forwards several evidences that Indra was the widely used name during the early Malla period even the Newari name of Kathmandu was derived from Indra that later on got corrupted to the present name Yen (Joshi, 2010).

According to Hoek, as mentioned earlier for Newars whom the main day of Indra Jatra (celebrations of Indra) is now on the chariot procession of Kumari. And this maybe a recent change according to him, when the chariot festival of Kumari was added during this festival the focus shifted to Kumari from Indra (Hoek, 2014). Even though Kumari was worshipped from the time unknown but the chariot procession was started in the later of Malla Period only during the rule of King Jaya Prakash Malla who ruled from 1735 to 1768 (Toffin, 1992; Allen, 1996). But this festival can be neither only be called the festival of Kumari nor only of Indra as there are different layers of festival which touch the life of every people of Kathmandu either Hindu or Buddhist, low-caste or high cast even to the King.

Within this festival there are other sub- festivals, which have own myth of origin, rituals theme and management, and are independent of each other. The festival is named as Indra Jatra in national calendar might give the sense as the chief God for worshipping and festival should revolve around Indra but here Indra is presented as a thief who is punished by the people for stealing flower from Earth. He is treated as victim instead of victor (Hoek, 2014). Even though the textual traditions mentions about the Indra's Banner as the major focus of the festival but for Newars main focus is on celebrations of other series of rituals and deities (Pradhan, 1986). The worshipping of the god like Bhairav (Hathu dya:) as a god of alcohol who is worshipped as a form of power, Indra as a thief god who gets caught in Earth, Living gods and goddess Kumari, Bhairav and Ganesh as the human representation of mythical Gods. In addition of worshipping of various deities the various divine dance groups from the different parts of Kathmandu Valley called *Dhyo Pyakha* performed within the old city boundaries of Kathmandu, which depict the battle between Gods and demons. Also there are the circumambulations around the city wall and also festival routes within city for the dead people on that year.

In order to match the Godly ambiances within the city there used to be a street plays in the various places within city by the local youth called *Dabu Pyaha*. And finally the pole raising ceremony, which marks the formal start of ceremony and with the fall of it, the festival comes to end. The detail of this festival will be discussed later in this chapter. This festival is 7-8 days long, falls on the month of September- October depending on the lunar calendar. There is a special date and time for the specific rituals called *sita* in Nepali that is decided by the *Panchaga Samiti* every year. The list of auspicious date and time set by the royal astrologer called for the Yanya Punhi 2014 is in Figure 4.1 below.

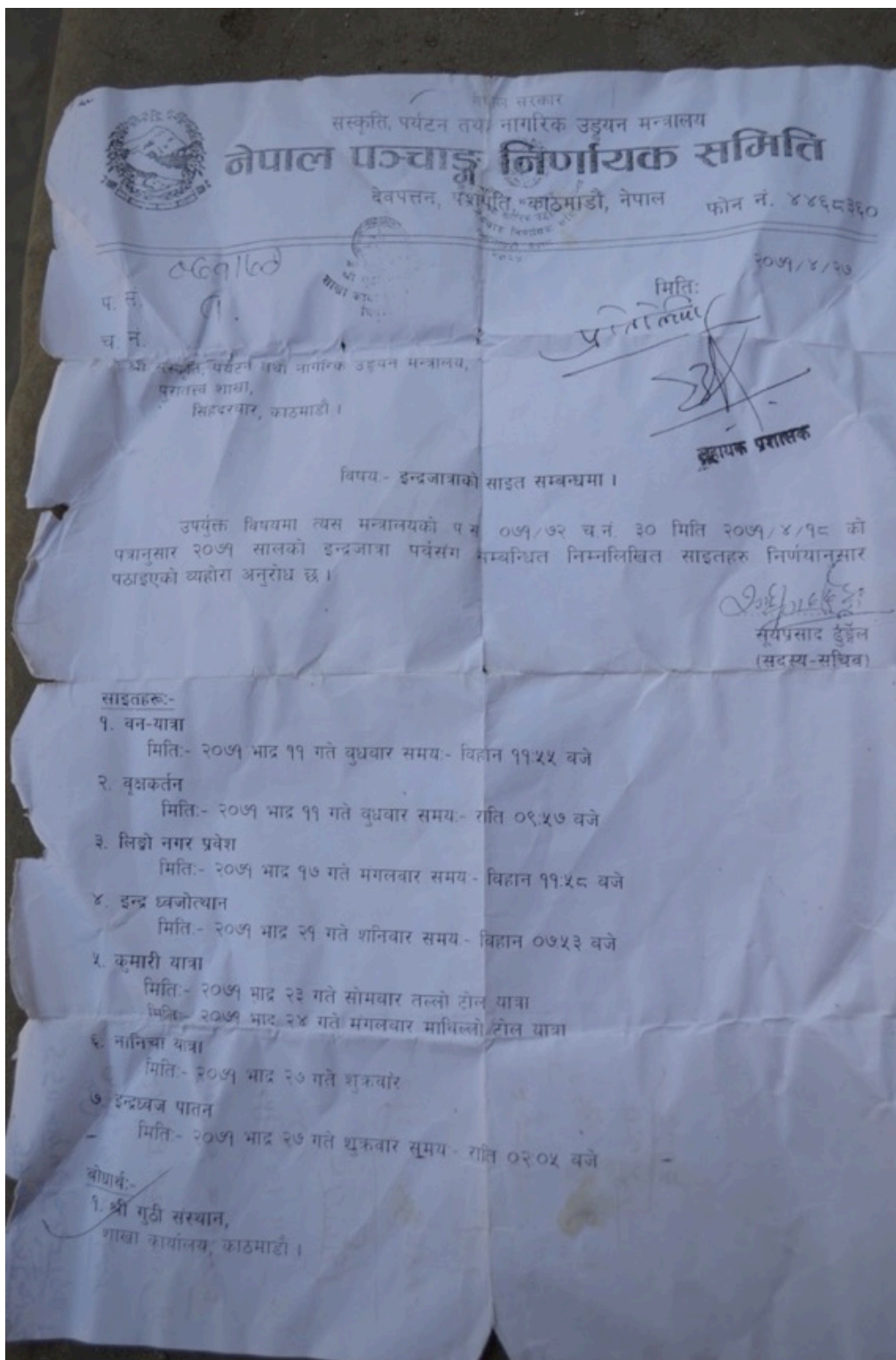


Figure 4.1: List of Auspicious dates during Yanya Punhi festival of 2014. The list are only with the ceremonies related to pole and chariot procession where the involvement of royal priest and presence of Royal members. (Source: Author/ 2014).

For the 2015 there was the different set of time and date according to the astrology. Every part of Kathmandu seems to be in festive mood and every bit of Kathmandu is immersed in the color of festival for eight days. The Kaleidoscope of dance, drama, rituals, music and feast makes Kathmandu a place where Gods and People come together to celebrate the festival of life. This festival attracts a huge mass of crowd in the streets, some pulling chariot, some worshipping human form of God, some watching through the window and roof of the houses. This festival as other Newar festival is not only a serious and formal rituals but also to entertain people (Toffin, 2014).

Even though the formal celebration of the festival is seven to eight days but the preparation rituals start much earlier. The rituals that have to be done within the boundary of temples and god houses will be carried on according to the specific date before the start of the formal festival. The practice of dances, maintenances of masks for the dancing gods, the display gods will be painted by the traditional painter (Chitrakars), the chariot making for the processions (by Manandhars), the stages for the different display gods and as such. In add to the hidden rituals, the government and the respective care taker of the temples, monuments and open spaces, the maintenance of these takes place before the start of the festivals. Sometimes, the maintenance and beautification process also continues even the festivals have already started because of the delay of the work from the respective authority. Since the chariot procession takes place within in the street of the city, the roads within the city with potholes are also repaired for the smooth procession as the chariots are with wooden wheels as in Picture 4.2. In the pictures below (4.3 and 4.4) can be seen the repair and beautification work of temples and monuments before the start of festival.



Figure 4.2: Workers repairing the road before the start of the *Yena Punhi* festival near Indra Chwok. (Source: Author/ 2014)



Figure 4.3: Workers preparing the mortar for repairing the roof and the temples in the Durbar Square. (Source: Author/ 2014)



Figure 4.4: Workers changing decorative red cloth in the temple in the premises of Kathmandu Hanuman Dhoka Durbar Square before the start of festival. After the Earthquake of 2015, the whole temple collapsed leaving just high raised plinth. (Source: Author/ 2014)

During the festival of 2014, it was seen the paintings on the temples, repair work and other within the Durbar Square was done with the help of Kathmandu Hanumandhoka Durbar Square Conservation Project work. Also especially targeting the festival, the renovation of the *Pulu Kishi* temple at Kilagal and God House of *Lakhey* at Laknenani was done with the help of Department of Archeology and Kathmandu Metropolitan city.

4.2 The concept of Dhune (inside) and Phine (Outside)

To understand the Newar society, its concept of *dhune* and *phine* (which means inside and outside in Newari language) has also to be understood well. This concept is well reflected in the city planning as well as in the social life of the Valley. In the cities of Kathmandu, King always occupies the center space with many deities and temples. Then the king's residence is surrounded by the

residence of members of the high caste having direct contact or association with the King. The occupational caste like Manandhar, Maharjan, Chitrakars and so on along with the high caste surround the next layer (Pradhan, 1986). The untouchables residence is outside the city boundaries. Outside the wall there also starts the cultivation fields where people go to work everyday and the farmers also live within the city wall. Still the old people of Kathmandu refer outside of the wall of city as *Desha Pine* meaning outside the city, even though there are no more walls surrounding the Kathmandu. Most of the festivals and special functions occur inside within the city boundary, so still the older generations are reluctant to move outside the boundary of old Kathmandu.

This concept of outside and inside does not only applies for the city but also within the residential quarters as well as for each house and monuments. Not only outside the city can be considered the outside or *phine* but *outside* the house, monument and temple gate is also can be considered as *phine* or outside. Every house's outer door is considered as the demarcation where the boundary of house ends and the public space starts. Before going to worship outside deities, or any auspicious occasions the worshipping of the outer gate of house, which is called *Pikhalukha*, is very much important. The worshipping of outer gate of every house, monument and temples are worshipped which marks the outer boundary of the space.³³

Apart from the city boundary and house outer boundary, there is one more boundary in the every Newar locality called *Chwasa*. This place can be the turning of the residential road, or outside of the residential courtyard. This place is considered to be the impure where waste, impure things and the offerings to the ghost are placed. These points of the Newar society, which is not well represented in the material architecture but is of great importance in the social architecture.

³³ This observation is from the daily life of the people in Kathmandu Valley, where still the practice of worshipping the outer gate of house before any outside temples and deities is continuing.

The public event of festival of *Yenya Punhi* is of seven to eight days, which takes place within city boundary but out of boundary of monuments and temples. But the inside rituals and preparations starts much more before. The series of rituals and private feast takes place among the Guthi members before the formal start of festival, which takes place inside the respective places. These Guthi operates separately and do not interfere with the other Guthi members. But these Guthi works in such a way as during the festival all come together in a coordinate manner filling their functions perfectly even they work separately. Most of the functions that occur before the formal process are solely a private affair of the respective Guthi. Some of the rituals take place in the private place especially inside the God's house or some at the house of Guthi "*nayo*" meaning senior leader of Guthi. These rituals are considered to be carried out in the absence of outsiders. Here in this case the outsiders mean people other than the Guthi member.³⁴ Some of the rituals are not shown or could not be shown to the female, or they cannot participate and also cannot enter the place of the rituals.

These rituals are form of physical beautification as well as spiritual awakening of the gods. The process of painting of faces of Bhairav that are displayed, cleaning of the statues which are displayed, cleaning of jewelries of dancers, if needed the painting and repairing the masks worn by the dancers during the festival are all done before the formal start of the festival. As the people who dance during are not just for the theatrical performance in the street but they are also considered as the human form of God. Once they wear the clothes and jewelries, they receive the formal worshipping as the gods inside the temples. These masks and statues worshipped must be animated by rituals and the pre-rituals is the process of re-charging the power and efficacy. (Vergati, 2000)

³⁴ Guthi members are the people who are actively engaged in the Guthi. Even though the person belonging to the same locality and same case can be considered outsiders if their father is not active member of the Guthi. Also the children of the daughters and sisters of the Guthi members are outsiders.

For some rituals other than the specific Guthi members can participate. For example the painting and repairing of the mask are done by people from the Chitrakar community, and this tradition is still present. The rituals like special puja or rituals done by the Karmacharya priest to the Kumari, the living form of Goddess is still done in a secret place where outsiders are not allowed. There are many rituals and process, which are not shown to the outsiders, and even reluctant to talk about is still in practice. This attitude of Newar society *Kane Majiyu* and *Kayne Majiyu* meaning could not be told and could not be shown is a great threat to continuity of living heritage.

The formal festival which can be seen by all the people starts with placing of body less Bhirab statues along the streets in a temporary wooden raised shade of Kathmandu along with the statues of God Indra in a captive position which is placed much higher than Bhirab. Along this eight days there are various activities takes place. The end of this festival is marked by the lowering of ceremonial pole and when the Bhairav and Indra statues are taken to their respective place. The sequential order of the activates according to the days are as:

Day one

Display of the statues of Indra at the various corner of Old Kathmandu. During the 2014 field visit seven statues of Indra were places in the high raised podium at various places.

Display of the heads of Bhairav at the various places. Some places just wooden, brass or mud pots with the figure of Bhairab heads.

Bringing of the pole to the palace area form the outside the old city boundary.

Making of temporary wooden light stands at the various places.

Day Two

The pole raising ceremony according to the auspicious time, mostly in morning.

Images of different deities are displayed around the city

Circumambulation of the city boundary on the behalf of the dead (*Upakha wanegu*) in the evening.

Mask dances of the deities at the various places.

Day Three

Mask dances of the deities at the various places.

Usual worshipping of Indra and Bhairav at various places.

Day Four

Indra Jatra or the Kumari Jatra, official Holiday in Kathmandu Valley.

The head of state observes the festival from the state hall in old palace along with the various dignitaries.

Chariot Procession of human form of Kumari along with Bhairab and Ganesh through the lower half of the old city.

Bahumata – Circumambulation of the inner festival route in form of bamboo snake with the oil lamp on it.

Daagi (believed to be Indra's mother) circumambulation, which follows the *Bahumata*.

Day Five (Full moon day)

Special worshipping on of Bhairav and Indra.

Chariot Procession of Kumari, Bhairab and Ganesh through the upper half of the city.

Family feast and called this day *Samaye Baji Puni*.

Day Six

Chakra Puja

Day Seven

Ritual for the Kumari where the cow is gifted to the Bhraman Priest as purification for Kumari.

Day Eight

Kumari, Bhairab and Ganesh Procession in the central part of the city.

The head of state receives the blessing from Kumari after the goddess returns from the procession.

The ceremonial pole is lowered and immersed in the confluence of Bagmati and Bishnumati River.

Images of Indra, Bhairab and other deities are returned to their respective places.

The stands, chariots, wooden shades houses are dismantled and stored.

All of these festivals, which take place in the street and courtyard of Kathmandu, can be seen by all the people. This festival is not only for the entertainment of the spectators but also for establishing social and political order. The King establishes its political legitimacy with this festival, the family also strengthen its bonding by inviting married sisters and daughters to view the festival and have a feast. During all the eight days, worshipping of Bhairab, lighting butter lamps in front of Indra, dancing and worshipping of the mask deities like Lakhey, Mahakali, Pulu Kishi, Sawa Bhaku and so on takes place. The detail of the each activity is described in the heading 4.4.

4.3 Historical Context of *Yenya Punhi* Festival

Yenya Punhi festival is for worshipping of the dead, God as well as entertaining the humans. There is no recorded data from when the festival was started and by whom. There are various myths, folklores and belief of people regarding the festival or various aspects of festivals. Every sub-festival within the umbrella of this festival has its own legend about its existence and independent of the other as every activity in this festival is self-sufficient to carry out the functions. During the years this festival has got the shape as it got today. Till date the festival keeps on modifying and adding the new aspects to this spectacular festival.

According to the legend, the history of the festival goes it is linked to the foundation of Kathmandu city. It says festival is the celebrations of founding day of city. King Yalamber who is also considered to be the first king of the Kirat Dynasty of Kathmandu and Aakash Bhirav is also referred to him, which is worshipped during this festival. According to the chronicles found this festival was established by the King Gunahamadeva in eleventh century who is also considered to be the founder of Kathmandu (Toffin, 1992). Even the legends provide the exact mythical date (*Kali sambvat*) of founding sword shaped city which goes around 724 AD (Gutschow, 2011). The chariot festival/ procession of Kumari (the living Goddess) was started by King Jayaprakash Malla, which has documented proof and in year 2010 celebrated the chariot festival of 250 years even though the worshipping of non living form of Kumari was started much earlier in the history of Nepal (Slusser, 1998). While many dances and plays, which appear during the festival, has the story of their origin and some even link to the king who founded it. As Toffin put forward the hypothesis that these sub-festivals were originated separately and were brought together in the later stage (Toffin, 1992).

In a conclusion there is no concrete basis to take a stand on the origin of this festival except the myth, folklore and legends. But we can be pretty assure that this festival has came a long way and in due course of time added so many aspects to this festival which has enriched the charm of the festival. Most of the credit goes to Malla period for these spectacular festivals and legends also point to the Malla Periods. For the Mallas festivals were not only about the rituals and worshipping but also about the entertainment. If the festival could not entertain the mass then it was considered to be failure (Toffin, 2014). During these festival dances, plays, chariot process, music and as such which is the outcome of providing entertainment. This festival attracts a huge crowd also due to its entertainment factor. As every festival of the valley, people going to watch the festival is one of the major the social practice. The local call it as "*Jatra swo*

younu” meaning to go and watch the festival. To go and observe the festival is also one of the aspects of Newar festival.³⁵

Even though no documented proof are available about the start of this festival but most of the activities in this festival were seem to be started during the Malla period. For example chariot procession of living goddess Kumari that was started during the time of King Jayasthiti Malla. Similarly there are many cases where the Malla Royals were the patronage of festival. The old Malla palace was the center of activity; every festival should pass through this area. Also Malla Palace was the center of city which also divided city into two half, upper and lower (Gutschow, 2011).

Until the Malla period there seem to be addition of addition of rituals, drama and various aspects of festivals. Cultural Heritage of Kathmandu Valley, which we still see, is all from that period. The King himself used to participate in the festival not only as a spectator but also involve during the festival like Malla King used to go around the city in the chariot of Kumari (Wright, 2007).

This festival has one more historical significance. During the festival of 1769 when the whole Kathmandu was celebrating the festival of Yenya Punhi, the Shah King attacked Kathmandu and took over the city (Wright, 2007). During this time most of the people were drunk (as drinking and eating is the part of every Newar festivals) and were in festive mood. After the Shah King captured Kathmandu, other cites and villages of Kathmandu Valley were also captured. The takeover of the city by Shah was a major turning point for the people of Kathmandu Valley. In order to legitimate their power the Shah Kings did not interfere with the culture of Kathmandu Valley. They let people continue all the festivals as before. Even they made some changes in the festival and in place of Malla King, the Shah King became patron of the festival. Now after more than two century, when the Mala Kings are no more, still the festival is continuing in

³⁵ During the interview with Prof. Sudarshan Raj Tiwari on 27th August 2014.

the similar manner. Shah did not participated as a Malla Kings but they took blessings from the Goddess Kumari, which was a symbol of renewing the power every year, and this has been continuing till date from the head of the state, now this process has been continued by the President of Nepal. Shah modified some aspect of festival like pole raising ceremony, killing of bull by the god Svet Bhairav and so on.

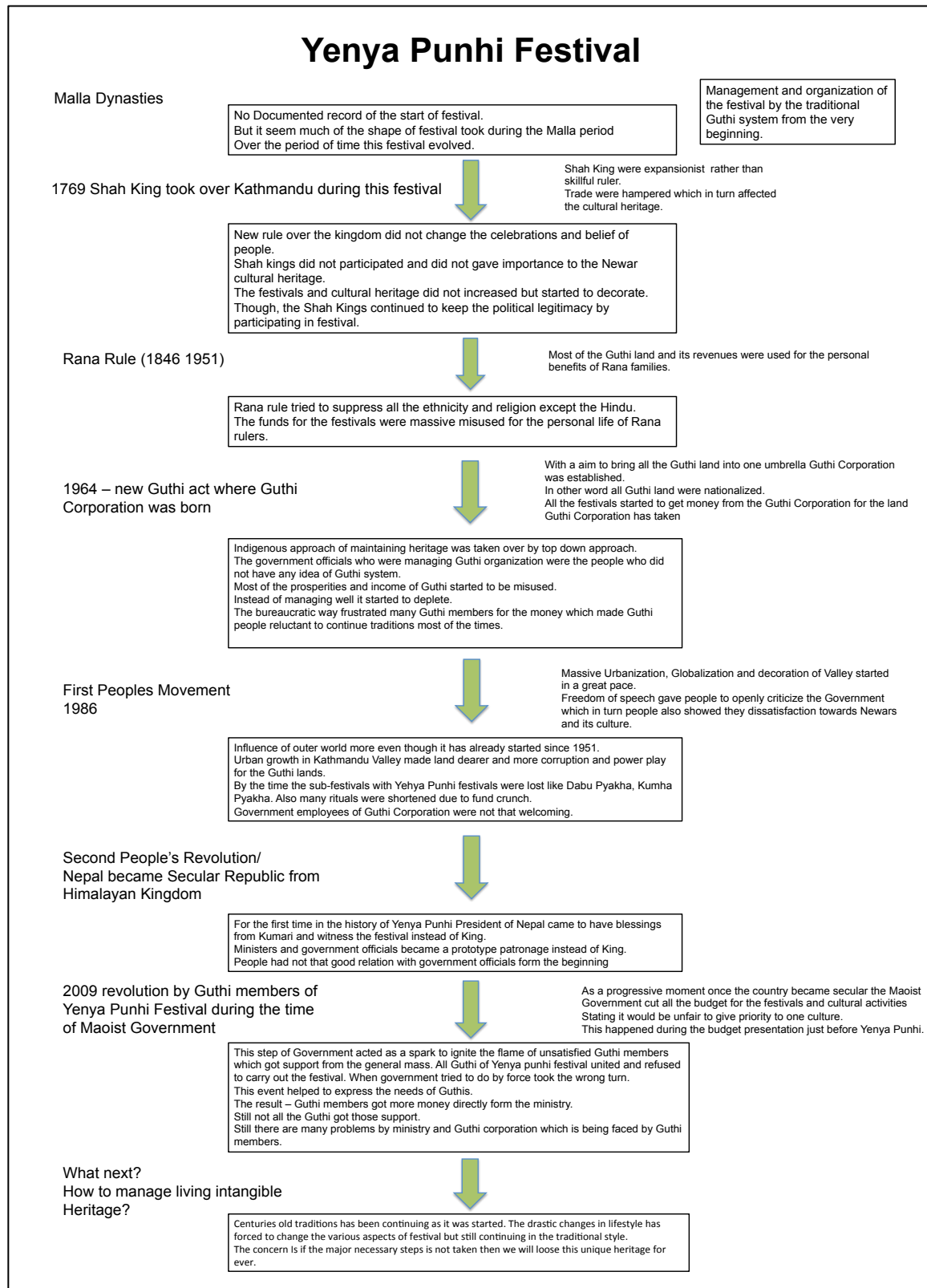
The changes in festival during Rana rule were not noteworthy but it did brought some changes. After the earthquake of 1934, a part of old palace was modified and constructed into the neoclassical design. From that part there was a place where the festival could be observed. They started the trend to invite various high British officials to show the festivals. And the local people recall this as the festival where you can see the foreigners. Till date this functions is continuing till now. VVIP, ambassadors, various dignitaries and many more people are invited to watch this festival from the balcony of modified part of palace by Rana called *Gaddi Baithak*. The day is on the Indra Jatra, were the chariot procession starts and all the dances come to perform in the ceremony as King used to be present himself on this day. Now President is performing all the religious function of the state, which used to be done by King, as being the head of state. In picture 4.6 can be seen the President of Nepal participating in the festival.



Figure 4.5: President Ran Baran Yadav with various guests observing the festival from the balcony of Palace area called *Gaddi Baithak*. (Source: Kantipur/ undated)

As mentioned in Chapter 3, due to the changes in the political situation and changing in the Guthi laws most of the functions have been reshaped. As Malla's, Shah did not took much interest in the culture of Kathmandu Valley but instead diverted the Guthi fund somewhere else. Some of the festivals which were celebrated during the festival are now performed no more which will be discussed later. The lack of Government support and Guthi Corporation's apathy towards the festivals and monuments has fueled the situation to get worse. Guthi members were unsatisfied with these attitudes that took the fire after Government cut down the budget in festivals in the year 2009. This was just before Yenya Punhi festival which backfired the government and this led to make some changes in the festivals where Guthi members gets the benefit. This will be later discussed in detail in Chapter Five.

The chronological order of changes have been shown in the Table 4.1, below



4.4 Relation of Political power with the Festival

Malla Kings were credited for establishing most of the festivals in the Kathmandu Valley for the prosperity and protection of their kingdom and these festivals are still celebrated till date as it was just with some minor changes. Malla kings were just not only the patron of the festivals but also used to actively take part in the festival. Kings were seen as an incarnation of Hindu God Vishnu and seen as a person for the political and cosmic order (Toffin, 2008). Even the Palace being in the center of city and every major festival has to pass through it. Every kingdom during the Malla period had its own major festival or also called the festival of the Kingdom, which provided the identity of the city. In the time of Malla these festival might have become more important in providing identity to the city due to the rivalry between three kingdoms within the Valley. As Toffin add on regarding the relation of king and festivals as:

“Kings frequently remodeled or reordered these ceremonies, according to their own political needs, their subjects demands and the exigencies of deities worshipped” (Toffin, 2008; p. 151),

Pradhan mentions the disagreement with the Dumont and Heesterman perception where King was dependent on the Brahmins to legitimize his power. Giving the examples of Newars case the legitimacy of Malla Kings were dependent in Goddess whose priests are the Karmacharyas not Brahmins (Pradhan, 1986). Malla King worshipped goddess and Bhairav (male god of power) for the power. The alleged founder king of Kathmandu, King Gunakamadev, after settling the Kathmandu started many festivals including Yenya Punhi by also instituting Kumari (Wright, 2013, p.155). Every King worshipped own mother goddess for the power and advice to run the country. For the Malla kings, Taleju has been the tutelary goddess and in every kingdom of the ancient Kathmandu Valley there were temples within the palace area dedicating to the Goddess Taleju. The Temples are still intact within the palace

premises with the continuation of worshipping of the goddess by the kings and people alike.

King Jayaprakash Malla is seen in the history to establish stronger ties with the goddess and festival in order to strengthen his political power (Pradhan, 1986). Historian Regmi writes he did not have a smooth period as a king as his father did not want him to be the king, and in addition to that he had to face many oppositions within his own kingdom as well as from the nearby kingdoms (Regmi, 2007). He became more obsessed with the worshipping for the power as the nearby kingdom's king started to be more powerful. He started the chariot festival of Kumari in Yanya Punhi festival where the chariot is taken around the city. Kumari is a human form of goddess Taleju and more about Kumari will be discussed in the next section on chariot procession. Also, King Jayaprakash Malla instituted Kumari by building a residence for her near the palace area in 1757 A.D. which is artistically very beautiful (Slusser, 1998; Allen, 1996; Pradhan, 1986).

Even after the Malla period, the worshipping of Goddess Kumari was continued by the new dynasty that took over Kathmandu and the Kumari of Kathmandu is considered as the *Raj Kumari* meaning Royal Kumari and still now worshipped is continued by the head of state. Slusser mentions about the worshipping of Kumari as early as from the sixth century (Slusser, 1998; p. 312) but from when the human form of Kumari is worshipped is not exactly known (Allen, 1996). King Laksmikamadeva is also credited for starting to worship Kumari in human form in a virgin girl in Patan, which is two centuries earlier than Jayaprakash Malla of Kathmandu (Allen, 1996; Slusser, 1998). According to Allen, the worshipping of a girl in human form does not seem to be purely a religious motive. As the King himself being a Hindu and the girl who is worshipped has to be from a high Buddhist caste. As the number of the population were Buddhist and worshipping a Buddhist child in the form of a Hindu Goddess seems to be a strategy to spread Hinduism and also increase the legitimacy of the king's rule over Buddhist (Allen, 1996).

When King Jayaprakash Malla established the chariot procession, he himself used to go around the city in the chariot along with goddess Kumari (Wright, 2013) and till today as a representation of the Malla King in the chariot for procession the sword of Malla King is carried by the man who is also the official within the Palace Museum. It is also believed that due to his worshipping towards the Goddess Kumari he was able to elongate his rule further until it fell into the hands of Gorkha in 1769. As mentioned earlier Shah King attacked Kathmandu during this festival and overtook the place so this festival is important politically also. When the last Malla king of Kathmandu, King Jayaprakash Malla fled to nearby city. Kumari gave blessing to Shah King in form of *tika* (*mixture of vermilion and rice*) on his forehead, which was a sign to give mandate to rule the Kingdom.³⁶ This tradition has been in continuation where the head of state comes to take a blessing from the Goddess Kumari as the process of renewing his kingship. Wright also mentioned that Prithivi Narayan Shah when he was in Bhatgaon he had the *prashad* (blessings in form of flower, vermilion powder or fruits) from goddess Kumari and it is believed this helped his fortune (Wright, 2013; p. 231).

Shah King also used this festival to legitimate their power in the Newar population after they took over the power. The new King did not interfere with the religion and festival of Kathmandu Valley, as they might have feared the opposition from the people. Further more the new King became the patron of the festivals that people of Valley celebrated and in some cases tried to modify the festival.³⁷ As in this festival Yenya Punhi, the pole raising ceremony, which marks the formal start of the festival was modified. This step was a move by the Shah

³⁶ Still most of the old people narrate this event as just happened few years back. The battle were most of the Newars were drunk and Shah King taking the Power. Even the Goddesses giving blessing to the new King and legitimacy to rule over the city.

³⁷ Mr. Mohan Krishna Dongol explains the Shah King promised to not to interfere in the cultural heritage of Kathmandu and after he took blessing from the Goddess Kumari all the population also accepted him as a new ruler. During the interview of 10th August 2014 (MKD_GML_2014).

King to legitimate their position to local people and also sanskritization³⁸ of festivals. This ceremony was reshaped and reformulated by Pratap Shah (Son of King Prithivi Narayan Shah) during his three-year rule. He postponed the ceremony by one day in order to co-inside the date with the Vedic ritual. Before Shah rule Pre- shah ceremony that was not so much with fanfare was later celebrated with much rituals and he even promulgated the text for it. Three year after the modification in the pole raising ceremony, the Kathmandu was made kingdom by the Shah King who came from Gorkha a nearby kingdom from the Valley (Toffin, 2014).

According to Mukunda Aryal³⁹, this pole raising ceremony was done near the palace in front of Atkonarayan temple and it was Pratap Malla who started the tradition to do it in the premises of Palace. In this ceremony priest from the palace is also present form the cutting of tree phase for the pole and other rituals also⁴⁰. Even the troops of military musicians are present, and the rifle salute is also given twice during this ceremony. The Shah king also continued the worshipping of Goddess Kumari and the Kumari of Kathmandu became the Royal Kumari. Every year on the last day of Yenya Punhi the Shah King used to visit Kumari for blessings as a mandate to rule the kingdom that was continued till Nepal was a Kingdom. The President of Nepal further continued this tradition after Nepal became republic. Anderson had also mentioned in his book about the event when the Goddess refused to put *tika* on Mahendra's forehead a form of blessings and later that year Mahendra died (Anderson, 2010).

Still many people of Kathmandu Valley have a strong belief that if something goes wrong during the festival then it might bring bad luck to the country or to the King. During the 2014 Yenya Punhi, the wheel of Kumari Chariot crushed the stone lion at the entrance of Kumari house while returning from the procession,

³⁸ Sanskritization means modifying it to Sanskrit, which is the textual language for Hindu Bhramin.

³⁹ During the interview on 1st September 2014 with Mukunda Aryal, Expert in Nepalese Culture.

⁴⁰ Interview with Mukunda Aryal on 1st September 2014 (MA_E_2014).

which was restored, the next morning and this was seen as a bad sign for the country. Many people believed there would be some bad things happening in the country coming year. Earthquake of 7.9 rector's scale in 25 April 2015 maybe just the coincidence or a superstitious belief.

After the long history of Nepal being a Kingdom when it became republic, President Ram Baran Yadav was the first person to receive a blessing from Kumari as a mandate to rule over Nepal. As in this festival now President goes to the many traditional ceremonies representing the nation, where king used to attend (In picture 4.7 can be seen President returning after the festival). This continuation of people in power representing during the festivals and religious ceremonies indeed signifies that there is still the connection of political power and festivals.

There have been always kings and royals behind the start of the festivals and religious dances. Anne giving the various examples of the mask dances at the various places of Kathmandu Valley mentions that kings initiated ritual dances just as were festivals. It was by such means masked dances that king established links between the centers where their capitals were situated and the localities at the periphery of their kingdoms. Dances fulfilled a political function in controlling the king's domain (Vergati, 2000).



Picture 4.6: President Ram Baran Yadav returning after observing the Yenya Punhi festival on the day of Kumari procession. And on the last day he receives *tika* as a head of state from Kumari when the goddess is back in her residence from a chariot procession around the city.

4.5 *Yenha Punhi* Festival a festival?

Yenya Punhi Festival to be summarized, as just one festival will be unfair as well as it will be too complicated. As each one of the celebrations within the umbrella of this grand festival is itself a self-sufficient festival. The celebrations which will be described in this section is independent of each other, carries their own existence, folklore, place of origin and performance, Guthi, funds and so on. One of the interesting features of this festival being very much entertaining other than the ritual part. In add to that this festival is celebrated by every people of Newar community from lower caste to upper and even including the king. The description of these ceremonies are from the observation of Yenya Punhi festival of 2014 where the researcher tired best to attend all the activities.

a) Display of Bhairav masks and pots

The start of the festival is with the body less heads of Bhairav being displayed in the various parts of the Kathmandu. Bhairav who is worshipped as *Aju Dhyo* by the local Newars and consider it the protective god for the Valley. They can be also considered as a clan god as *Aju* means grandfather and *Dhyo* meaning god. Most of the local consider these gods as their ancestors. The three quarters (Upper, Middle and Lower) of the Kathmandu is believed to be governed by the different Bhairav of Kathmandu. Bhairav has been a principal patron since the early medieval period as in 618 A.D. King Bhumiverma established the shrine of Bhairav (Shakya, 2008). During the days of festivals many Bhairavs with the various names are displayed. Among all these Bhairav, Aakash Bhairav (Picture 4.8) of Indra Chowk is considered to be the patron deity of the old Kathmandu. Also local believe it to be the King Yalamber the founding father of Kathmandu and on the full moon day of Bhadra which is fifth day of the festival, there is the special worshipping of Bhairav. As Shakya writes, God Indra which kept in a captive form for stealing flower in the raised altar made of wooden post in front of Aakash Bhairav represents the presenting Indra in its court for the judgment. This gesture marks the dominance of Bhairav in Kathmandu Valley (Shakya, 2008).

For the local Newars the other name of Bhairav is *Hathu Dhyo* which means from the mouth the local beer or liquor flows. And during this festival the liquor or beer is flowed from the mouth of Bhairav. The liquor and rice beer is considered to be the flow of wisdom from Bhairav mouth (Shakya, 2008). As all the Bhairav, Aakash Bhairav is the fearsome God with wide-open mouth and protruding eyes, and is blue in color. For the whole year Aakash Bhairav is kept in the temple of Indra Chowk in the first floor. From the window of first floor, it can be seen the Bhairav overlooking outside street and vice versa. On the day before the rising of

ceremonial pole, on the midnight the head of Bhairav is brought down to the wooden pavilion made especially for the festival days.⁴¹ .



Figure 4.7: Aakash Bhairav in display outside the temple during the Yenya Punhi festival of 2014. The caretakers from Guthi are seen besides the Bhairav, which is decorated with flowers. Everyday the flowers are changed and the Guthi members and their relatives come to offer the flowers for the God. Local believe opportunity to be able to offer flower to the God is the sign of receiving blessings (Source: Author/2014)

It receives a special ritual on the full moon day, fourth day of Yenya Punhi, which is also according to locals, the founding day of Kathmandu. On this day the *Samye Baji* (beaten or puffed rice with barbequed meat, beans, ginger, leafy vegetables etc.) along with liquor and rice beer is offered (Picture 4.11). This day all the Bhairav is offered *Samye Baji*. Also on the special days the tube is inserted in the mouth of Aakash Bhairav and liquor is made to flow. Also when the chariot of Kumari pass through it then also liquor is made to flow. People do not drink when the liquor flown from this Bhairav mouth as in Sweat Bhairav.

⁴¹ This magnificent Bhairav is brought mostly at night and in 2014 Yenya punhi it was started brought down around 2 am in the morning. The placing of Bhairav and its accessories took much longer with the musical instruments being played by the Guthi members. Even at the night the considerable number of people were there to see the ceremony where God was stepping down.

The caretakers of this Bhairav during all year and in festival, is done by the Guthi of farmer community of this locality called *Wong gha* Guthi. The *Wong Gha* Guthi is not only responsible for the Aakash Bhairab but also for teaching *Dhyme* music to young boys, initiation of *Jyapu* (Farmer community) boyhood and even have a Sana Guthi (i.e. Death Guthi) under this Guthi.



Picture 4.8: Sayme Baji in front of temple during Yenya Punhi festival. Its on the open space at the side of street. Below the layers of meat, vegetables, eggs and many more lays the pile of beaten rice (*baji*). (© Author/2014)

Next to the Bhairab in the other street, that is in wotu is Baka Bhairav. And this Bhairav is believed to be the brother of Aakash Bhairav and was the ruler of the half of Kathmandu (as Baka meaning half). This Bhairav does not receive as attention as Aakash Bhairav but it looks similar to Aakash Bhairav. For the rest of the year this Bhairav is kept in the *Dhyo Che* (God's House) and worshiped there. Only during the festival this Bhairav is brought to the Owtu. The caretaker of this Bhairav is Manandhar community of *wotu*. They also had a boyhood initiation ceremony but now its no more and also they don't have music guthi as

Askash Bhairav (Hoek, 2014). As according to Hoek, the Guthi nearly stopped to bring the Bhairav during the festival due to the fund crunch but after they build new God house and started to get rent from the ground floor the economic condition of this Guthi has been good.

After Aakash Bhairav, the other spectacular Bhairav is Svet Bhairav at the premise of Hanuman Dhoka Durbar. It was built by Shah King, Rana Bahabur Shah and kept all Newars as care takers of it (Hoek, 2014). Svet is taken care by the three clans of Newar community: two families of Tamrakar from Pinganani at Maru tole, two families of Shakyas from Ombahal and two families of Tuladhar from Asan Bakunani (Shakya, 2008). The Guthi for this Bhairav is neither caste bound nor locality bound and the required things for worshipping are given by Guthi Corporations. During the field of 2014, this Bhairav Guthi was very unsatisfied Guthi which will be discussed in next chapter. For the whole this Bhairav remain behind the wooden lattice where a small part of it is opened during special functions. The worshipping of this Bhairav is much enjoyed by the local youth as local beer and liquor is made to flow from the mouth of it, which can be drunk. Huge mass of youth is seen surrounding this Bhairav during the evening and sometimes the fight also breaks up between youth so the security is always kept stand by in this part⁴². It's also interesting to see for the spectators to see the youth climbing on the back of friends and drinking, other than people who are actually drinking.

The other Bhairav is within the Hanuman Dhoka Durbar Square placed temporarily in wooden podium front of Maaju Degal temple. The caretakers are the Bajracharya Priest (Bhuddhist) and also called Svatantra Bhariav meaning independent which made conclude Hoek to be comparatively a new (Hoek, 2014). In other days except the festival days, this Bhairav is kept in the *Dhyo Che* (God house) in Hanuman Dhoka Durbar. These are the four prominent Bhairav

⁴² During 2014 also there were the cases of fight between the youth and some were arrested also. The police station is just adjacent to this temple so the presence of police is seen stand by there during the whole festival to avoid the unfavorable circumstances.

heads displayed around the city that are artistic and beautiful. But apart from these Bhairav, there are many more that is displayed around. The other is not as artistic and aesthetically beautiful as these ones but people respect in equal amount (Picture 4.9). The other Bhairav are made of wood, clay or bronze pots, and some even just clay pots painted and displayed in the raised wooden podium. All these Bhairav have a Guthi or some are just the family Guthi that are kept in display. During the field visit, the older generations were complaining about the decreasing number of Bhairav displayed around Kathmandu is decreasing. As most of the Bhairav statues were stolen, some were replaced but some just stopped to display it.

It was also seen that few were displayed on the full moon day only and once the rituals were done they were again taken back the same day. The other case of stolen Bhairav was seen in the Yetkha of Kathmandu, where the Guthi members were carrying out the rituals in spite of the idol being stolen, as they just kept the base of the Bhairav (Picture 4.10) on display and carried out the functions as usual. Most of the images of Bhairav can be seen in the museum of the western world either they are stolen or sold. The one idol of Bhairav as seen in Guimet Museum in Paris that used to be worshipped during the festival. Bhairav or the *Hathu Dhyo* (God from which mouth liquor pours) is the important aspect of Yenya Punhi festival. The full moon day is also the main day of festival for the local people and from that locals believe the festival was also named as Yenya Punhi (Punhi being Newari word for Full moon).



Source 4.9 (Left): Bhariav in the form of pot displayed during the festival. (Source: Author/2014)



Figure 4.10: Even the image of Bhairav was stolen, the Guthi members still worship even the base of the Bhairav. (Source Author/2014)



Picture 4.11: Mask of the Bhairav from Kathmandu Valley now in the display at Guimet Museum, Paris that is believed to be from 16th – 17th Century. (Source: Author/2015)

b) Captive God (Indra) in Display:

God Indra is next important component of the festival Yenya Punhi and for non-Newars name of the festival is Indra Jatra because of the worshipping of this God. During this festival Indra is worshipped as a captive god, not as a victor but as a victim (Hoek, 2014). According to the local oral stories, Indra, the king of heaven came to steal flower in the earth for his mother. He came to Kathmandu and stole the flower at night that happen to be seen by the local farmer. So the farmer catches Indra, ties his hand and presents to the king court. And later Indra's mother came to rescue him. She frees him by presenting fog and dew to mature the rice to the farmers of the Valley. There can be found the various versions of this story but all presenting Indra as a captive god.

Indra believed to be the god of rain and people of Kathmandu Valley depending in the rainwater for the cultivation worshipping Indra for the rain. But the little has to do with Indra in the daily life of people. Except these days in the festival, the idols of Indra are kept inside the wooden box in respective temples and houses. They are not worshipped for the whole year as the other Gods like Bhairav and Kumari. Indra is kept in the wooden podium in a raised wooden post, with the hands in crucified position tied except inside nasal chwok of Hanuman Dkhoa Palace which is place in the Dabali (raised platform for the special purpose). During the field visit 2014 it is seen that the display of Indra was done in Naradevi, Indra Chwok, Nasal Chwok, Maru, Jya Bahal and Musu Bahal (also called *jyapu twu*). The caretakers and priest of these Indra are farmers community which have their independent Guthi. But in case of Indra in front of Aakash Bhairav the caretakers are farmers but the priest are the Rajopadhya Bharmin. Before placing Indra in the podium rituals is performed by the Rajopadhayas and after which everything is taken care by farmers Guthi. Even the statue of Indra is kept inside the room of Aakash Bhairav temple that is taken care by the farmer community of that locality.

The wooden podium is made every year before the start of the festival and is dismantled and placed in the respective when the festival is over (See Picture 4.15 and 4.16). The worshipping of Indra takes place for the seven days of the festival. As the elevation of the podium is very high only a part of statue is seen from the bottom. The offerings are made to the god in the basket and with the help of rope it can be pulled up and down. In the bottom of the podium people also light the butter lamps especially one hundred and eight butter lamps in front of the wooden post of Indra mostly for the deceased members of family. According to Slusser (1998), during the Lichhavi period Indra and other vedic gods were worshipped which continued till Malla period even with the increase of Tantrism. Even Indra being the god of rain and winter fogs, important for the farming community of Kathmandu Valley, and now other gods and demigods are considered to be chief rain making god, which has decreased the importance of

Indra. The festival that was an agrarian celebration now with the addition of many components and modification of the festival, it seem to have lesser importance of Indra and Agriculture (Slusser, 1998).



Figure 4.12: Idol of Indra being taken by the senior member of farmer Guthi to be placed in the high raised podium after completion of the rituals by Rajopadhaya Bhramin in the Indra chwok. (Source: Author/2014)

Even though the whole festival is marked as Indra Jatra festival and on the forth day of the festival Kathmandu Valley observes as a national holiday and is marked as Indra Jatra. Indra Jatra itself means the procession of Indra but there is no any procession of Indra during the whole festival and also does not receive any special worshipping on this day except the regular worshipping. Instead, the procession of chariot of living goddess steals all the limelight on this day, which is explained in detail later in this chapter. May be because of this Slusser had mentioned about the lesser importance of Indra in this festival. But still custodians of Indra during the festival are farmer community and still the numerous worshippers are seen around the Indra's pavilion.



Figure 4.13: Indra in the captive form in Musum Baha of lower town of ancient Kathmandu. (Source: Author/2014)



Figure 4.14: (Left) Guthi members placing God in the high raised podium in Indra Chwok. The basket where God is kept is the basket the farmers. Traditionally the farmers within the Valley used to carry two baskets at the end of the pole on the shoulders. (Source: Author/ 2014)

Figure 4.15: (Right) Guthi members making the high raise podium in Maru. (Source: Author/ 2014)

c) Pole Raising Ceremony

This is a ceremony where a long wooden pole (Fifty to Sixty ft.) is raised in the old palace area and with the raise of which also marks the formal start of festival and with the fall ends the festival. This ceremony is not just about raising and falling of a long wooden pole but there takes a series of rituals, community participation and auspicious dates. As every ceremony and rituals in this festival was taken care by the respective Guthis, for this ceremony related to pole, Manandhar community (oil pressing community) was given in charge. As mentioned in earlier section, this ceremony had gone through the modification during the Shah period to legitimate their power as a result of which it follows the

auspicious dates and times along with the royal Brahmin priest, army troops and rifle salute.

The pole is called *yahsim* in Newari and *Lingo* in Sanskrit. According to Toffin (1992) and Pradhan (1986) it is the axis-mundai the pillar that connects heaven and earth, Hoek (2014) identifies as a sacrificial pole explaining *yala* in Newari meaning sacrificial post as mentioned by Slusser (1998). From the start to the end of this ceremony it goes through series of rituals. As Hoek (2014) and Toffin (1992) mention about the Manandhar community not taking active part in this process. But this was not during the field visit of 2014 festival and Manandhar community was seen actively participating on every aspect of pole related ceremonies. According Triratna Manandhar⁴³, Manandhar association negotiated with the Guthi Corporation and instead of giving the process in contract it took back their responsibility and asked money from the Guthi Corporation. From then on members of Manandhar community started to continue the function related with the *Yamshi*.

Even for the general people the function of Yamshi is only when it is raised at the premises of palace but the rituals starts much earlier. About a month earlier the selection process of tree begins, previously this was done by leaving a black goat in the forest and at which point the goat strikes his head or stops the tree is marked and cut for both of which has auspicious dates. The forest is about 30-35 km from Kathmandu at the place Nala and the forest is named Yamsi Gu: and in Newari language Gu: means forest. But now the contractor choses the tree and due to the deforestation the big trees are difficult to find. On that date also Manandhar community is there, where they performs some rituals, marks the specific tree and have a feast in from of blessings (*prashad*). After ten to fifteen days on the auspicious date (Picture 4.1) assigned by the astrologer from the

⁴³ Triratna Manandhar is a scholar in Nepalese Scholar who also belongs to the Manandhar community. The interview was taken in his residence at Golkha Pakha of Kathmandu on 27th August 2014 (TRM_E_2014). He even invited to show the pole raising ceremony of their personal Guthi.

palace the Manandhar Guthi people along with the Brahmin priest from the palace and army troops goes to the forest. For this also they have to get the blessings from the priest as in the picture 4.17 and 4.18.



Figure 4.16: Manandhar community along with army in traditional dress is receiving the blessing from the priest for going to forest to take tree. People with the black dress and black cap are the traditional army within the Nepalese Army. While the people at the back with the white turban are the Guthi members of Manandhar Community receiving *tika* (red vermilion) from the priest appointed by the Government, person in red dress.(Source: Author/2014)

On 2014 the date for the going to forest was on 27th August and the auspicious time to cut tree was 11 pm same day. Before performing rituals Guthi members had some traditional snacks, which they share with the army and also priest. Later the ritual is done by the head of Manandhar Guthi and also by the Bhramin Priest. A goat is sacrificed during the ritual and rifle salute is given to the goddess of the forest. Then by the helper from the village few blow was made in tree and the ritual of the day was over. Then everyone returned back while some Guthi member stayed near the village. The Guthi members seem to be really involved

in the rituals while the Priest and Army seem to be performing their designated job.

The next day in the morning the tree was fallen down by the same person in presence of Guthi members. And the tree branches were cut down and given a shape of pole. Another tree was also fallen down and cut into smaller eight poles, which is brought to the palace premises in an army truck. While the *Yamsi* is pulled all the way from the forest to the ancient entrance of Kathmandu called Bhota Hiti. For pulling the pole local people as well as guthi members and army are involved. In the ancient days the Newar communities along the way helped to pull the *yamsi*. The *yamsi* is kept in Bhota Hiti an ancient entrance to Kathmandu Valley until the next auspicious date to enter the city. The place chosen is in front of mandala that is hidden all around the year but during the festival it is dug out from the road (Picture 4. 21).



Figure 4.17: Group photo of Manandhar Guthi members with the army in traditional attire. (Source: Author/2014)



Figure 4. 18: Worshipping of tree before it is cut. Though the cutting of tree is done only in the morning next day, few blows from the axe was made in the tree. (Source Author/2014)



Figure 4.19: Helper from village was making some blow in the tree with the axe after the worshipping was over. (Source: Author/2014)

About a week from the tree cutting date in an auspicious day and time the pole is dragged from the entrance to the palace area in the place where pole will be erected. And during this ceremony also Manandhar Guthi members were presents along with *gurju ya paltan*, traditional army musical band. Now during this ceremony, Manandhar community of various quarters is seen with the banner and also the Manandhar association was seen taking the attendance of the present members for this ceremony. Now the Guthi members seem to be getting more organized than just the traditional way of participation and rituals.



Figure 4.20: The mandala which is below the road for the whole year is only uncovered during the festival days. This place marked the outer boundary of old city and *Yamsi* is kept in front of this mandala until it is pulled in an auspicious date to the palace.

(Source: Author/2014)



Figure 4.21: Guthi of Manandhar community getting ready to pull Yamsi from Bhota Hiti to the place where it is raised i.e. at the Palace premises. (Source: Author/2014)



Figure 4.22: Manandhar community with the help of army pulling the ceremonial pole to premises of old palace the through the streets of the city. (Source: Author/2014)

On the twelfth bright half of Bhadra the auspicious date of 21st Bhadra, in the morning at 7:53, (6th September 2014) the pole was raised in the palace premises during the festival of 2014. During this ceremony there was presence of army musical band, priest appointed by Royal Priest, officials of Guthi Corporations, Manandhar Guthi members, traditional musical groups of various Guthi and also the mask dance group of Kilagal called Devi Phykha. On this ceremony Devi Phykha just perform a smaller piece of dance with the music. The salute of gun was fired as a national respect while the ceremony. Along with this the white horse is also present and many people have many interpretation of it. Hoek (2014) says it's the horse of Shah king, some local says its of Malla King, while some believe to be the horse of Taleju or Kumari. Hoek also mentions about the King used to attend himself for this ceremony until 1956 but after only some government officials attended to the Manandhar community stopped the pole raising ceremony and was given to Nepal army. But according to my respondent the Manandhar Guthi discontinued due to the conflict with Guthi Corporation due to less money they get for the ceremony that was not sufficient.



Figure 4.23: Pole being raised in the premises of Malla Palace. The people watching the process can be seen in the huge number. (Source: Author/2014)

In add to that during whole process from the Ban Yatra to the pole raising ceremony the sword representing the king is present which is carried by the staff of the old palace. For the seven days this pole is worshipped along with the small statue of Indra, which is kept in the base of the pole in a cage. The smaller eight poles are seen surrounding the ceremonial pole that are kept later and represents *Astra Matrika*, the eight-mother goddess. Then, a long banner called Indra Dhoja meaning Indra's Banner in Sanskrit but according to Newar its called *Hari Pata* is kept in the pole which hangs from top to the bottom side. Every year the fresh wood is cut to make a pole, so in the year 2014, the Manandhar Guthi members were thinking to save the eight poles for the next year also to reduce the deforestation. Now with the influence of social media and other media, the time of the ceremony is well circulated among the people. So a huge number of spectators are present with the new and advanced gadgets to take the pictures. After all the spectators leave and the ceremony is over Ptuwar of Guweshori is



Figure 4.24: The ceremonial pole being raised called Yamsi which fanfare and huge crowd of spectators are seen surrounding the area. (Source: Author/2014)

responsible to place eight poles and the statue of Indra in a cage that is kept inside the Hanuman Dhaoka during the other time of year (Hoek, 2014).

On the last day of the festival the pole is lowered. This ceremony does not have many audience and music as during the rising of the pole⁴⁴. The pole is carried to down along the road to the confluence of Bagmati and Bishnumati River with the help of army. With this it signifies the formal end of the festival.

d) Procession around the city for the death

In the Newar tradition the dead also occupies the space as much as the living. So in the festival Yenya Punhi, the rituals for the deceased members of the family, also is a major component. There are series of events that takes places during the festivals as

Upakhu vanegu:

This procession takes place on the second day of the festival, in the evening of pole raising ceremony. On this day the family members of the deceased ones go around the city in a clock-wise direction with the butter lamp in the raw earthen bowls called *Palchha* in Newari. And due to the name of earthen bowl, this procession is also called *Palchha Biyounu* (meaning to distribute earthen bowl) as in Picture 4.26 and 4.27. The circumambulation takes place keeping the city in the right, keeping everything in left which does not belong to the city like fields, untouchable residence and newly formed suburbs (Hoek, 2014). According to the Slusser, it's the circumambulation of old city boundary where there used to be wall around the city of Kathmandu (Slusser, 1998). In the Picture 4.29, can be seen the map of the ancient Kathmandu with the procession route in the pink color. In this procession the family members of the deceased ones keep on placing the lighting butter lamp earthen bowl in the middle of streets, roadside temples, stupas and statues. So the family goes in-group who carries numbers of

⁴⁴ It was done on the 27th Bhadra (13th September 2014) at 2:03 am for the festival of 2014.

earthen bowl in basket, as the lights need to be placed along the whole route. Also along the route the temples, stupas and statues are decorated with lights, flowers and heap of *Sayme Baji*.

Some believe placing the light is to show the way to heaven to the deceased ones while some believe it's the way of getting rid off the impure spirits caused by death. The traditional music of every quarters of the city goes around the city. Some groups can be seen in the procession with chanting some religious rhymes, religious songs (*Bhajans*) with the incense sticks. The circumambulation takes from four to five hours as there can be seen a huge mass of people in the process.⁴⁵ When the circumambulation process came to the ending phase then the pile of *Sayme Baji* is distributed among the locals and also among the by passers.

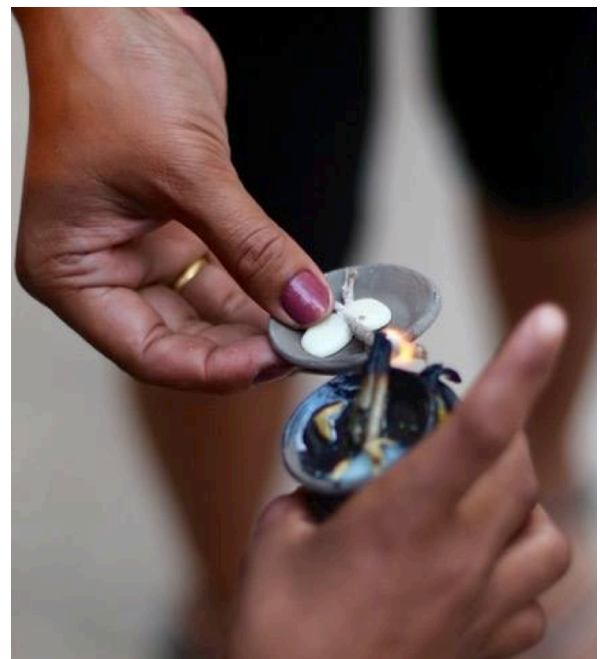


Figure 4.25(Left): Butter lamp in raw clay bowl is placed along the road. (Source: Author/2014)

Figure 4.26(Right): Lightening of butter lamp before placing on the road or in front of temples. (Source: Impact Production/ 2015)

⁴⁵ On 2014 I started the procession at 5pm and concluded on 10pm. The pick hour for the procession was from 4 pm to 8 pm.



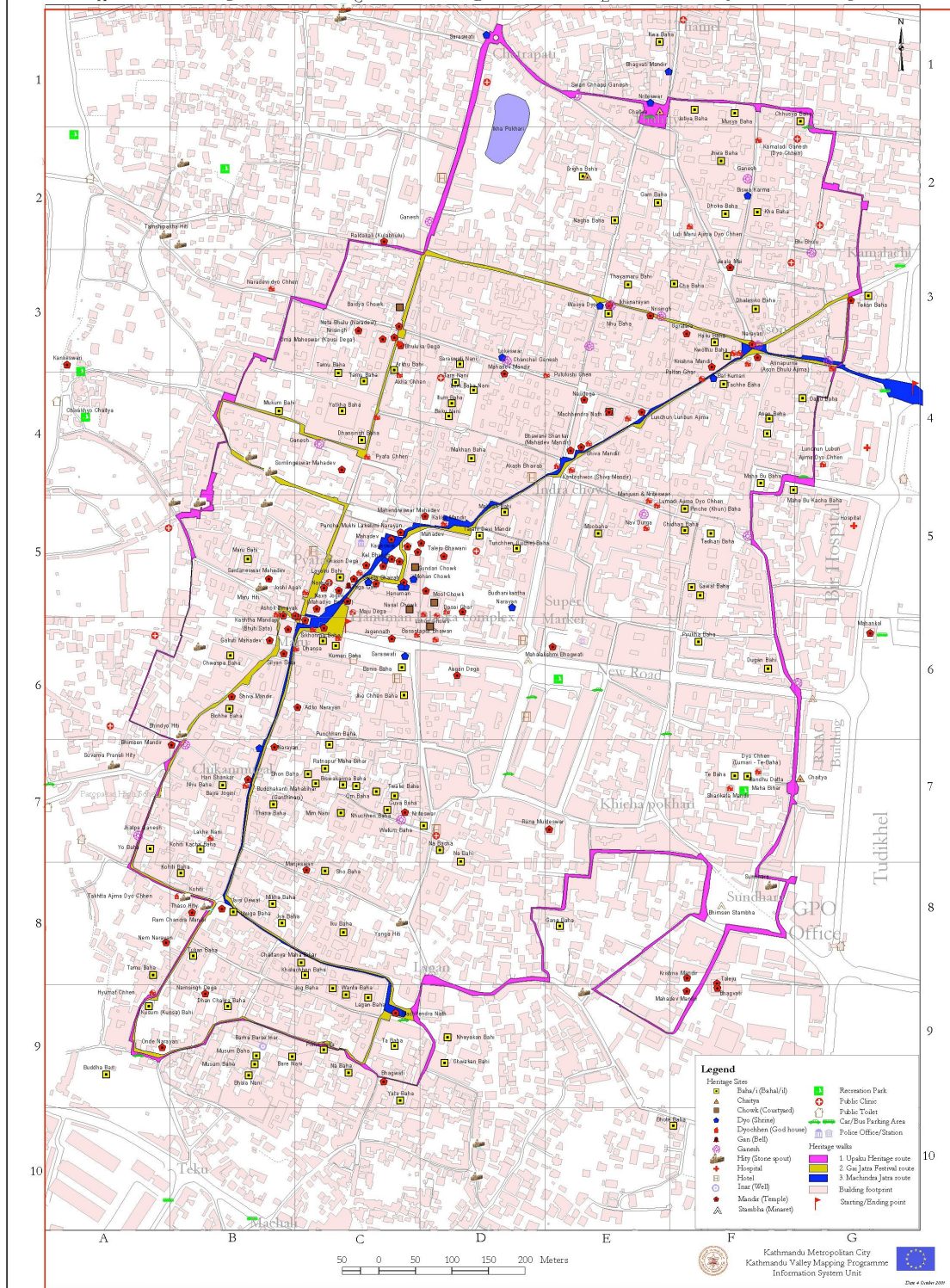
Figure 4.27: Small roadside statues decorated on the occasion of the *Upakhu* and in front of it is a heap of *Samyabaji* where the people offer lights, money, flowers and so on. Along the route all the temples and statues whether small or big are decorated. In many places can be seen the heap of *Samay Baji* which is distributed to the local after the end of the procession. (Source: Author/2014)

Figure 4.28 (Below): The Map below is of the ancient Kathmandu and the pink line shows the procession route of Upaku. (Source: Kathmandu Metropolitan City)

Map of Heritage Walks

Upaku, Gajatra & Seto Machhendra Festival Routes

Series 4



For this procession there is no requirement of organizing groups or Guthi but takes place as a part of social life of people or the part of the death rituals. But the local clubs and individual people are seen making arrangements for the people who takes part in the procession like by cleaning the streets before, arranging for water and so on. People who are seen providing drinking water along the roads are with the interest of obtaining piety out of the social cause.

Daagi Procession

This procession is also related to the family members of those who died that year. As the local tradition, Indra mother who came to rescue Indra after he was captivated by the farmer, then she not only gave fog and dew in exchange but also promised to take all the deceased soul to heaven but in the process of taking them she deceived everyone who were following her when the procession reached the place called *Indra Daha* (the pond in the nearby hill of Kathmandu which is now 30 km far from main city). Indra's mother is represented by a farmer dressed in the glittery dress as in picture 4.29, with a white mask called Daagi and a crowd of deceased families follows the God. People following Daagi throw grains (mixture of paddy, husked rice, barley, black soybeans, barley, popped rice), flower, coins and fruits cut in small pieces along the way. Still some people go to *Indra Daha* after the procession to take the holy dip.

The procession takes place in the night of Indra Jatra when the chariot procession of Kumari is complete. The route of procession is along the route of Kumari chariot in the Upper and lower part of the city. The responsibility of this procession is one family of Tamraker (copper worker) in the Maru that passes hereditary and the responsibility to be Daagi is for a farmer in Naradevei which has been also hereditary too. Before the procession the person to be Daagi receives the small rituals inside the God house of Daagi and then after he wears the custom of Daagi with mask. This ritual are private and not allowed for general people to observe. People are seen waiting outside the God house for the Daagi to come out. Then the Daagi is taken by the two people holding the two stretched

arms of Daagi. The procession of Daagi is very fast which is followed, by the family members of decreased once along with the music.⁴⁶ Daagi procession is started only after the Kumari chariot has passes through that area.



Figure 4.29: Procession of Daagi who is known as Indra's mother. The procession of the *Daagi* takes place in hurried way.

Baumata Procession

Baumata procession takes on the day of Indra Jatra after the Daagi Procession, so its take place very late. Baumata is the Baambo sticks made in form of snake with the pyramid shaped head as in picture 4.30 and 4.31. Along the pyramid head and the long sticks of bamboo tail, the oil lamps are kept. Once the

⁴⁶ During 2014 Daagi procession it was started at around midnight after the Kumari chariot procession was completed, then the rituals was done.

procession of Daagi takes place and reach a point not seen, then Baumata procession starts. According to the local belief the Baumata and Daagi should not come to face each other. Baumata also follows the path of Daagi both the lower and upper quarters of the city. Baumata is the process of showing the light to the remaining lost spirit to the way of heaven. Once they complete the procession it is kept in the same place of start i.e. north side of Kasthamandap.

The responsibility of Baumata is of Manandhar community of Laykhush (place near the old palace). Even it was late night (around 1 am) in 2014 there were number of old and young taking part in the Baumata procession. Youth both male and female were actively taking part in carrying the light in the long bamboo sticks in form of snakes.



Figure 4.30 (Left): Baumata being prepared by the Manandhar community. They wait until the Daagi procession start and goes out of sight. (Source: Author/2014)



Figure 4.31: Baumata procession being carried by the Guthi people. During this procession both male and female were present (Source: Author/2014)

e) The Chariot Procession of Kumari

Worshipping and chariot procession of living goddess Kumari is not only limited to Newar but also have a National interest. Young girl considered to be the living form of Goddess Taleju resides in the artistic house in the premises of Kathmandu Durbar Square, is regarded as the Kumari of King or the Royal Kumari. This Kumari has not only related to ritual and worshipping but also political linkages due to which it gets a special attention. According to *vamsavali*, the worshipping of Kumari in Human form was started by last King of Malla Dynasty Jayaprakash Malla even though the cult of Kumari was started much earlier which can be traced to sixth century (Allen, 1996, Slusser, 1998). There are numerous folklore regarding King Jayaprakash Malla on initiating the worshipping of young virgin girl as a Goddess. According one and most popular legend, King used to consult to goddess for any political issue and also he used

to play with her dice. As in those days Goddess used to be in the grown up women. Then one day King had a sexual desire for the Goddess that made Goddess so furious and she vanished. King repented his behavior so much that in a dream goddess asked King to worship Goddess in form of young girl. Then the King instituted Kumari in a artistic house built for her called Kumari Che (meaning house of Kumari) and started also the Chariot festival which coincides with Yenya Punhi festival. This process has been continuing till now.

Kumari is the human representation of Goddess Taleju also called Tulja, which is the tutelary Goddess of Malla King. Every Malla Kingdom has a temple for this goddess. And within Kathmandu valley there are many living form of Goddess Teleju i.e. Kumari. According to Allen in Kathmandu there are four Kumari (Royal Kumari, Kwa Baha Kumari, Kilagal Kumari, Mu Kumari), two Kumari in Lalitpur (Gah Baha Kumari, Sonima Kumari), Bhakapur (Ekanta Kumari, Wan Laeku Kumari, Tebukche Kumari), Deopatan (Ca Bahal Kumari), Bungamati Kumari (Allen, 1996). So in many places of Kathmandu Valley the worshipping of young girl present. But the Kumari of Kathmandu is different as being worshipped by the head of state. Other Kumari of different cities are worshipped in their respective festivals.

Kumari being a state affair, so the selection process is also is done by high level. Only the young girls who has not suffered any illness, no blood loss due to cut or wounds, which 32 perfections and belonging to pure Shayka (Buddhist) clan are selected. The selection committee includes Bada Guraju (Priest appointed by king who gives counseling to king in religious matter), Pancha Buddha (Five Vajraharya Priest), Priest of Taleju Temple and the royal astrologer. In add to the series of test and rituals, the astrological sign of girl should match with King to be the Goddess Kumari (Allen, 1996). Kumari is worshipped not only by king but also by commoner. The Royal Kumari is not only famous within Nepal but also outside. People worship her in every occasion, even in the house where she lives

and also brought out in some occasion. But the chariot procession is done only once a year for three days during Yenya Punhi festival.

The first day for the chariot procession is on the day of Indra Jatra. For non-Newars this is the main day of festival. Even the King has to attend the start of procession. Now head of state, President attends the festival for the start of procession from the balcony of Palace joined by dignitaries of various countries. The procession of Kumari is joined by two boys, which are also the representation of Ganesh and Bhairav. Kumari's chariot is a pagoda style three tire temple with huge wooden wheel and is pulled by people with the help of rope. There will be a main person giving direction on which way to pull. The chariot of Bhairav and Ganesh are smaller compared to Kumari with just one tire. Ganesh and Bhairav both have to undergo through series of rituals and need to wear their traditional dress, with hair being tied at the top. The two boys do not live in the separate house as Kumari but live with their family and goes to the normal school. But they wear traditional attire and perform their rituals as Kumari.

The procession of chariot is marked by fanfare and many pre-rituals. Two days before the start of procession the Goddess also with Bhairav and Kumari has to undergo through rituals. They are worshipped by the Karmacharya priest on the twelfth of the dark half of Bhadra in one of the upper room of Mul-Chwok which is within Hanuman Dhok Durbar Square. After two days on the day of Indra Jatra, the first procession of Kumari, the worshipping is done again but this time by the five Vajracharya Priest who are also called Pancha Buddha and accompanies her in her procession. The worshipping is done on her own *tantic* shrine room called *Aga*. All these rituals are secret and outsiders are not allowed to see it (Pradhan, 1986).

As Kathmandu can be divided into Upper half (*Thane*) and Lower Half (*Kwone*) with the Kings residence surrounded by many temples as a center place which joins the both half. There is the documented proof that Kathmandu is formed by

joining two cities Yambu and Yangala (Slusser, 1998). Still the local (Esp. older generation) refer the lower half as *Kwone* and upper half as *Thane*. The Chariot of Kumari along with Bhairav and Ganesh goes around the city one part at a time (see Picture 4.32). On Indra Jatra, the fourth day of the festival it goes around the lower half of the city. Next day on the upper half of the city. Then on the last day of the festival, eight day it takes a round of middle part of the city. In Picture 4.32, the line in pink is the route for the lower town, line in pink is the route for the upper town and the yellow represents the third route on the last day of the festival. The procession of chariot is very interesting to see; many people come to pull the chariot. The mask dance Lakhey and Kishi (while elephant) goes in front of the chariot both groups with their own music. Other dances also perform according to the route of Kumari. Kumari is welcomed along the routes by placing the heap of *Samey Baji* at different places. In addition to the different traditional local musical bands, the formal traditional army band called *Gurju ya paltan* also accompanies the procession. There will be the family feast along the route where Kumari makes her procession, as the families invite their relatives to watch the procession.

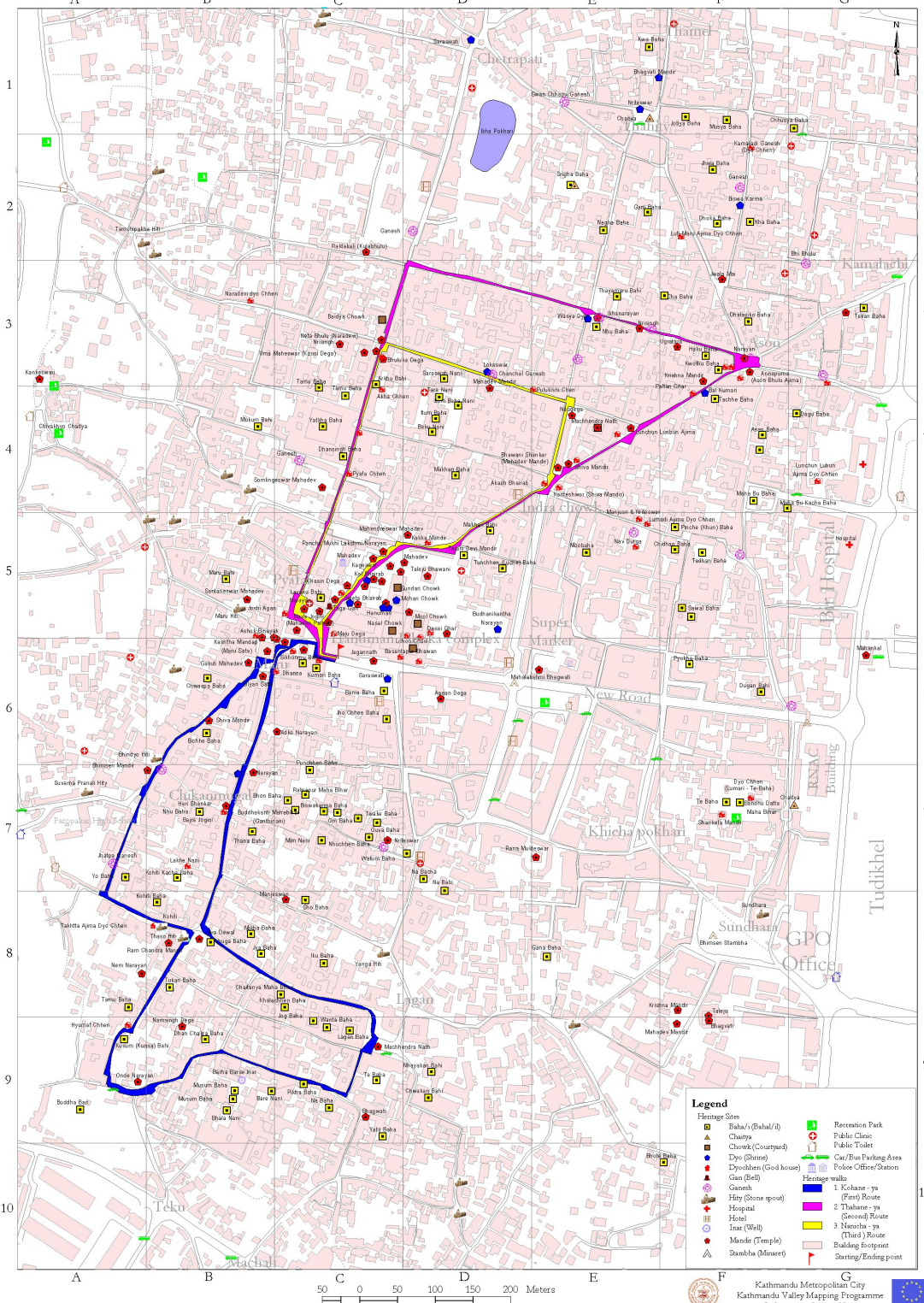
On the eight-day after Kumari returns to her residence after the procession, then the King used to visit her to take a blessing, which is considered as a mandate to rule the country. This tradition is still continued by the President seeking the blessings from her. There is also the oral saying that the Shah King who conquered Kathmandu when the whole Kathmandu was celebrating this festival. Newar people did not accepted Shah as a king until Kumari gave a blessing to him. So, Kumari being of national interest in the Kumari Guthi there are people from different caste involved such as Karmacharya, Joshi, Shakya, Maharjan, and so on. Kumari as well as Bhairav and Ganesh are given the monthly stipend. Even Kumari gets the salary when she no longer remains a state Kumari.

Figure 4.32 (Below): The Procession route of Kumari for three days divided according to the city plan. The Blue line of route is on 1st day of Chariot procession in the lower half of city, pink line on the second day upper half of city and middle in yellow is in the last day

Map of Heritage Walks

Kumari (The Living Goddess) Festival Tours

Series 3



There is also a folklore regarding the last day chariot procession. This last day of Chariot procession was added later. Some says its Malla king Japarakash Malla while some says the Rana Prime Minister Judda Sumsher had a concubine in the place called Kilagal and to show her the procession from her house this third day was added which passes through this area. It can be also true as a special ritual is performed on the seventh day of the festival where a cow is gifted to a Brahmin priest. And Karmacharya priest with an assistant Joshi priest performs the rituals. When inquired about this ritual to Karmacharya priest replied it was a purification ritual for Goddess Kumari for making a circuit of the city where she might have encountered with various impure things. And this happens before the she makes the last circuit that makes us to believe the folklore to be true.



Figure 4.33: The Chariots of Kumari, Bhairav and Ganesh are kept in the premises of Durbar Square. The taller with the three-roof chariot is of Kumari. These chariots are dismantled once the festival comes to end and before the start of the festival it is reassembled again. (Source: Author/2014)

f) Religious Mask Dances

As mentioned earlier the festival of Malla is not considered successful unless it entertains the people. In this festival there are many dances, which are in the form of divine Gods and Goddess, with the mask and beautiful glittery dresses. The characters are not just actors of the play but they acquire of the Gods and Goddess once they wear the divine dresses, jewelries and masks. Many people make offerings similar to the offerings made to Gods in temples. There are numerous troops which come to entertain and bless the people during this festival some even come outside the Kathmandu to participate in the festival. As many other mask dances of Kathmandu Valley, the dances are believed to be started by various kings to please the God and Goddesses, for the welfare of Kingdom as well as to get rid of deadly diseases like Cholera (Amatya, 2006). The various dance groups that can be seen during the Yenya Punhi Festival have their own legends of its existence and initiation. They have their own Guthi, own management; own auspicious dates for different rituals and places of performance but all have to come to perform in the Palace premises at least once during the festival. These dances tell, the story of god defeating the demon or victory of good versus evil. The mask dances which are still continued during the festival are as follows

Devi Pyakha

Devi Pyakha literally means dances of Goddess in Newari and most Newars prefer to call this dance as *Di Pyakaha*. These dances are performed by the Guthi of farmers and cow raising community of Kilagal in Kathmandu. This dance seems to be unique and much complicated compared to the dances performed during the festival due to the rituals and obligations associated with it. All the members of this dance group must belong to this Guthi and should follow the imitation and training. This dance is practiced in one of the courtyard of that locality (called *Bijapu nani*) one month before the start of the festival from the day of *Ghathamangal* (a festival to worship demon god). The exact date of this dance

is also not available as many other but the legends says that in an ancient time people started to die because of cholera and one night the king have a dream about a goddesses who told him to perform the dances for her in order to get rid of this deadly disease. Most people believe the King was Gunakama Dev who is also considers to be founding father of Kathmandu while Amataya says its King Pratap Malla as in the written songs for this dance there was mention about various Kings. Pratap Malla being the earliest King to be mentioned in the text so he came to the conclusion about the King to be Pratap Malla (Amatya, 2006a).

Although this dance has seven lead character as Bhairav, Chandi, Kumari, Daitya, Kawvacha (skeleton), Khya (hairy black ghost) and Betal (Ghost), but there are many numerous manpower like singer, various musical instrument players, person in charge of auspicious flames, kids to take care of masked deity and so on. All the dancers are considered as a God once they wear masks, jewelries and dresses. People come to bow at them and make offerings. So the rituals before the play are also many in add to the practice. They practice in the house of Kaji (leader or in charge of this Guthi), and some rituals also take place over there, which is not shown, to everyone. Then the practice by wearing just mask as in picture takes place before one week of raising the ceremonial pole in the courtyard, which can be seen by public. This dance is not performed in any place like other dances as they have specific place and date of performance. Even with so many days of preparation they are performed only for five days on specific dates as:

- First full dance is performed on the eight of the bright half of Bhadra. This is the first day during the festival where the dance group comes out with dress, mask, jewelry and flower head crown. Before they come out they have a worshipping in the house of *Kaji* and the dance performance starts from night which continues till the day. Only on this day they do the full performance. The place of full performance is in the *dabali* or platform of Kilagal after they perform briefly in the courtyard of Bijapu nani, then in the

courtyard of god of dance and music of that Guthi which they come there by dancing all along the way.

- The other day they perform is on the pole raising ceremony, which is 12th bright half of Bhadra, in the palace premises which is the short version.
- Then on the day of Indra Jatra also known as *Kowne ya* (meaning procession of Kumari Chariot on the lower half of city) in the platform of *Jaishi degal*.
- On the *Thane Ya* (procession of Kumari chariot in upper half) the next day after *Kone ya*, the dance takes place in two place that are one in platform of *Bangemuda* and the other later in the cross section of the road of Indra chowk to new road⁴⁷.
- The last performance is done again in the same place of Kiagal as the chariot of Kumari passes through this place on the last day.

The Guthi of *Devi Pyakha* partially overlap with the other Guthi of Kilagal with the same community called *Pulu Kishi* Guthi. Even though this play is very ritualistic and long, this Guthi does not have any God houses or any special places to put their musical instrument, ornament, dresses and masks. They are kept in the house of *Kaji* (person responsible for these things). For the preparing for dancers before practice in the courtyard and the initiation rituals before play, the Rajbhandari of the courtyard in *Bijapu nani* has provided one room of the ground floor, which has been continuing sine many generations.

⁴⁷ The crossroad of New Road and Indra chowk has an interesting story. As all this play is staged in the platform but this place is road and when asked to the elderly people they say that it used to be a raised platform before 1934 Earthquake (8.4 rector scale earthquake) and after which the Rana Prime Minister made a road and European style building with French windows. But people still have the memory of space which they are following till date.

In the Yenya Punhi festival of 2014, this dance was special because of it being twelve years celebrations. According to the Guthi members every twelve year the dress of God and Goddess has to be changes and with new clothes special rituals has to be performed due to which on the first day of dance with new dress, the ritual took longer time compared to other years. Also the Bhairav has to wear the real skin of tiger for twelve-year festival and they brought from the palace of former King. In the Picture 4.35, the God in blue dress Bhairav can be seen wearing a tiger skin.



Figure 4.34: Practice of Devi Pyakha Dance in the courtyard called Bijapu Nani which can be seen by outsiders. (Source: Author/2014)



Figure 4.35: Devi Pyakha Dance in the platform of Kilagal on the day of Kayasthami where the full version of this play is performed. The center God is Bhairav and is wearing the tiger skin because of twelve yearly festivals. (Source: Author/2014)

Pulu Kishi – Elephant Dance

Pulu Kishi which means Elephant made of Bamboo mat. This is a very interesting character of Yenya Punhi festival where the elephant made of bamboo mat with elephant head made of clay is taken around the city with two to four people inside it. As there are no holes to see outside by the people inside of bamboo elephant, there are people to guide and one person has to carry a burning flame. This elephant is followed by the music. Since *Pulu Kishi* does not have any complicated ritual dance, any people can be inside of it. But it's mainly by the people of that locality. Mostly male used to participate as it is notorious for running in the crowd, dashing anyone so people have to leave space for it. Now female are also seen leading the Pulu Kishi but not inside it.

The legend of this says it was the vehicle of God Indra who came to steal flower from earth. When the farmer captured Indra and the elephant went wandering for its master. So as a symbol of searching its master it goes running everywhere in the city. But other legend also says the place Kilagal used to be the place with many elephant and with the symbol of it the Pulu Kishi is taken out for the entertainment on this festival.

Pulu Kishi has a Guthi of its own, with the god house and temple in Kilagal. The mask of Pulu Kishi is kept in its God house and the body is placed in the nearby temple of Shiva. The rituals take place before it is taken out. Most of the people and the localities invite it to perform and worshipping. Before it was forbidden to cross the river or go outside the city boundary but now they go to receive the worshipping as the people of the Guthi started to live outside the old city boundary. They mostly follow the route of Kumari when her procession is taken but in other time it goes to the invited places. The Pulu Kishi procession is mostly taken into streets by the youth, as it needs to be running from one place to another place.

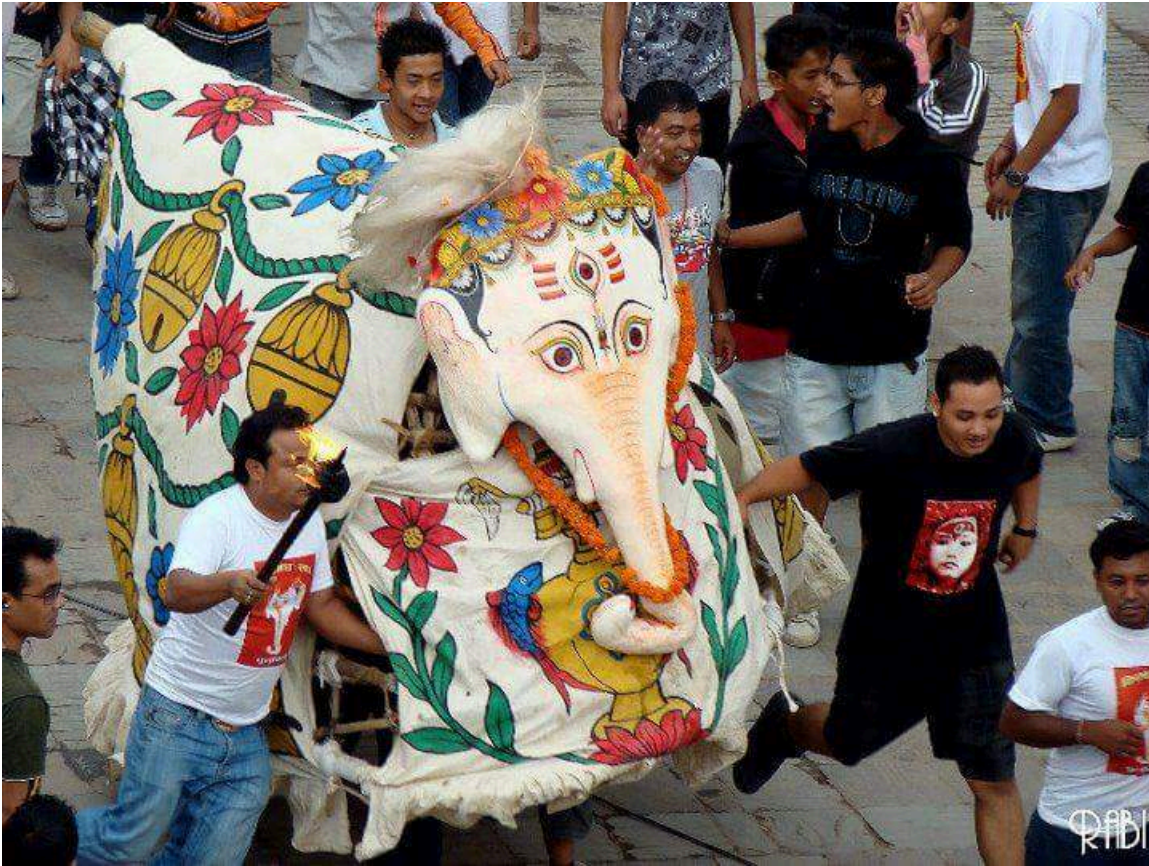


Figure 4.36: Youth taking Pulu Kishi on the Yenya Punhi festival. (Source: Rabi/ 2014)

Lakhy

Lakhey is the fearsome looking demon god with the read mask and read hair. Even though the look is dangerous form of God but was adopted to live with human and promised to live with human according to legends. Folklore says a demon fell in love with the farmer girl who used to live in Majipat (place in the lower half of city). The one-day people saw him with the girl and was caught by the people. He was later freed when he promised to help people and never to harm anyone. Now the Guthi of Lakhey is under the management of Ranjitkar (cloth dying community), which Guthi members says have exchanged with farmer community for the Guthi of Neel Bahari. Lakhey has its own house where its mask with hair in a box for the whole year and its worshipped every day. As most of the Guthi members left the Guthi now only one family member manages it with

eight to nine male members. The caretakers of one family of Ranjit now live in the same house and also responsible for the daily worshipping.



Figure 4.37: Lakhey dancing in the Lakhey Nani (courtyard of Lakhey) and in the background is house of Lakhey. (Source: Rekha Shakya/ 2014)

The dance of Lakhey is not so complicated but according to the people who perform as lakhey, the mask with hair is so heavy as there has to be support of cloth inside it and require lot of strength and energy. Even though it's called Lakhey dance but he is accompanied by a small boy called *Jhalincha* with round bells in this dress that tease him and Lakhey chase the boy. In the rhythm of dancing and chasing the mask dance of Lakhey becomes very interesting to spectators. Not only the Ranjitkar caste but also youngsters from different caste are allowed to be Lakhey and also this does not require much practice there are many young people who come to dance as Lakhey. Lakhey needs to be changed, as it's impossible for one person to dance and run with so much energy for the whole day with heavy mask and dress. There is no fixed route for the Lakhey but it follows the route for the Kumari as Lakhey is considered to be the person to show route for Kumari. On the second day of festival, it follows the route of Aapaku. Other than following Kumari route and Aapaku, it also goes to receive worshipping from the various invited places (RR_GM_2014).⁴⁸

Sava Bhaku/ Sweat Bhariav Dance

This is another mask dance whose main character is Bhairav with two supporting Gods called Sava and Bhaku, because of which this dance is also named as Sava Bhaku. The Bhairav being the Aakash Bhairav is also called Aarkah Bhariav dance. Local also call this deity as *dhinali simtam* due to the musical beat (Hoek, 2014). This Guthi comes from Halchwok, north-west hill of Kathmandu of Putuwar community. This dance come to the Kathmandu from the Halchwok for the festival and live in the house in Kilagal. Only Aakash Bhairav and Sava Bhaku carry the sword, which are real. These Gods used to be given a buffalo in the courtyard of the old palace. This buffalo sacrifice used to be in the form of bullfight. The bull used to be fed for the whole life in the dark room and then on the day of sacrifice it was fed liquor. Then the bull was set free in the courtyard and the three Gods used to kill bull and drink blood. This was also the form of entertainment for Kings and Ranas. There is confusion from when the

⁴⁸ The interview with Rajeeb Ranjit, the caretaker of Lakhey Guthi on 31st August 2014.

bullfight was stopped, the Guthi members says it was stopped after the Royal massacre in 2001 (SP_GM_2014).⁴⁹

This dance also attend the chariot procession ceremony of Kumari as the other dances in the first day. They go to the various places to receive the worshipping and dance there after which is also followed by the musical group.



Figure 4.38: Sava Bhaku receiving the worshipping from the devotes. Once the normal man wears the attire of the God is perceived by the local as God and gets the equal respect as of the God in temples. The God in Blue mask and dress is Aakash Bhairav and in red are Sava and Bhaku. (Souce: Author/2014)

Mahakali Dance

A troop of dance group from Bhaktapur comes to perform in Kathmandu during the festival. During there days they go to the various places in Kathmandu to show the play inform of dance. They are dressed in from of God and Goddess with demons all having a mask in their face. These dance are called Mahakali Pyakha. According to members of Mahakali dance there are six groups of

⁴⁹ Interview with Sanu Putuwar the Guthi member of Sava Bhaku on 12 September 2014.

Mahakali who comes to perform in Kathmandu for Yenya festival. All of them have to once preform in front of palace once during the festival. The performers are nine in number and many people who play the instruments and also some helpers, which make each group consisting of 35 to 40 people. They get invitation from the various localities within Kathmandu valley to preform in return of which they get some money. These dance groups comes before the festival and remain here until the festival is over.

This dance seems to be liberal compared to the other mask dances. According to this Guthi member, any person from Bhaktapur except the untouchables can participate in this dance. During the festival of 2014 it was seen even ladies dancing in one of the group. Even they go to performance in the different places like cultural events, national events and in hotels if they get the financial benefit, other than during Yenya Punhi festival.



Figure 4.39: Mahakali Dance from Bhaktapur preforming in Kathmandu Hanuman Dhoka Durbar Square. In the background can be seen the spectators who come to see the dances for every night at the premises of the ancient palace. (Source: Impact Production/2014)

Dus Aavatar

This is the show in which the ten incarnation of God Vishnu is shown in the temple called Vishnu Narayan. The stage is made in the plinth of temple, which are in shape pyramid. Every day from three to four incarnation is shown. In this show the actors are mostly teenagers and mostly the children of shopkeepers who come to work in Kathmandu from outside. The management of this paly is under the Shrestha of Jaishidegal. Now its seen that only one person is managing everything and this show does not require any rituals as other. The show starts very late around 10 pm and the children dressed in the different customs with props stand still for few minutes. Then after one incarnation then after changing the dress again the next incarnation will be shown.



Figure 4.40: Dus Aavarar performance by children in 2014 Yenya Punhi Festival. (Source: Author/2014)

g) Filling the gap, other small functions:

With so many celebrations or the sub-festivals within the bigger umbrella of Yenya Punhi, there are many other smaller activities, which take place in

community level or personal level. These activities are sometimes private affair or sometimes done in the public space. Some done in the level of Guthi like putting the lighting stand in various places, the bigger ones are placed in the palace area besides Maju Degal temple by Manandhar Guthi and other in the dabu of Naradevi by Maharjan Guthi. During the seven days of the festival, the oil lamp is lit in these multiple story lamp. Other than the bigger stand, there are other smaller stand are kept in the various places of Kathmandu especially in the street.

Smaller poles are also raised in different places of the city. Some of these are done by family only or some by Guthi as one yosi: is raised in the Thahiti by the Manandhar Guthi. Some Gods other than Bhairav are also displayed around the city. In the different temples and Stupas are worshipped by placing a heap of Samey Baji and also in the different open spaces. These Samey Baji are distributed among the local people and by passers after worshipping.

In the different places during the whole festival there are seen the groups of people singing religious songs. In some places a temporary platform is made by the road side for the traditional singers.



Figure 3.41: Mask of God Bhairav displayed in on of the shop within the premises of the ancient palace. This is being displayed by the private Guthi. (Source:Author/2014)

4.5 The Lost Intangible Heritage of Yenya Punhi

With the changing of time there has been some changes in the festival and some even went to have come not exist at all. The reason may be people not interested to carry out the functions while some were stopped due to the lack of funds.

a) Dabu Pyakha

Dabu Pyakha meaning stage play in Newari was a very popular play during the festival. These play were neither organized by Guthi nor had funds instead organized by the local youth. These youth used to write the play and also act themselves. To have a raised platform is very common in the old quarters so they were performed on those places. These play were not religious but used to be on the social issues but rarely on the political issue (because of the strict rule). Some of the play used to be so popular that these play used to be performed even after the festival. These play were allowed to perform only during the festival days and if it had to be performed in other days then they need to take permission from the Government. These plays were the very much popular due to the entertainment factor. But with the arrival of movies and TV, these traditional plays are no more shown.⁵⁰

b) Kha Pyakha or Khuma Pyakha

This is another dance that used to come without the mask but with crowns and glittering dresses like other dance group. The dance group consists of a group of unarmed gods and armed demons with swords and shields. They used to fight against each other and also among each other (Hoek, 2014). Most of the musicians and participants in this dance used to be from Khuma (potter community) that's why called Khuma Pyakha but the patrons were of upper caste Pradhan who used to be the participants also. This dance is now no more performed and most of the younger generations do not even know the existence of this dance.

The reason behind discontinuity of this dance was the fund crunch. Their dresses were so worn out and they did not have money for the new dress. The last time they had dress changed was on 1972 by the late King Birendra during his

⁵⁰ Interview with Mohan Krishna Dongol on 10th August 2014, local leader of Kilagal.

coronation ceremony (Hoek, 2014). As many other dances they used to go to different places to receive worshipping during the festival.

Chapter V

Living Heritage in the Changing Context

This chapter deals with how the festival is being organized now, in the changing context of urbanization, modernization and globalization. It will also try to do analysis of the recent major event related to the festival, how people took the initiatives for the continuation of the festival. The various overlapping institutions now involved with the festival, their complicated nature and the problems facing by the people because of the bureaucratic nature of the institutions. This chapter is much largely based on the fieldwork that I took in 2014 and also my direct observation and interaction with the people.

5.1 Management, Operation and Continuity of Festival

The festival *Yenya Punhi* on the whole is organized, managed and taken care by the indigenous Guthis. These Guthis have been continuing for the centuries or the time unknown. As discussed earlier in the pervious chapter the various activities function individually but for the outsiders every Guthi looks like working in the chain system. In the broader context of the festival everything seem to be connected as every activities complements each other. Every Guthi has their specific role in the festival for the specific task. These groups of people from specific community know their role in the festival and perform accordingly. There is no any written document regarding the roles but the living memories of individual Guthi and people make it moving.

The unwritten responsibilities for the festival, which have been passed on from the generations to generations, are continuing till date. The problem here is only the Guthi members who are responsible knows their work and the Guthi they are involved in. Not even the other Guthis or Guthi members know about what is inside of the other Guthi as they are separate body, which belong to the separate caste and form the separate locality. The unwritten history of the people and their

intangible heritage might be at risk if the proper care is not taken timely. The oral traditions and memories continued to be in continuation as Nepal remained enclosed in the time capsule due to the closed policy of the Government. Only after 1950s it had open policies and that too limited, the change that occurred are within just few decades. So this sudden and drastic change might not be able to accommodate the heritage in the memories of the people.

During the conversation with the Guthi members who were taking care of the festivals, the old people had still the memories how it used to be organized forty or fifty years back and the changes and threat they are facing. Even people talk about the twenty years back how the situation had changed. Some of the activities that has been lost during the festival which are only in the memories of the people, the younger generation even don't know what they mean. So this makes every conservationist feel the importance of the written heritage of the people which is not taken in as serious way by the nation. Some of the changes has been positive too during the festival but after going through the rough patch as will be discussed in the next session of this chapter. New change in this festival is also the intervention of the various formal institutions, which were non-existent before. Guthi, which used to be the independent for form the fund to the management, now has depend on the Government institution for the funding. But still all the organizations, management and decisions regarding it are in the community level.

People of Kathmandu Valley were mostly dependent in agriculture and trade before but with the changing context, different professions intervened and people are now open to a lot of opportunity. For the heritage also, its not only a social and ritual but the industries like tourism, has been playing a great role. Kathmandu being the capital city and most populated city is facing many challenges so its obvious to have many factors in the festival, which is so much, connected with the indigenous community. During the festival it was seen the role of the various wards in cleaning and repairing for the festival. Involvement of

the police for the security during the whole festival to avoid the unfavorable situation is one of the supports of Government institution. Hanuman Dhoka Durbar Square of Kathmandu being one of the seven monument zone in the World Heritage List of UNESCO, so the site office of Kathmandu also plays an important role as most of the activities are connected to the site during festival. This area being the ancient palace of Malla king and every activity must pass through this place as King always the center position.

So after the close observation of the festival in 2014, it can be said that there is not much government intervention in the organization of the festival. All the traditional Guthi are responsible for every activity. The formal institutions of the government who seem to have connection with this festival is in the monetary only which will be discussed in detail in the coming sections of this chapter. Instead people seem to have much grievances with the government institutions and Guthi members does not seem to have a good faith on them, instead most of the people speak against them.

5.2 Lesson learned: 2008 Yenya Punhi festival

Yenya Punhi Festival of 2008 caused the stir among the indigenous people of Kathmandu, probably the first time after 1768 that lead to the interruption of the festival. From the researcher point of view this event of 2008 was interesting regarding the management of the indigenous intangible heritage, people's outburst against government apathy towards the culture and the government response towards it. The revolution, which started with the sole decision of the Government, without consulting any people or groups that, will be affected by the decision. It also reflects the top-down management policy prevalent in Nepalese Government towards heritage of Nepal. The Guthi members protested against Government and interrupted on the last day of the festival in the year 2008. This unfavorable situation took spark due to the government decision to cut down all

the funds for animal sacrifice and optimize the funds for the rituals given to the different festivals and temples.

This section of the Chapter was largely based on interview with the person who took the lead in the 2008 peaceful revolution Mr. Mohan Krishna Dongol⁵¹ and other Guthi members who were actively involved during this protest program as Mr. Gautam Shakya⁵² and Mr. Rajeev Ranjit (Guthi member of Lakhey). Also various news articles from leading newspapers were referred as well. It was a known fact to everyone that there has been much dissatisfaction among the Guthi members regarding the funding by the Guthi Corporation and the concerned ministry for which they get fund for the operation of the festival. Amidst dissatisfaction, grievances and low budget the festivals has been in continuation without interruption for many decades. These all dissatisfaction and grievances took a fire with one decision of the government at that time, during the 2008 festival of Yenya Puhni. This festival of 2008 was interesting from the political point of view as well, as it was the first time other than King was representing as a head of state during the festival. After the fall of monarchy and establishment of the republic state from the Kingdom, in year 2008 President. Ram Baran Yadav represented as a head of state but could not continue the important ceremony for the head of state due to the protest of people not because of political reason but the government decision towards the culture of people.

⁵¹ Mr. Mohan Krishna Dongol is a Guthi leader of Kilagal community and a very well respected person. Also because he is well educated and senior member of the community. He represents the Pulu Kishi Guthi of Kilagal Community. He was the one who took lead in the protest program of 2008 and was actively involved in the negotiation with the government. The interview with him was taken in 10th August 2014 in his residence at Dallu and I met him several times in different places during my field visit. He was also very much helpful in giving me the reference of other Guthi members and other expert for my information.

⁵² Mr. Gautam Shakya is the current President of Indra Jatra Management Committee which was formed after the revolution. He is also the responsible person for the Kumari Guthi. The interview with him was taken on 11th September 2014 in the residence of Kumari as he lives there with his family in the residence of Kumari called Kumari Che:

To know the background of the event it is also important to know the political background of the country at that time. This was the time when there was the government led by Maoist. After they became the major political party with the highest number of seat in the election. The long ten years long so called People's Revolution by Maoist ended with the peace accord between the political parties, this was the first time after a long gap the chosen ones by the people came into the power. The financial minister was Dr. Baburam Bhattari and Prime Minister was Mr. Pushpa Kamal Dahal of Maoist while the president was Mr. Ram Baran Yadav from another party called Nepali Congress. Ministry of Finance gave the written direction to the Ministry of culture and reconstruction not to spend state's fund for any animal sacrifice and also to optimize the expenses for all the cultural activities (Bajracharya, 2009). This decision was taken before the festival which Guthi members were unaware of. Regarding the start of the protest program, the person who came to know first about the government decision Mr. Rajeev Ranjit⁵³ explained during the interview (RR_GM_2014) as:

"In the year 2008 when I went to take money that I had not taken and also to talk about the buffalo for the rituals on the last day of the festival then I was given the letter instead of buffalo. I asked them if you couldn't give the buffalo then give us money instead we will buy it. They said that it also couldn't be done. Then we went to Cultural ministry where no body responded, as they were busy there for some reason, which I don't remember. I had with me my uncle and we were discussing to sacrifice coconut instead of buffalo. Then when we came to talk with other Guthi member then every one said how could that happen? So they had the meeting on the premise of the Lakhey residence with Pulu Kishi and also Sawa Bhaku. As this was not just my problem but also this will be problem for everyone. Then everyone decided to do the peaceful protest program. As a protest we went to the durbar square without music, where the chariot procession

⁵³ Mr. Rajeev Ranjit is the Guthi member of Lakhey and he is also the caretaker of the Lakhey house and the rituals for whole year. The interview with him was taken on 31st August 2014 at Lakhey house at Lakhey nani. He was also the person who was actively involved in the protest process and meetings after that.

was to take place. When everyone saw them without music and start to inquire about it. Then I gave everyone the letter given by the Kaushitoshakhana, which I had made hundreds of copies. From them the revolution took off.”

The Government new strategy to save the state's money in the name of economic optimization landed it into a big trouble. Guthi member had the point that Government was not providing the expenses from its pocket, as the fund was from the income of the properties of Guthi which government took it as the process of nationalizing the lands. This decision proved to be the tipping point for the people to expose their grievances towards the government for its apathy towards the cultural heritage of the people. As we have discussed in the earlier chapter of the Yenya Punhi in detail about the rituals, ceremonies and process. For even a small event there has to be the series of rituals and worshipping before and after the major functions, which is seen by the outsiders. So after the end of the festival all the Guthi members has to perform a concluding rituals where they worship the god of dance and music called *Nasha Dhyo*, for which they have to sacrifice animal. During the festival, the Guthi members used to go to Kaushitoshakhana, the treasury department of Nepal for the money that is required in the end of the festival. Then in 2008 the government decision to stop giving money for animal made all the Guthi members furious and made them to take necessary steps for it.

The Guthi members on the last day of the chariot procession decided to do the peaceful protest. The lead of this protest program was taken by Mr. Mohan Krishna Dongol and according to his words about the protest

“Guthi members of Kumari, Lakey, Pulu Kishi all came out during the festival but without the music and mask in their hands (As music was the important feature of the festival). When the people saw the Lakhey, Pulu Kishi and Sawa Bhaku were there in the Durbar Square before the Kumari procession without music then spectators were shocked and confused to see it. Everyone started to talk and

inquire about it. Then the news of government cost cutting spread as a wild fire. First the protesters were only the Guthi members then the people who came to watch the festival and the local Newars supported it. The markets, shops and everything were closed in the old quarter of the city as a protest. The chariot procession of Kumari was not allowed to carry out but with the forceful intervention of army and police it took place but has to back due to the huge protest. Kumari and other gods were brought back in the palanquin by people to Kumari residence.”

Because of the protest the festival was interrupted, chariot procession of Kumari could not be completed, the pole lowering ceremony, which signifies the end of the ceremony could not be done and in add to that the main ritual for the head of the state to take the blessings from Kumari (*tiak*) was not done. The first president who was representing the state as other than king, which was the historic day in the context of Nepal where people worshipped King as an incarnation of Vishnu (Hindu God), could not be proceeded. The opportunity of Nepalese to witness the historic moment, receiving blessing as a mandate to rule the country by the common person (not born in Royal lineage) could not be possible on that year⁵⁴.

Then the next day, on 20th September 2008, the home minister and deputy Prime Minister of that time, release the statement, which stated that *“The Indra Jatra and Kumari Chariot has been considered as a significantly important heritage in the historical and cultural context of Nepal. These festivals have been always given the utmost importance and are treated as a symbol of pride by the Nepalese Government. The festival of Indra Jatra and other festivities related to it have been funded and provided resources by the Nepalese Government will continue to so. All of the expenses and the resources are provided by the Kosh Treasury. All of the Cultural festivals celebrated in Kathmandu in Laissez-faire*

⁵⁴ In the year 2007, both the King and the Prime Minister of that time both received the blessings from Kumari on the last day of the festival. And the year 2008 was the first time when King won't be receiving any blessings instead only the President.

manner will not be objected by the government of Nepal. Hence the Government of Nepal has shows their commitment in keeping the traditions and culture of Kathmandu Valley” (Bajracharya, 2009, p.21).

The statement of the government did not satisfied people; instead the statement gave sense to the people that the festivals were being celebrated from the funds of the government, which was not true. People were furious about the government, Kings and Rana’s taking over of the Guthi land using power, which was for the operations of the festival, and most of the remaining properties were within the authority of Government. Then by that time people were furious not only because of the government decision but also accumulation of all the grievances local community had towards the government like nationalization of property, embezzlement in the of the Guthi lands, lack of money to the Guthi people while government employee of the Guthi Corporation enjoying incremental salary every year and so on. The issue were not solved even with the government statement of correction of its last decision did not settle the protest (Bajracharya, 2009).

Regarding the elongation of the protest, Mr. Gautam Shakya (GS_GML_2014) clarified that:

“The Guthi members were bit settled when government revoked their decision and after meeting with the Guthi members in the Ministry of Finance but the hasty nature of government or to say the immature nature of Government to deal with the sensitive issue like culture once again backfired. The government with the help of army and police fell down the ceremonial pole in the premises of Hanuman Dhoka Durbar Square. This should have been done by in presence of Manandhar community as they were responsible for it, but they did not find it necessary. Even when we told them to do it the next day in presence of public, they neglected us and the consequences. The government interference did the

work of fuel in fire. Then the next day the protest program went more violent and strong when the public did not saw the yosi in its place.”

Later in the initiation of the former Ward Chairperson Mr. Bijaya Kumar Shrestha, the Guthi members of Pulu Kishi, Kumari, Lakhey, Sawa Bhaku and Yosi put forward their ten points for the government to end the protest program. The ten points raised by the Guthi members were the major issues the Guthi members were suffering but were mainly related to the Guthi of Yenya Punhi festival. The ten points as translated from Nepali from the high-level commission report as:

- a) Government of Nepal's finance ministry decision to stop all the animal sacrifice in order to cut the expenses which was passed by the ministry level decision could not be just revoked by the public statement of finance minister. As the decision will not be considered legal so the revoke of decision should be also come from the minister level;*
 - b) Any program regarding the Newar Culture should include the concerned people from the festival caretakers;*
 - c) All the materials being provided for the operation of festivals and rituals should be given according to the new market prices;*
 - d) The contract system should be ended for the cultural festivals and rituals;*
 - e) The decisions interfering the traditional festivals should be done alone;*
 - f) All the medical expenses should be covered for the injured people during the protest of Indra Jatra festival and should be given compensation;*
 - g) In the different department related to the cultural ministry, the department heads must be Newars who knows well about the Newar culture;*
 - h) The different gods and goddess ritual dances preformed as Pulukishii dance, Bhairav, Sava Bhaku Dance, Lakhey Dance and other dances during the Indra Jatra festival, their Guthi Houses should be reconstructed or renovated according the need;*
 - i) Connecting issues related to the Cultural traditions with the cost cutting that lead to the interruption of the festival. The inability of concerned minister to think in such issues should give a public apology;*
 - j) Peace and security should be guaranteed during the festival time*
- (Bajracharya, 2009; p. 22-23).

All these issues that were raised were not just the points to revoke the government decision but the concerned Guthi members tried to express the problems they are facing to continue the festivals and traditions. When the protester saw the government was reluctant to address the issues then they even announced the closure of Kathmandu Valley next day (on September 22, 2008). The protest got maximum support from the public as Guthi Corporation was blamed for the embezzlement of the Guthi Lands. Later when the government saw the protest would go to extreme, Government hold the talk with the protesters in the Ministry of Finance. The Finance Minister and Deputy Prime Minister apologized. All the ten points demanded by the protesting Guthi members were accepted by the Government with the additional four more points. Even many supporters were not satisfied with the talk team with government after this the protest program was called off and the remaining rituals of Yenya Punhi festival were carried out.

There were the two main outcome of this negotiation; one was to form the high-level study committee to know about the problems in continuation of Newar traditions because the concerned people raised the questions with the issues of legitimacy of Guthi Corporation. The other was later the committee called Indra Jatra Management Committee (*Indra Jatra Byasthapan Samitee*) for the operation of the festival was formed. The main aim of this committee was to come together the Guthis related to the Yenya Punhi Festival. At first only the major Guthi were involved but later other Guthi also joined. About the Indra Jatra Management Committee, it will be discussed later in this chapter.

The protest programs by the Newars were taken as a valid point as most of the resources of Guthi are now within government while some criticized it also. It got the mass attention and covered by the media a lot. Some media criticized as the money should be invested in the living but not to kill animals and all the culture (Aryal, 2008). While some news paper even wrote that it was the attack of Maoist government on the Newar Culture (*Nepalnews*, 2008). Even the International

media were covering the event with the news as “the Maoist government cut 100 Pounds in budget and are also being accused of Cultural Revolution” (Bell, 2008). Some media without knowing the real reason for the protest also wrote about there was no point in the elongation of the protest by the people (*HimalayanTimes*, 2008). But as a whole the media attention and the mass support of the people pressurized the Government to take the issues seriously and act quickly.

5.3 Indra Jatra Management Committee

Indra Jatra Management Committee was formed after the conflict of 2008 festival. The protest program was successful not only in revoking the Government decision but also was able to fulfill the demand of the Guthi members and Guthi members of different Guthi realized the need to uniting. After the protest program of Guthi members the serious questions were raised in the legitimacy of the Guthi Corporations and also regarding to the funds of the Guthi corporations. As already mentioned, the issue were not just the discontinuity of the fund for the animal sacrifice but many hidden issues continuing from the decades. So the committee was also formed for the evaluation of the integrity of the Guthi corporations whose report was given after a year. With this step, most of the Guthi members with major roles during Yenya Punhi festival came together as they can put their demand together. With this management committee, the main task was to get the money form the government together so that they don't have to got to the Cultural ministry individually. As according to the Guthi members, for them to get the money form the cultural ministry is very difficult.⁵⁵

Regarding the organization and management of the festival, the newly formed Indra Jatra Management Committee does not seem have much involvement. The

⁵⁵ Most of the people complain about the indifference of the officials in the Ministry. As most of officials do not belong to the Newar community and come out the Kathmandu valley. Even one of the respondent expressed that when they went to take the money for their Guthi then they were asked the question what is Indra Jatra.

committee's main responsibility seems to receive money on behalf of whole Guthi who are within the committee and divide according to the allocation. So this has made easier for all the Guthi members, not to go to the ministry repeatedly for the money. The positive outcome of the protest were the Guthi which were not getting money from the Government started to get the money from the next year of the Yenya Punhi. In add to that the Guthi which were getting less money were also raised. The list of the amount allocated to the present Guthi can be seen the table below with the amount they used to get and the demand they made during the protest. But during the interview with the Guthi members it was found now most of them are getting higher amount than mentioned in the list given by high level commission report, as Lakhey and Pulu Kishi is getting one lakh each.

Table 5.1: Amount allocated to the Guthis by the Ministry of Culture as of 2009⁵⁶

S.N.	Guthis involved	Before	Demanded	Now
1.	Devi Pyakha Guthi	34,000	1,26,400	16,000
2.	Pulu Kishi Guthi	4,400	74,000	23,000
3.	Svet Bhairav Guthi	6,000	15,200	37, 000
4.	Manandhar Guthi (for yosi and other)	1,500	60,285	30,000
5.	Dus Aavatar Guthi	40,950	4,86,680	9,000
6.	Lakhey Guthi	23,432	1,54,300	86,200
7.	Sawa Bhaku Guthi	43,800	4,65,000	86,200
8.	Kumari Guthi	4,267.50	38,620	38,620
9.	Daagi Guthi	0	-	2000 (7,000)

When this committee was formed it has the members as Kumari Chariot procession, Pulu Kishi, Sawa Bhaku, Lakhey, Devi Pyakha, Dus Aavatar, Daagi, Baumata, Aakash Bhairav and Svet Bhairav. Later other Guthi also came to the committee as told by Mr. Shakya like Baka Bhairav. Also the mask dances from the Bhaktapur which comes to perform during the Yenya Punhi festival in Kathmandu, even though till now they are not within the committee their money is also collected by the committee and handed to the respective Guthi. The dance groups were six of Mahakali dance and one of Ram Chandra dance from Bhaktapur. According to Mr. Shakya the management committee still welcomes other Guthi members who are responsible for the Yenya Punhi Festival to come under the committee.

⁵⁶ The table was taken from the high-level commission report of 2009.

The committee also is helping to pressurize the concerned authority to fulfill its demand which they put forward during the negotiation with the government. One of it was to repair or reconstruct the God houses and temples of various Guthis. It supported the Guthi like Lakhey, Sawa Bhaku and Pulu Kishi to renovate their houses with the funding from government institutions by pressurizing the Government. As Mr. Rajeev Ranijt informed that the house of Lakhey Guthi was rebuilt with the help of Department of Archeology and Guthi Corporation whose main credit he gives was to the committee.

In addition to the support they are getting from the Cultural Ministry now they are also getting the money from the site office of the Hanuman Dhoka. According to Mr. Shakya for the first time in 2009 they received 2 lakh⁵⁷ rupees and in the year 2014 they received 4 lakh. As all the Guthi is around the Hanuman Dhoka Durbar Square and festival takes place mostly in this area so they are also liable to help them. So it seems this revolution by the Guthi members seems to bring the positive aspect of unifying all the Guthi members. All the Guthi still have their own function and their responsibilities are still traditional. They meet once a year before the festival officially for the festival as an interaction in presence of Guthi Corporation. They are provided space for the office during the festival time but this is also controversial according to the present president.

According to the present director of the Indra Jatra Management Committee, Mr. Gautam Shakya, still the decision after the protest was made in haste and they were not still so much thoughtful about the future of Guthi and the raising market price. Even though according to Mr. Mohan Krishna Dongol, they demanded for the yearly increase of 10% of what they are getting to meet the raising market price but Mr. Shakya said this has not been implemented yet. But he also mentioned that the Ministry had promised to raise 20% in the festival of 2014. There are still many grievances among Guthi members with the concerned

⁵⁷ As of conversion rate of 29th October 2015, 1 Euro = 114.61, one lakh is equivalent to 872.52 Euro.

government officials. Formation of IJMC brought many changes but the management as in its name just seems to be in name only. They do not seem to manage anything except with the funding issues. Even it is not able to incorporate all the Guthi members of Yenya Punhi festival. There are still Guthis and priests who have deep issues with Government, Guthi Corporations and IJMC. These issues lead to the disputes again during 2014 festival, even halted the initial ritual of Kumari that will be discussed in detail in the next sections. Still there are dissatisfactions among the Guthis within IJMC also, regarding the amount they are getting compared to their responsibilities and expenses during the festival. One of them was Devi Pyakha of Kilagal. The Guthi members told me that now they are going out of the Committee, as they are not satisfied with what they are getting but Mr. Shaky showed unawareness about this issue, instead he replied most of the Guthi members are not getting the sufficient money.

5.4 Tangled involvement of formal institutions

Traditionally all the management and the funding for the festival were in sole control of the Guthi members. With the political change there came many changes in the funding of the festivals and Guthi members. Even though the source of funds changed, the responsibility of the local Guthi members remained unchanged. Now with there has been the involvement of the various formal governmental and non-governmental institutions but are only limited to financial or material support. These institutions came to be linked with the cultural heritage and with the indigenous system due to the changes in the governmental policies. The involvement of these institutions with the traditional Guthi are not easier and straight as it seem. Some Guthi only gets material support form some institutions while some gets monetary support form some institutions or some get both monetary and material support form different institutions.

Royal Palace

The Country where people are connected with Kings and Royals, so heritage does not complete without mentioning Kings and Royals. Since the Malla or even before them, King and Royals was always the major patron of the festivals and dances. Even the festivals started by the Malla Kings were continued by the Shah Kings (the reason for this is more political than cultural). The support provided by the Royal palace continued until Nepal became the republic state. According to the High commission report, the Palace used to finance the education expenses of Kumari, animal sacrifice for Sawa Bhaku and so on. Even with the individual Guthi for the financial needs, King was important because of the rituals associated with it. In most of the major Newar rituals Kings used to be present and were patron of it. Later when the Shah rule took over Kathmandu Valley, in order to legitimate their rule did not interfere in their culture but some Shah ruler even added to the Newar culture like King Rana Bahabur Shah in the Yenya festival as mention in the earlier chapter of Yenya Punhi. Shah King continued to be the patron of the festival but not as active as the Malla Kings. Shah Kings were accused of confiscation the land of Guthi for the use of royal Families. The King, who took over the Valley, even distributed the lands of Guthi who helped him to conquer Kathmandu Valley. (Bajracharya, 2009)

But still it seem Royal Palace had a major role until the country became republic. The rituals and worshipping sent to the deities by the Royal Palace were also important. In add to that some of the dance groups also used to get their clothes for the god and goddess form the palace. During the coronation ceremony of King Birendra, Kha Pyakha that is now performed no more was given the dress was the last time it received the help from any government or Royal (Hoek, 2014). The contribution made by the Royal Palace were not the major but were helping to maintain some of the rituals. Also Bajracharya mentions the help provided by the King was also out of moral obligations as they had confiscated many properties of temples and Guthis. Most of the dance groups informed that the dress required which were changed every twelve years were given by the

Royal Palace. Also to perform the rituals when they need the tiger skin, the Royal palace provided them. As in the festival of 2014, Devi Pyakah had their twelve yearly rituals in which they changed their clothes and the tiger skin was still provided by the Palace even though King did not played any role in it.

The gold coins that king used to offer the Goddess Kumari on the last day of the festival while receiving blessings is now provided by the Government office called Kaushitosh Khana. Now, President represents the king so the offering of the gold coin by him is provided by the Government. As some Guthi members even expressed that it was better when there was the king as when they need something at least there was a hope to go for the king for some rituals and clothes for the God but now the government employees does not understand their culture. But Ms. Sarashwoti Singh⁵⁸ clarifies these statements, as now when there is no more monarchy, it is impossible to verify what King used to give before. Anybody can say anything and that might be true also.

Guthi Corporation

The important body in terms of the finance for the festival seems to be Guthi Corporation. According to Director of Guthi Corporation, Mr. Pannalal Maharjan⁵⁹ Guthi Corporation is responsible for providing support to the Guthi in two ways one by providing necessary materials for rituals and next by giving directly money to the responsible Guthi in the form of wages. For providing necessary materials Guthi Corporation appoints the contractor to supply required materials for the various Guthi. Most of the Guthi members have the problem with the contractor, as they do not supply the materials required for the rituals. But Mr. Maharjan says they could come to Guthi Corporations to complain against such problem so

⁵⁸ Ms. Sarashwoti Singh was the director of Hanuman Dhoka Palace Museum and also worked in the Department of Archeology. The interview with her was taken on September 2014.

⁵⁹ Mr. Pancha Lal Maharjan was the director of the Guthi Corporation during the time of interview. He is an advocate and was politically appointed to that post from the Government of Maoist. He was the first Newar to be appointed in that post.

that they can take the necessary action. People knowing the bureaucracy of the Corporation are reluctant to do so.

According to Mr. Maharjan Guthi regarding the management of festival, the Guthi Corporation calls the meeting to all the Guthi members to organize the festival well. It is also the way to know the situation of the preparation for the festival. While Guthi members disagree with that statement as even before the meeting the preparations of festival will be stated and it's just a formality and they don't interfere or support in organizing the festival. Regarding the dissatisfaction of the Guthi members with the support from the Guthi, Mr. Maharjan agrees with the people and said some are actually in problem while some just pretend to be.

Kaushitoshakhana

The unit inside of Ministry of Finance is also responsible for funding of many daily rituals, yearly, twelve yearly, one-time funds (this is given once every ten or four years for clothes and other support) for festivals, rituals and dances. They are also responsible for giving salary to priest and helpers of some temples and monuments. Apart from this they are also responsible for giving goods required during the various rituals, dances and festivals, which also includes providing the animals for the animal sacrifices for the rituals. Not all the festivals and rituals get support from this institute. Some Guthi member say there was the division of the Guthi between Kaushitoshakhana and Guthi Corporation for funding while most of the Guthi members are unaware about the reason behind the two institutions.

During the festival of Yenya Punhi, Kaushitoshakhana provides material support for Devi Pyakha Guthi, Lakhey Guthi and Sawa Bhaku Guthi. In add to this they also provide animal required for the sacrifice for other temples and festival rituals during the Yenya Punhi festival.

Ministry of Culture and Foreign affairs

The Ministry of Culture was also funding some of the rituals and dance groups during the various festivals. As for the Yenya Punhi festival it used to give fundings to some of the dances like Lakhey (Rs.13,800 =120 Euro) , Sawa Bhaku (Rs.13,800 =120 Euro), Dus Aavatar (Rs. 20,000 = 174 Euro) and Pulukishi dance (Rs. 4,400 = 38 Euro) from Kathmandu, and to all the seven group of dances from Bhaktapur that is six Mahakali dance groups (Rs. 22,670 = 197 Euro) and one Ram Chandra dance (7,000= 61 Euro) (Bajracharya, 2009). According to the Guthi members to collect money form the ministry was very difficult task, as in their terms the officers in the ministry had the intention of giving them unnecessary problems. They had to go many times to collect the money. Also most of the officers in the ministry are from outside the Kathmandu Valley and their first language is Nepali (most of them don't understand Newari), and some of the old Guthi members are not so fluent in Nepali. Maybe because of the language barriers also they had problems.

Now with the revolution of the 2008, the Cultural Ministry is giving money to few more Guthi members. And now the money goes directly to the Indra Jatra Management Committee so they don't have to go individually to the ministry to collect the money. Also the ministry had increased the funds for the dance groups that used to get from the Ministry. Apart from funding, there are no any role of the Ministry in the festivals and rituals. According to Ms. Sarashwoti Singh, Department of Archeology (DoA) was responsible for providing funds instead of Ministry but now DoA was responsible for only the tangible heritage as the work division related to intangible was sifted to the Cultural Section inside the Ministry of Culture. Guthi members also have the problem with the ministry regarding the funding that it is very difficult to get even the assigned money and they have to face many problems due to the office staff⁶⁰. Also form the ministry the Guthi gets money very late, sometimes even four to five months after the

⁶⁰ This experience was shared by the Guthi members of Mahakali Dance of Bhaktapur during the interview.

finishing of the festival. Almost all the Guthi members shared this problem. It seems due to the formal processes people are getting many troubles and also seem lack of coordination between the Guthi members and the Ministry staff.

Hanuman Dhoka Durbar

Most of the activities of festival happen around the Kathmandu Hanuman Dhoka Durbar Square. As it used to be the palace of the Malla Kings, it was the center of all the activities. Kathmandu Hanuman Dhoka Durbar Square being one of the seven sites of the Kathmandu Valley World Heritage Site attracts many visitors from around the world. The site office is also collecting the entrance fees from the tourist, which is in the considerable good amount. So it is also responsible for the funding during the festival. As told by Mr. Shakya, during the festival of 2009 the first time they gave to the Management committee was two hundred thousand rupees (1739 Euro) and in the year 2014 they are promised four hundred thousand rupees (2478 Euro), which they divide among the Guthi according to their work functions.

It was also seen that the site office was responsible for the coloring, changing the red color clothes in the temples and the minor repairing around the Durbar Square before the festival. During the informal conversations with the Guthi members during the festivals it, they were complaining about the unnecessary expenses the Site office was making. Like painting at the unnecessary places in the temple area. The painting at the wooden windows were seen unsupervised and the workers were painting as they want, with painting overflowing in the walls of temples. While during the informal talk with Mr. Nirmal Baral⁶¹ said that 50-60% of the financial supports for culture is spend during the festival of Yenya Punhi. The site office also gives support for many clubs and social organizations. He expresses his frustrations regarding the groups who come for the money as

⁶¹ Mr. Nirmal Baral, a civil engineer staff at Kathmandu Metropolitan City stationed at site office of Kathmandu Hanuman-dhoka office.

“One day you sit in the office before the festival then you will know how many people will come for the money. Everyday there comes around 20-25 groups for the money”

Within four wards of 19, 20, 23 and 25, where the Durbar Square touches, the site office is providing the funding for them. Some people also complained that when the Kathmandu World Heritage Site office was formed and started to collect money from the tourist, its main agenda was to support these four wards. Now with the increase in collection and amount everyone wants the share in the money.

Kathmandu Metropolitan city

Kathmandu Metropolitan City is also providing financial support for different festivals the responsible being for the Site office. Also it gives funds for cleaning, painting and as such in the temples and monuments. In add to that it has been providing the funding for the various social organizations and clubs apart from the everyday rituals for temples and monuments. According to the high-level committee report, KMC is also giving salary for Kumari and her caretaker. Also for the different Guthis in various festivals and for Yenya Punhi festival it have been funding one time every year for Kanga Ajima Guthi, Nil Bahari Guthi, Dus Aavatar Guthi, Lakhey Guthi and Sawa Bhaku Guthi (Bajracharya, 2009).

Apart from the institutions that have been discussed there are also other institutions which have roles during the festival. The Nepal army also supports by providing the traditional musical band and traditional troop of army called “*Gutju ya Paltan*”, which are now under *Shardurjunj* battalion of Nepal Army. They have responsibilities with the events related to the ceremonial pole as well as during the chariot procession ceremonies where they make procession before the chariot. Also Nepal police also helps to provide the security during the festival. But according to the locals and Guthi members the security is not sufficient. Due to the lack of security, they do not display Gods as they used to do before.

Hanuman Dhoka Palace Museum also, seems to have some responsibilities even though the director of the Museum Ms. Singh says the palace does not have anything to do during the festival. The staffs that are working inside the Palace have some work responsibilities during the festival. Like the person who carries the sword of Malla King representing the King during Chariot processions and pole raising ceremony is a permanent staff of Museum. While in other days he works inside the museum but during the Yenya Punhi festival he has to preform his duty. Also one of the staff form Palace Museum is also responsible to take attendance of the dances that has to perform everyday during whole festival. According to Ms. Singh, this registry is also just formality and nobody checks it and it has not to be presented anywhere.



Figure 5.1: The youth on left of Pulu Kishi Guthi with T-shirt representing their Guthi. During the festival many Guthi youth were seen wearing T-shirt of their Guthi. (Picture: Rekha Shakya/ 2014)

Now with the various institutes like banks, corporations booming in Nepal, they are also supporting the various groups during the festival. During the festival of

2014, it was seen many Guthi members wearing T-shirt with the name of their Guthi and picture representing their Guthi in the front as in the above Picture 5.1, with the name of sponsoring organization at the back of the T-shirt. Through this it was easier to identify which Guthi, the person belong to and people also seem to be proud of representing the Guthi. This was mostly seen with the younger generations while the older generations prefer to wear their traditional dress.

Many institutions seem to be supporting either in cash or in kind to the various Guthi, but still according to the Guthi members this was not enough. Some Guthi actually seem to lack the support while some seem to be pretending to receive less support. The money and goods they receive from the worshippers are never calculated. The Goddess Kumari seems to receive a lot of offerings not only during the festivals but also during the everyday worshipping. But still the son of caretaker complains about the money they get from the Guthi Corporations that is seven rupees. Some Guthi like Pulu Kishi who was reluctant to receive money from the Ministry of Culture before formation of Indra Jatra Management Committee and the amount was just Rs. 4,400. The reason behind it must be they are well enough to fund their own festival as they have a God's house, which is in the main road, and they receive a good sum of money as a rent. While there are many such Guthi also which does not receive sufficient help from any institution and also they don't have any properties in their control to cover their own expenses.

With many government institutions playing role in the intangible heritages of Kathmandu Valley and mostly with providing financial and material assistance for its continuity does not seem to be solving problems. As these institutions seem to be not related to each other and most of them are just fulfilling their deities what they have been assigned to. These institutions do not have coordination among themselves. Also most of the people who come to the post of the government do not seem to have much knowledge about the heritage of people according to the

Guthi members. Also, the coordination mechanism does not seem to be initiated by any concerned body or government.

5.5 Yenya Punhi 2014 Conflict

The Conflict of 2014 was not in the huge scale as of the year 2008. Priest of Taleju and other temples within the premises of Hanuman Dhoka Durabr Square made a press conference inside the palace on 5th September 2014 (a day before the pole raising ceremony) that head priest of Taleju will not perform the rituals until their demand are not fulfilled. Karmacharya Priest, the responsible for performing rituals to Kumari before the start of the festival did not performed, and without which other rituals and chariot procession would not be preceded. This section is based on my field observation, and during the debate and the discussions between the Guthi Corporation and local Guthi members I was also present. But later during the final negotiation of the meeting, including me no one was allowed other than Guthi members with issues. But later I managed to catch up with the information about the negotiation through the present Guthi members. The Karmacharya priest took that step protesting against the salary he was getting from Guthi Corporations and issue with order of precedence of Priest. He was also supported by the other priest from the Taleju temple, priests of the temples within the palace premises⁶² and helpers. According to them even with the repeated request to the Guthi Corporations about their issues it was not taken seriously which led to the obstruction of rituals.

On the morning of pole raising ceremony, 6th September 2014, the issue became a heated debate. During the ceremony huge mass was present along with the Guthi members who have the responsibilities for the rituals during the pole raising ceremony and also the director of Guthi Corporation Mr. Panchalal

⁶² There are many temples, small and big within the palace of Hanuman Dhoka Durbar Square. As all the Malla's King Palace was surrounded by the deities and temples. So these temples had the individual priest and also the priest belong to various caste but all the priest were of high caste.

Maharjan with other Guthi officials. Also there was the presence of national and international media. The presence of director of Guthi Corporations during the pole raising ceremony happened after a long time as according to Hoek, until 1956 King and the government officials used to be present during the ceremony (Hoek, 2014). According to Mr. Maharjan, during informal conversation told that it was not usual or mandatory for the director of Guthi Corporation to be in the pole raising ceremony but he was there because of his own wish and also to know the situation. So people took this opportunity to put their problems to the Guthi Corporations but they waited until the end of pole raising ceremony.

The Guthi members started to talk about their problems and situations with the Director in presence of the media. Some people started to be bit aggressive so later the immediate meeting was called inside the palace between the Guthi members and the Guthi Corporation officials. This news was covered by various media and the situation even became a bit tense. So to solve the issue and not to make situation worse an immediate meeting was called among the Guthi members along with the Priest of Taleju and officials of Guthi Corporations inside the Hanuman Dhoka Palace as seen in Picture 3 below.



Figure 5.2: The Guthi members presenting their issues in front of Guthi Corporation officials and media people. (Source: Rekha Shakya/ 2014)

Most of them had the same problem of insufficient funds and very less salary. These all temples within the palace are closed for the general people but has to be carried out the regular rituals in addition to the special rituals in the specific time of the years. During the meeting everyone presented their problems in front of everyone and director and board members of Guthi Corporations. The priest of Taleju who seem to be well educated presented his problems in the diplomatic way while the other who were young Guthi members were in harsh tone. Later the media persons and outsiders were not included in the meeting and only the Guthi members were present for the final meeting. Most of them had complain regarding the remuneration for their work as priest. They were still getting what they used to get decades ago while the market prices had reached sky high. During the meeting all these issues came forward which was not new thing to anyone of nether Guthi members or to the Guthi Corporations staff.

After almost three hours of discussion and meeting they came to the agreement. The agreement can be seen in the picture 5.3 below. I had to take a picture of the agreement, as it was the quick and only assured way to get the copy of it. If I had to get the hard copy of it then I would have to wait a long and there was also no guarantee to get that one. According to the two-point agreement that was signed by the Guthi members and the Guthi Corporation staffs were as,

- a. Within the six months of Priests would be categorized according to the Guthi Act of 2033 and will be given appropriate facilities.
- b. Main Priest, Priests and helpers remuneration would be revised and reconsidered according to the recent market prices within six months. The obstructed rituals will be continued from today.

The conflict settled without getting much mass attention and addition of more conflict. The Guthi Corporation director assured the members to implement the agreed points. Since the main Priest of Taleju was still getting Rs 500 (which was less than 5 Euro), as a monthly salary. And when I asked to some Guthi members by the end of festival of 2014 about the agreement to meet their demand. Then they said that it was still in the paper and no further improvement was made till date.

अज निमि 206वा 189 गते छि सैनु मन्दिरका
 मूल पुजारी महिने कुरबन्दा र मर्यादाक्रमको विवरणलाई
 उहाँसु परम्परादेखि नैले नुमन्त्र रूपमा आफूलाई गर्दै
 आफुको पुजा आजा रोकिएको विषयमा सरकारीवालाहरु
 बसो तपोरुल बमोजिमका बुदाहरुमा सहमत गरियो ।

तपोरुल
 १. आगामि मागु देखि हलाभित पुनःसिद्धि कीर्तिकृता
 पञ्चानन गुरु सन् २०५९ बमोजिमको सुविधा सहितको
 अर्घ्य मर्यादाक्रम कायम गरिनेछ ।
 २. मूल पुजारी लगायत अन्य पुजारीहरु र सुदारीको हलुकाय
 रवान्का हरकुदोमा पुनरावलोकन गरी बुदा न१ बमोजिम
 को समझौता समझा राखिने नभो हरकुदो कायम गरिनेछ ।
 सामु समझौता प्राप्त भइसकेपछि अर्घ्य सुचारु गरिनेछ ।
 उक्त सुझावको तयारी

३. अर्घ्य र रत्न प्रसारण
 को प्रचलन सहित
 ४. संचालक समितिले सहज्य
 को उत्तम कुमार वरुनेत
 ५. स.प्र.को रत्न प्रो.डेल
 ६. स.प्र.को रत्न प्रो.डेल
 ७. स.प्र.को रत्न प्रो.डेल
 ८. स.प्र.को रत्न प्रो.डेल
 ९. स.प्र.को रत्न प्रो.डेल
 १०. स.प्र.को रत्न प्रो.डेल

११. स.प्र.को रत्न प्रो.डेल
 १२. स.प्र.को रत्न प्रो.डेल
 १३. स.प्र.को रत्न प्रो.डेल
 १४. स.प्र.को रत्न प्रो.डेल
 १५. स.प्र.को रत्न प्रो.डेल
 १६. स.प्र.को रत्न प्रो.डेल
 १७. स.प्र.को रत्न प्रो.डेल
 १८. स.प्र.को रत्न प्रो.डेल
 १९. स.प्र.को रत्न प्रो.डेल
 २०. स.प्र.को रत्न प्रो.डेल

Figure 5.3: The copy of agreement between the Guthi Corporation and the Priest. This agreement was reached almost after three hours of meeting and discussion. (Source: Author/2014)

This repeated issues like this must be solved before it gets critical. Some Guthi members were even complaining that to organize the festival they have to use their own money as the money given by Guthi were insufficient. It is well known problems of the Guthi members that the funds they get were not sufficient. These complain and grievances of Guthi members towards the Guthi Corporations were not new. The main issue they have is most of their Guthi lands are now with the Guthi Corporations and they are getting the funds which they used to get

decades back while the market prices has gone so high. But the staffs of Guthi Corporations get they salary and benefits according to the government staff. In add to that their salary gets increased when the government staff salary gets increased. All the administrative expenses are covered by the income of the Guthi lands and properties, as Government of Nepal does not provide any budget to the Guthi Corporation. This was the common issue of most of the Guthi member with the Guthi Corporations and Guthi Staff.

5.6 The missing link, Unsatisfied Guthi Members

Even with the enthusiastic Guthi Members and society, many non-formal institutions involvement as well as the properties that could still generate the funds for the Guthi expenditures, there are many grievances seen among the Guthi members. Some of the Guthis which did not used to get any money form the Ministry are now getting (not to what they expected but still some), still are unsatisfied with the fund they are getting. There is still some missing link between the Local Guthi, Ministry, Guthi corporations as well as other formal institutions, which are proving funds and goods for the organizations of the festival.

5.7 Kathmandu Valley – living Heritage City

Kathmandu Valley is well known as the living heritage city, the city where people still live the heritage, social life is so much connected with the cultural heritage, most of the monuments and city space are still used by the people for the social as well as for cultural purpose and many ancient traditions are still continuing that used to be as centuries before. All around the year the festival and rituals continues in the whole Valley in the continuous cycle, giving impression, as it is a never-ending process. The intangible heritages in form of mask dances, rituals, music and festivals are still taken care by the indigenous communities. The way of taking care is still traditional, with traditional institutions divided by

communities, localities, caste and functions. The memories are still living within the communities passed that has been passed on from generations.

With the example of the festival Yenya Punhi that is the theme of research we can also conclude that the heritage is still living in Kathmandu Valley. The festival is still connected with the ancient place and monuments. People still take care of festival from organization to the management with the very little interface from the formal organizations. The festival and rituals within the ancient place shows the interweaving of intangible and tangible in the context of Newar Culture. The numerous temples within Kathmandu are functional as people go to worship it everyday. Morning and evening ritual continues in every small and big temples, which makes it lively with the visit of worshippers with offerings which help in running of temples and priest life. Apart from the regular rituals; the special rituals, festivals, processions and dances make it livelier. In add to that most of the monuments, temples and Gods have the twelve yearly festivals, which are more extravagant than the yearly ones.

It's not only the rituals and festivals that people take care of but also the temples and monuments. The Guthi members are also the caretakers of the temples, the same Guthi which look after the rituals and the festivals also take care of the tangible aspect. Not only temples and monuments but also the public spaces like courtyards, raised platforms, steps of giant temples, and open spaces have connection with the heritage of people. The place that seem to be functionless comes alive during the festival and cultural events. The interesting thing is people responsible for these activities still know about the connection and importance of such place and traditions. Even when the structures are no more people still connect with the place and still perform the activities with the memories they live with.

For example during the Yenya Punhi festival Devi Pyakha perform their dance only in the specific places in accordance with the chariot procession of the

Kumari. On the second day of Chairot procession of Kumari, that is during the procession through the upper part of the city, the last part of dace is performed now in the cross road of place now called Indra Chwok, by blocking the place for dance where there is heavy traffic. It does not have any raised platform, just performed in the middle of road, blocking traffic, which was, bit crazy. But when inquired with the Guthi members about the performance in the middle of the road, the reply was eye opening. That place used to have a raised platform before the great earthquake of 1934. After the Earthquake, the Rana Prime Minister made roads and houses inspired by the European style. So even though the palace does not have the physical existence people have the memories of place in their mind and the interesting thing is most of the people in that dance group had just heard about the place but never seen it.

As the writer Mary Slusser says Kathmandu Valley designed for Men and God (Slusser, 1998). But it seem the place seem to be even designed for the dead by the people. The rituals for the death are very common in the context of Newar cultural as dead is treated in every special event of family and festival. During the festival Yenya Punhi dead ones also occupies a major space. The processions that happen for the dead so that they attain place in heaven and peace for the people of the city. The procession that take place around the virtual wall of the city and within the city which is demarked by the memory into upper and lower half makes it living. As people of the valley treat the living and the dead equally which share the equal space in cultural and social life, the tangible and intangible heritage are also the same, just change in the context and perception.

5.8 Beyond the Physical Boundaries

When I am stressing the importance of intangibility and people the great event that took place in the year 2015, which will be remembered in the history of Nepal for the years to come, could be neglected or pretended that nothing happened. On 25th April 2015, the major Earthquake of magnitude 7.8 that shook

Kathmandu Valley and near by places; even shaking slightly neighboring countries. It cause great damage to the life and infrastructure of many places of Nepal including Kathmandu Valley with causing immense damage to the temples and monuments. This was a great loss of the people and nation; and worst earthquake after 1934 Great Earthquake. Many monuments came into rubbles along with the cracks in most of the temples and houses. First people were concerned with life but later things started to settle, people were in grief due to the loss of the tangible cultural properties. The twelve yearly chariot festival of Rato Machindranath in Patan which was continuing at that time was stopped for months and people did not knew what to do in that situation.

Just four month after the disastrous earthquake the festival of Yenya Punhi was celebrated by the same people who were hit by the deadly earthquake and in the same place. This was an outstanding example of the people's effort and love for the heritage. Even though the festival was started, the preparations were started month earlier. Also the chariot festival of Rato Machindranath was also started nearly same time as of Yenya Punhi festival. With the Yenya Punhi festival people had the confusion of weather it will be possible or not. As most of the old houses inside the old quarters had support from the wooden pole to stop from falling. The Malla Palace, Hanuman Dhoka Durbar Square temples were in bad shape, the place also had the support of wooden poles and scaffoldings as in Picture 5.4 below. Amidst fear, anxiety and support to the fragile monuments and houses the festival of 2015 took place. People seem to be more emotionally attached with 2015 festival.

The Chariot procession of Kumari was started earlier compared to the usual procession so that it did strike any support during night. Also many processions were started much earlier and finished earlier. The rituals were taken place as usual but it seen to have taken extra care with the damaged temples and monuments. One of the leading newspaper quoting the program manager for the Hanuman Dhoka conservation Project wrote, "For the first day of Chariot

procession, the unit of six members team was accompanied with chariot to avoid unfavorable situation. The well repaired road also minimized the risk. Controlling the mass in between the houses supported by the wooden posts, the festival of first day was concluded successfully” with the title news “Weak infrastructure supported the Indra Jatra Festival” (*Nagarik*, 2015).

The temple where Dus Aavatr is performed was damaged leaving only base so the stage was prepared to show the Dus Aavatar. I could not be in Kathmandu during the festival of 2015 but did follow up from the very beginning when there was still uncertainty with the festival of 2015. I keep watch of every newspapers and different from of online news. When the ritual to go in forest for ceremonial pole then it became sure that the festival would take place. So the festival of 2015 concluded not with much fanfare and jolly heart as before but it proved that even the physically heritage was damaged, the real strength of heritage that is people was still living. The notion of living heritage becomes much more strong with the event like this which happens only once in the lifetime.



Figure 5.4: During the Yenya Punhi festival of 2015, where most of the remaining temples were supported with the wooden poles and in scaffoldings. Seen in the picture above is the Chariots during the festival in Palace area where a part of palace was covered in scaffolding for repair and the bar in red post is seen which says “Prohibited Area”. (Source: Ambish Kaji Shakya/ 2015)

Chapter VI

National and International Heritage Laws and Policies

This chapter will deal with the national, international heritage laws and policies development. How the conservation trends have been modifying in international context as well as in Nepal. The influence of international conservation policies and trends in the formal conservation practices and laws in Nepal. This chapter also analyzes the laws and policies comparing the Nepal and International. In add to that it will also discuss about recent development in the conservation policies of Nepal.

6.1 Ancient Heritage Conservation Practices

Here when I mean ancient heritage conservation in context of Nepal, it meant conservation until 1950s, although the modern heritage conservation was started much earlier in the western context. But in case of Nepal the formal conservation started much later. Even though formal conservation started much later, Nepal had a strong ancient conservation practices by the community named as “Guthi” which has been already discussed in detail in Chapter three. In this system communities take care of the monuments and rituals associated with it, according to the caste, locality and the function of the Guthi. This traditional way of taking care of the heritage by the local communities is still functional even with the introduction of the formal conservation policies and laws. In ancient time the major repair, restoration and rebuilding was done by the Kings, royalties and rich people. For the maintenance of temples and continuation of the rituals and festivals, the permanent funds in form of land were provided as Guthi land for the monuments (Regmi, 1968).

The documentation of the building, restoration and renovation in the history of Nepal is not so clear but we can analyze that the temples and monuments were renovated and restored. As the temples, which were recorded, to be destroyed during certain period were later found to be intact again during the rule of other

Kings even though there were no any records of renovation. While the records in form of silver foil or gold plated brass inscriptions of renovations done by the Kings, royalty and people of high ranks can be found in some temples and monuments. In add to that some manuscripts also give the evidence of the renovation of some temples, wood works and so on (Banerjee, 1977). The conservation, renovation and building of temples were associated with religious merit in the Nepalese society.

“The work of renovation and repairs of temples or objects of worship naturally claimed most attention as these were held traditionally as acts of piety that had power to advance the donor or executor on the path of religious merit.” (Banerjee, 1977; p. 18)

The use of curse in the temple and monuments who temper with the endowments made for it can be seen until the later phase of time as mentioned by Banerjee in the inscription of the stone slab found in Bhaktapur dated 1753 AD which says

“...one who tempers with an endowment of land is born (i.e. lives) as a worm for sixty thousand years.” (Banerjee, 1970: p. 61)

The fear of sin protected monuments from being destroyed, and morally abided people to protect those monuments. The Guthi land continued for many centuries because of fear and vested interest of religious merit. Also the construction, renovation and maintenance of the temples, monuments, stone sprouts and many more were done with desire of piety. Or in exchange of receiving the religious merits for the family, which even, extended for the generations to come in the family. There are many such inscriptions found in the stone slabs, bronze or copper plates in the monuments and temples around the Valley as mentioned by Banerjee (Banerjee, 1970). Still today many people in Nepal believe to restore monuments, contributing for the repair and maintenances are the work of temples brings the merit for the whole family. People still make donations in many temples for the renovation and in return can be seen the names of people

who donate are written in the bronze plate as the acknowledgement of the contributions.

During the Malla period (1200-1769), the institution called *Chhen-Bhadel* was responsible for repair of ancient and public edifices, which was related to the King (Banerjee, 1977). The heritage conservation through traditional way included both tangible and intangible, while the heritage as a intangible identity came into existence in the international context much later only during the last decade of twentieth century.

The renovation or even reconstruction of temples and monuments has to be done periodically not because of natural causes of decay and degradation but also because Kathmandu Valley is in seismic zone so the reconstruction and repair was normal. After the earthquake of 1934, which did a massive damage to Kathmandu Valley, many of the Monuments and temples were repaired and rebuilt, while most could not be reconstructed in their original shape. Many monuments underwent through the considerable change after the earthquake when they were rebuilt, than their previous structure. Even though extensive repairs were carried out after the earthquakes, its traditional form were neglected keeping some relics in the monuments (Amatya, 1983). Some monuments even went to the extent of changing not only size and color but also change in the styles. Such as during the late 19th Century, Rana were introducing the Mugal architecture style and English- Greek Classical style. These new buildings were plastered in stucco and painted white. These stucco and white paint were applied for the repaired and renovated monuments as well (Korn, 2014).

The new white washed building with glass windows at the New Road of Kathmandu inspired by European architecture, Gaddhi Baithak⁶³ are all the introduction of the new European style by Rana Prime Minister after the

⁶³ The part of old Malla palace that was rebuilt in the neo-classical style by the Rana Prime Minister after the Earthquake of 1934. It completely looks miss-match in buildings adjacent to traditional Newar style Palace that is white stucco building.

Earthquake. Except this introduction of European style in the Hanuman Dhoka Durbar Square and the dozens of palaces designed as the European style in the farming fields of Kathmandu Valley, there was not much change or influence in the art and architecture of Kathmandu Valley. So during these time Nepal did not have the strict conservation policies as which was starting to emerge in Europe during those time. By this time in Europe “Conserve as found” philosophy has already started to emerge (Smith, 2006).

It seemed the international trends for the heritage conservation was similar to what Nepal underwent though the difference being Nepal started the formal heritage conservation late. Most of the countries around the world have the traditional way of conservation from the ancient time, some taken care by the group of people who were appointed by the state, some done by the church and some by the initiation of King either in ancient Rome or in India (Jokileho, 2009). It is necessary to concentrate what happen in the west or Europe with the heritage conservation when dealing with the conservation plan and strategy of Nepal as it was largely influenced by the western trend of conservation in the later half of the 20th Century. Although the debate and the guidelines for the conservation have already been started in Europe since early 19th Century and came to be more developed by the late 19th Century and early 20th Century (Jokileho, 2009).

6.2 Formal Heritage Conservation in Nepal

Nepal entered into the modern heritage conservation practice with the first formal law for Cultural Heritage as Ancient Monument Preservation Act (AMPA) in 1956, which came into existence after the formation of Department of Archeology (DoA) in 1952. AMPA is still the major formal document in the heritage conservation of Nepal. Before the AMPA and 1950s, it does not seem to be in much need of conservation laws, where Kathmandu Valley or the whole Nepal was in locked in time capsule with very little foreign interference until 1951. There was very little

communication with the outer world and interaction with less interference of outer world in Nepal. The oligarchic dictator rule of Rana for 100 years (1846 – 1951), as King being the mere puppet kept Nepal in isolation, which was also the strategy political strategy of ruler to extend their rule. After the overthrow of Rana rule in 1951, and the power being restored to the King, Nepal opened to the outer world with the movement of people, goods and foreign ideas. People from other countries, their goods and various development agencies started to pour into Nepal. With formation of DoA and AMPA lead Nepal to the way of modernization in heritage conservation.

The first act for the conservation “Ancient Monument Preservation Act” with its name as “Ancient” have an impression of dealing with past and does not have connection with the present. Also the department, which was responsible for the monuments and act, was “Department of Archeology”. So this gives the background of the Nepalese conservation strategy but this was usual at that time where conservation meant only about the artifacts and single monuments. AMPA was promulgated *“to maintain peace and order by preserving the ancient monuments and by controlling the trade in archeological objects as well as the excavation of the place of ancient monuments and by acquiring and preserving ancient monument and archeological, historical or artistic objects”*. (DoA,1956; p.1). This is the first paragraph of the AMPA and can also be interpreted that peace and order was the main agenda for the preservation of Ancient Monument. It does not elaborate about the identity of nation and rich heritage of the country nor educating the people about the cultural heritage.

AMPA defined “Ancient Monument” after the Fifth Amendment as:

“temples, monument, house, abbey, cupola, monastery, stupa, bihar etc which have their importance above hundred year, from the point of view of history, arts, science, architectonics or art of masonry, and this word shall also mean the site of the monument as well as the human settlement or place, and remnant of ancient human settlement, relics of ancient monument, cave etc having specific

value from the national or international point of view irrespective of the fact that such settlements or places are adjoining with each other or are separate in the same area.” (DoA, 1956; p. 1)

By definition not only just the individual monuments or temples which are important historically are called ancient monument but also the whole settlement. As the article 2 of the AMPA tries to define terms like Ancient Monument, Archeological Objects, Curio, Preserved Monument Area, Preservation, Local bodies and so on. According to which subsection (f) Preservation is defined as *“sweeping, covering, repairing, cleaning etc. done to keep the monument in its original form”* (DoA, 1956; p. 2), where the meaning of the term “original form” is not quite clear. Still with several amendments it still lacks to define as cultural heritage, it still needs to broaden its scope of looking at heritage. Many monuments, which were reconstructed after the earthquake, were not repaired in the original form that was earlier than the formation of the act. So this act still does not clarify what original means one before the earthquake or after earthquake.

It also has the provision where the government can declare any place or area where monument is located as a preserved monument area by placing the notice in that place. Also within the act there is a provision for the unsatisfied people to protest the decision of government within thirty-five days of it. Department is given a much greater power over the Preserved monuments and area after the Fifth Amendment. The private house has to get approval from the DoA within Preserved Monument Area for the repair, renovation or rebuilding. As the concerned Municipality has to send the drawings of the houses to the DoA for its consent before giving approval from the Municipality and DoA has the right to approve, disapprove or advice alteration to it. DoA can also issue stop order if there was no compliance of its approval and Town Development Plan Execution Committee even issue order to demolish such houses or buildings by giving ultimatum of thirty-five days.

Although several amendment were made with the changing context but the major seem to be in the fifth amendment which gave much power to DoA and broaden its work area. Until the fifth amendment only the monuments under the public ownership could be protected according to the law. With this Fifth Amendment the monuments could be classified under the three types according to their importance (Protctor & Jha, 2001). And also there was the additional law inserted for the conservation, maintenance and renovation of the Ancient Monuments under Private Ownership as well as monuments of Private ownership, which are under the Protected area and are of the national and international importance could be conserve, maintained or renovated by DoA if necessary. In add to that the person who is in charge of the ancient monument should take permission form the DoA to make changes. It also has the provision for the punishment and fine for the owner who does not follow the rules. Department of Archeology was assigned the ownership of public monuments and also the responsibility of conservation, maintenance and renovation of it as well. Also if any people who are in charge of the monuments under private property does not maintain it then DoA can takeover it without paying any prices (DoA, 1956).

With the fifth amendment in AMPA the classification of monuments according to the ownership as private or public and also according to the importance of the monument as having the local, national or international importance were done. DoA was given responsibility of conservation of ancient monuments and archeological sites important from the viewpoint of national and international importance. With the considerable changes happening in conservation in international context, Nepal also made a considerable change in the conservation. But still AMPA is the important and only the law for the conservation of the heritage where in AMPA is defined as “ancient monument” not heritage, which was the first formal law for the conservation in Nepal. According to Chapagain AMPA focus much on the heritage of Kathmandu Valley and also puts heavy emphasis on words like “ancient” and “archeological” (Chapagain, 2008).

There are several articles that focus on the archeological objects or curio within the AMPA. This Act being the first formal act of Nepal were still much of the monuments are taken care by the local people but it fails to address them or the conservation by such people. The consultation of people and their interest in the nominating the site as the protected area by the government is mentioned nowhere instead they are given thirty-five days to challenge the government decision if they are not satisfied with it. The definition of the local bodies in the subsection (g) of article 2 is “Village Development Committee, Municipality or District Development Committee” which are the formal institutions of the Government (DoA, 1956). Though the attempt was done with the amendment in the act to make it more dynamic but there seem still many more things to be incorporated. There has been made recommendation to change the name of the act as well as for the sixth amendment as well (Proctor & Jha, 2001).

As the world is going through the heritage discourse including wide range of professionals, people, locals, with the wide range of theme like landscape, intangibility, diversity, sustainability and many more but Nepal still have the act which are ancient. The heritage of Nepal which is still living is much in need to incorporate in all the conservation laws before it gets too late.

The next act that has relation with the cultural heritage conservation is the Guthi Act, which was promulgated after the formation of the Guthi Corporation. Guthi functions were traditionally carried out and still to the local mean the association of the people for carrying out the social and religious work. These associations have fund for its maintenance in form of land and are a stable form of funding due to which Guthis have been surviving for the centuries. Later in 1964, the Government of Nepal created an independent body called Guthi Corporation and Guthi Act was also promulgated which will take care of all the Guthi under the Royal Guthi. With this act and this instituted, the indigenous system fell into the bureaucratic system. Still many monuments and temples are under the Guthi Corporation so this institutes also very much important in the process of Cultural

Heritage conservation. Yet its role has been limited to funding the rituals, festivals and salary for the priests, helpers and so on.

Guthi act mostly deal with providing necessary goods and funding for the continuation of the festivals and rituals in the temples. Also it is responsible for the taking care of the properties and finances under the Guthi Corporations, which was nationalized by the Government after the implementation of the Guthi act and formation of the Guthi Corporations, previously which was under the independent traditional Guthi and taken care by the people (GoN, 1964). Except this Guthi act and Corporation does not seem to have much role in the conservation of the monuments and the festivals. Even though Guthi Corporation was seen funding for restoration of the monuments as it provided the funds for the restoration of monuments until 1970s even though the main objective of the Guthi Corporation is not the maintenance of the temple (Protctor & Jha, 2001).

The Guthi Corporation which was formed to take care of all the monuments and festivals that people are taking care of and major part of the practical responsibility are of the local people. In this case also it fails to include the local people. This institute is driven by the top down approach of management. Within this organization people seem to be responsible for the maintaining the order and are follower of straight rule but there is no place for the two-way communication with the people. The Guthi Corporation Act also went through much amendment since its promulgation but still there are many ways of improvement according to the need of the present situation. The main issues which has been raised by local Guthi members who are caretakers of the festivals and monuments are as involvement of local people in Guthi Corporation in decision making who knows the Guthi system and local, transparency of the prosperities and funds of Guthi and revision of the salary and funds from the Guthi for the priests, festivals and rituals. In the ten point agreement between the protestors during 2008 Yenya Punhi festival and Government, one was to include the local Guthi members while making decision related to Newar Culture (Bajracharya, 2009).

Guthi Corporation act seem to be in the need of amendment as AMPA in order to incorporate the fast developing Nepalese society. The society and place has undergone tremendous change in such a fast pace which nobody had even imagined thirty years back. The high-level commission report regarding the Guthi Corporation and its role in the management of traditional Guthi has presented the output that Guthi Corporation as done harm than the benefit of the traditional institution (Bajracharya, 2009). It also recommended the need of the new form of the management. The Guthi system that was deigned based on the agricultural community and supported by the caste and locality based society. Now the lifestyle of people are changing and less dependency on agriculture, erasing the mark of caste system and people moving out of the traditional locality, the traditional Guthi system is loosing its function. So the Guthi Corporation also need to redesign according to the changing society which task has been limited with the management of the endowment and providing fund for the festivals and rituals.⁶⁴ There seem to be the necessary step in the conservation of this indigenous system as a whole.

As we talk about the development in Nepal, with the development various institutions came into existences with the need of time. The Government institutes like Metropolitan City, Town Development Committee, Village Development Committees and as such. With many institutions coming to existence there has been also the overlapping the laws in the heritage conservation that has to be amended (Protctor & Jha, 2001).

⁶⁴ There has been a lot of distrust for the Guthi Corporation by the local Guthi members due to the embezzlement of the funds and properties. The major cause being the lack of transparency with the funds and properties within the Guthi Corporation. Also the attitude of Guthi Corporation seem just as doing the job of just providing the funds that has been allocated to the respective Guthi as they were given since decades. The two-way communication, resolution of the people's need, the need of the traditional Guthi system to be headed in a new dynamics are next to impossible. In a sentence the Guthi Corporation are just doing the job within their limit and also the Guthi traditions has not been taken seriously in the formal conservation process of Nepal.

6.3 Influence of Western Conservation Strategy

The current concept of heritage was born in Europe especially Germany, France and Britain, as a romantic phase to encounter the industrialization and urbanization. Also after the wars, when there was much damage done to the monuments and palaces, the need to conserve it and the sense of creating identity and nationality emerged, which gave to the birth of heritage conservation. Even though the first legal code for the protection of national antiques was formed in Sweden in 17th Century, while only the second half of the 19th Century saw the need of the legislation in other European countries and also the United States followed Europe and made its legislation in the late 19th Century. European conservation strategy was spread all around the world some as having synergy with Europe like United States, while some were imposed as a result of the colonial power like in India. The discourse of the heritage were created by the elite groups in Europe and has the concept of protecting artifacts and monuments which those groups consider to be of the great value. This has been continued all over Europe and then spread over the world too (Smith, 2006).

The second half of the 20th century saw the heritage policy were being introduced and amendment of the old ones all over the world (Smith, 2006), so as in Nepal also the first heritage act was introduced. The debate and discussion or the focus on heritage increased in the 60s and 70s because of the increase of mass tourism in the heritage sites that brought much economic benefit (Smith, 2006). In add to that the very important process which started in the later half of the 20th century was the various international organization which lobbied, trained and drove the course of heritage conservation to the new dynamics. The international organizations like ICCROM (International Center for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property), ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites), ICOM (International Council of Museums) and UNESCO (The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) stepped forward in the heritage conservation worldwide and

brought together many nations of the world in conservation. Also these international organizations helped in the conservation, starting safeguarding campaigns, producing inventory and many more by 1960s and 1970s. With The Hague Convention in 1954, which was, the convention for the protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict started the first legal international document of UNESCO. International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites produced by the international conference of ICOMOS in 1964 set the standard for the conservation of the architectures and sites, acceptable internationally which is still the most influential international conservation documents (Smith, 2006). The document set the principles of conservation of the monuments based on the authenticity and maintaining the historical and physical context of the sites and buildings.

The most important turning point in the history of heritage conservation was the Convention Concerning the Protection of the Cultural and Natural Heritage 1972 by UNESCO. Convention for the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage in 1972, paved the way for the international collaboration and the heritage conservation took a new leap worldwide. Even though most people criticize these conventions and charter, which emerged, from the west as being euro-centric. The trend of conservation which started with the single piece of art and individual monuments, then spread to the groups of buildings, historic area, landscape, cultural landscape, cultural diversity, including people, community, intangibility and even the authenticity as perceived by the east not only as perceived by west the western culture.

As the discourse in heritage grew, it saw the need to incorporate people from various field with the wide range of knowledge as heritage is not just the mere site but also what goes in that site, not just frozen in time but the way of passing on established meaning and values as well as creating the new one (Smith, 2006).

Nepal seems to also follow the international trend but only after 1950s. As discussed earlier, the formal conservation started in Nepal only after 1950s. Unlike European trends of need of conservation due to the destruction by war and the emerging of the Industrial revolution which was not the case with the Nepal. Nepal was in need of new laws with the overthrown of century long Rana Rule. So the reestablishment of King's power in Nepal aimed to bring many formal changes. And the establishment of Department of Archeology and promulgation of Ancient Monument Preservation Act was one of it in 1950s. Apart from the institutions like Royal Nepal Academy, Tribhuvan University, Nepal Association of Fine Arts, Nepal Art Council, and National Archives of Nepal, which were responsible for the preservation of the Nepalese Cultural heritage (Amatya, 1983).

Conservation of Monuments in Nepal started to gear up with the pouring of international organizations in 60s and 70s. These were the decades when many international development agencies came to work in Nepal. Also with the starting of International Safeguarding Campaign in 1979 A.D. for the monuments of Kathmandu Valley and the same year Kathmandu Valley was listed in the UNESCO World Heritage Site (WHS). The Campaign was mostly focused on the monuments of the seven zones of WHS. Even with the repeated attention drawn by the international expert on the threat of the urbanization and the effect of interaction with the outside world that can bring on the Kathmandu Valley, there was not much done with the changing landscape of Kathmandu Valley (Protector & Jha, 2001).

The donor agencies and the countries started to help Nepal in the conservation process. The assistance was not just with the monuments conservation but also in making plans. The Master Plan for the Conservation of the Cultural Heritage in the Kathmandu Valley was prepared by UNESCO with the request of the Kingdom⁶⁵ of Nepal (Amatya, 1983). The restoration work at Kathmandu

⁶⁵ Nepal was Kingdom until 2006 AD.

Hanumandhoka Durbar was the first international assistance in the heritage conservation which was undertaken by UNESCO (Chapagain, 2008). Similarly, the restoration of individual monuments like Pujari Math of Bhaktapur was done by Germany in 1971-72 and later started the extensive urbanization and conservation project in Bhaktapur in 1975. Many countries helped in restoration of the various monuments along with the international agencies. In add to the conservation work of the monuments these international organizations and the international experts helped in training the Nepalese (Amatya, 1983). Most of the officials of Department of Archeology were trained through the UNESCO's projects (Chapagain, 2008). As Amatya who was the Director General of Department of Archeology expressed his gratitude to the donor agencies and foreign experts, *"The development of the Department of Archeology owes much to the contributions made by foreign experts belonging to international organizations such as UNESCO and ICOM and to friendly countries (Amatya, 1983: p. 30)."*

The conservation of policies of Nepal was very much influenced by the international organizations and the western countries, largely based on the recommendations of the intergovernmental agencies like UNESCO and UNDP. Also conservation projects are criticized for being more responsive to the donor agencies and inter-governmental agencies that fund the projects instead of the inhabitants. *"Though UNESCO's missions were not necessarily geared towards policy making, they had significant influence on policy and organizational planning as well because many of the officials in the DoA were "trained" through these projects. Also, the DoA's prime focus has been to the Kathmandu Valley for which obviously the UNESCO's master plan served as a major resources."* (Chapagain, 2008, p. 5)

When Nepal was very new in the formal heritage conservation practices, the international agencies and government helped in the process. Either preparing Nepal to join the international movement of conservation of UNESCO,

Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage of 1972 (Chapagain, 2008). Or by helping with the funds for the restorations of many monuments within Kathmandu Valley (Protctor & Jha, 2001). But with the introduction of the new formal policies in the national conservation practices, government has failed to acknowledge the traditional practices, which Nepal has in the heritage conservation. Ancient Monument Preservation Act, which is still the leading legal document in the heritage preservation, fails to address the local practices even with the several amendments. As the conservation experts were also trained by the experts form the western countries, failed to know the importance of the traditional know-how.

Internationally the discourse in the heritage conservation is incorporating the wide range of disciplines, people and experts form the Asian and African countries started to start the process of debate and dialogue, which cover the wide range of culture. The leading international documents like Nara document on Authenticity of 1994, Convention on the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage of 2003 (UNESCO, 2003), Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expression of 2005 and Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape of 2011 are now trying to balance the eurocentric approach of heritage conservation. The impact of these international movements has been seen in the Nepalese conservation but very limited. The Integrated Management Framework that was made after the Kathmandu Valley World Heritage Site was kept in the UNESCO danger list, also clearly states the community participation and involvement of the locals (DoA, 2007). But still the important legal document needs to address the issue.

The safeguarding campaign, which was initiated by UNESCO in Kathmandu Valley in 1979, was inspired by the success of similar safeguarding campaign in Nubia in Egypt and Borobudur in Indonesia, which were solely monument and archeological site. But the strategy that were successful there were not as successful in the living heritage city like in Kathmandu Valley which was more

complex. Later after ten years the review of the campaign it was revised to and the new revision even changed significantly from the one it was initiated diverting its focus on capacity building and empowerment (Protector & Jha, 2001).

Lack of understanding of heritage site of Kathmandu Valley due to incapability of safeguarding campaign which was different from other sites or the lack provision in the AMPA to conserve the private houses fueled by the rapid urban development led Kathmandu Valley to deteriorate the traditional urban landscape. In 1992 ICOMOS International World Committee showed concerns of whole traditional urban setting were at risk not only monuments followed by the joint UNESCO/ICOMOS review mission which recommended to put KVVHS in the list of world heritage in danger. The repeated concern over the degradation of the heritage site of the KV was shown by various experts, scholars as well as in the various international meetings (Protector & Jha, 2001). In add to that the several UNESCO meeting also advised to keep Kathmandu Valley listed in the list of world heritage in danger and finally it was done in the year 2003.

So when we follow the formal conservation path of Nepal then it can be seen the influence of foreign experts, international organizations and western countries. In the beginning Nepal did not have the experts and knowledge to deal with the new heritage conservation strategy. So its obvious to take help from the foreign experts and countries as well as Nepal was trying to create a new government after the overthrown of Rana rule. But it failed to acknowledge what it has from the ancient. It just followed the trend of conservation dominated by the European philosophy. Now when the conservation strategy broadening, still Nepal lack to incorporate it in the laws. The need for the intangible heritage conservation and separate institution to look after the Cultural Heritage has been stressed in the National Cultural Policy of Nepal formed in 2010 (GoN, 2010) but still the laws has yet to be formulated along with proposed the separate institution to look after the tangible and intangible heritage.

6.4 Dynamics in Heritage Conservation

Heritage conservation policies and strategies have been changing according to the need of the time and the debate it has generated. Now we look towards the heritage and its conservation in a different ways than we used to look fifty years back. During the last few decades it has seen more discourse than the past fifty years. The way we look at heritage is changing, the heritage in itself we consider has been changing.

a) Discourse on Tangibility

Since the publication of “The manifesto of the society for the protection of Ancient Buildings” in 1877 by William Morris until the UNESCO “Recommendation on The Historic Urban Landscape” in 2011, there have been the drastic changes in the ways to look at the heritage conservation. Conservation concept that started with the single building is now covering the whole historic landscape and within that the concept of intangibility, diversity, authenticity and many more debates over the concept of conservation are taking place. The development of the heritage conservation has been the gradual growth according to the need of time and various cultures. International Charter for the conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Site, which was approved, by the second international Congress of Architects and Technicians in 1964, now known as the Venice Charter *“is the fundamental text for the conservation and preservation movements that developed in the 1960”* (Smith, 2006; p. 92). This document is also the guiding document for the conservation, restoration, use of materials, and points out the authenticity of the monuments. The charter defined conservation and management in article 1 as:

“The concept of an historic monuments embraces not only the single architectural work but also the urban or rural setting in which is found the evidence of a particular civilization, a significant development or an historic event. This applies not only a great works of art but also to more modest works of

the past which have acquired cultural significance with the passing of time” (ICOMOS, 1964).

With this definition it has tried to broaden the scope of conservation by including the rural and urban setting as a whole for the conservation but the phrase “modest work of past which have acquired the cultural significance” could be interoperated in many ways. As Smith says significance acquired by the being old (Smith, 2006), or it can be also seen as because of the association of the people’s culture with the place. The articles are more ambiguous and can be interpreted in many ways. But this charter underlies issues of the conservation, restoration, excavation and publication. It emphasizes on the use of the materials for the restoration, how the techniques should be applied, maintaining the traditional fabric and so on. After two world wars while restoring the damaged buildings and monuments the full understanding of their character were not considered so the charter developed the critical approach for the conservation and restoration of the historic properties (Jokileho, 1998). This charter seems to focus mainly on the conservation and restoration of the monuments and the sites though it speaks of urban and rural settings, there is no place for the human interference in those settings. The Venice Charter gave the boost for the many carters, convention, and recommendations to be formulated, which came as a lobby documents to persuade the nations in the effort of the heritage conservation.

General Conference of the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization in Paris in 1972 adopted the *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*, also now known as World Heritage Convention (WHC). The WHC shows the concern of the threat of the changing social and economic condition to the natural and cultural heritage apart from the traditional cause of decay. The convention has addressed the cultural and natural heritage in article 1 and 2 where cultural heritage are defined into three parts as monuments, groups of buildings and sites (UNESCO,1972). Also, with

this convention it has made the list of the heritage that is important universally for having outstanding universal value. For the site to be in outstanding universal value there are six criteria, which are not defined in the convention but in the operational guidelines. This convention brought together the nations of the world in the effort of heritage conservation and also heritage being not only of the people which it belongs to but also to the whole humanity. *“WHC has stressed the concept of ‘the shared heritage’ of humanity through its central focus on the concept of the ‘universal value’ of heritage”* (Smith & Akagawa, 2009; p.1). Till this date of writing, there are one thousand thirty one sites in the UNESCO World Heritage List representing 192 state parties. Though this convention was much successful but it has been equally criticized for being Eurocentric. Most of the heritage in the list come from the European Countries, as in the year 2000, 55 per cent of the sites were from European countries and after five years it changed to 49 per cent (Smith, 2006). Until now Spain, Italy, France, Germany being the countries with most sites with 44, 51, 41 and 40 sites respectively on the list. Now, China has the second highest number of sites in the list that is 48⁶⁶.

The new conventions and charters kept broadening the scope of heritage. Similarly ICOMOS Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas in 1987 which is also known as Washington Charter emphasized on the need of “spiritual elements” for the preservation of the historic character of the towns and urban area. In addition to that the conservation plan to include multidisciplinary studies instead of the traditional way of including the architectural and historic factor (ICOMOS, 1987).

As the new debates kept emerging in the heritage conservation and the increased in the active participations of the countries like Japan, South Korea, China, Australia and so on, the need for new discourse has been felt. The much-debated topic like authenticity, participation and the indigenous community involvement were considered to be the need of time. The Burra charter in 1981

⁶⁶ From the information of UNESCO website as of February, 2016 list.

much importance was given to the non-physical aspects and traditional values with the term “Place” was used to indicate the cultural heritage in context of Australia (Jokileho, 1998), which is more inclusive than the terms like monuments or sites (Smith, 2006). In 1999 the Burra Charter was modified to make it more inclusive in the decision making process mainly those who have the strong association with the place. Even with the new modification it still fails to address the dissonant nature of heritage and still this charter is authoritative in nature (Smith, 2006).

Some of the debates emerged to define the unclear issues of the previous convention like authenticity mentioned in the Venice Charter as the authenticity is treated differently in the different culture. When the Venice Charter was written most of the experts were from Europe and they have a similar perceptive over the authenticity. The international document like “The Nara Document on Authenticity (1994)” which tries to look at the perspectives of authenticity other than the European context states, *“All judgments about values attributed to cultural properties as well as the credibility of related information sources may differ from culture to culture, and even within the same culture. It is thus not possible to base the judgments of values and authenticity within the fixed criteria. On the contrary, the respect due to all cultures requires that heritage prosperities must be considered and judged within the cultural context to which they belong”* (ICOMOS, 1994). Stovel considers this document *“marked a watershed moment in modern conservation history”* (Stovel, 2008; p. 9) and also led to the series of the discussion in Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe and so on. The objective of the Nara meeting was simply to extend the attributes of authenticity in the Japanese context but it produced broad technical framework for authenticity. After the Nara meeting many more meetings took place regarding authenticity and got wide attention (Stovel, 2008). Authenticity which was defined by design, material, setting and workmanship, was broadened by the Nara Document which included traditions, techniques, spirits, feelings, historic and social dimensions of the cultural heritage (Munjeri, 2004).

The series of conventions, meetings took place in the different themes in order to incorporate the wide range of issues. Heritage was not limited to monuments and site when it came to the turn of 21st century, as it was much more than it. The issues of the heritage kept on broadening with many emerging concepts and convention and charters as Charter for the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage adopted in 1996 (ICOMOS, 1996), Charter on the Built Vernacular Heritage adopted in 1999 (ICOMOS, 1999), Second Protocol to the Hague Convention of 1954 for the Protection of Cultural Prosperity in the Event of Armed Conflict, Convention on the Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage by in 2001 (UNESCO, 2001), ICOMOS Charter on Cultural Routes in 2008 (ICOMOS, 2008) and so on.

b) Discourse on Intangibility

When the new ideas and debate was taking place over the tangibility simultaneously the new emerging ideas for the intangibility was also taking shape in the context of heritage conservation. But the debate over the intangibility is comparatively new. In 1984 World Conference on Cultural Policies, Mexico City in 1982 also called Mondiacult, Mexico the conservation broaden the meaning of Cultural Heritage. It defined cultural heritage as, *“includes the works of its artists, architects, musicians, writers and scientists and also the work of anonymous artists, expressions of the people’s spirituality, and the body of values which give meaning to life. It includes both tangible and intangible works through which the creativity of that people finds expression: languages, rites, beliefs, historic places and monuments, literature, works of art, archives and libraries”* (UNESCO, 1982, p. 3). It rose above building, architecture, materials, arts and letters to traditions, beliefs, human values and emotional features. Mexico declaration also stressed on preservation and protection of cultural identity of each people and if it destroyed or neglected then it will be loss of whole mankind. For the first time in the history of heritage conservation the word “Intangible Heritage” was used officially.

Seven years after Mondiacult, to give the continuity for intangible heritage conservation in 1989 general conference adopted “Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore”, which was the first legal document of its kind. Folklore was defined as, *“tradition-based creations of a cultural community, expressed by a group or individuals and recognized as reflecting the expectations of a community in so far as they reflect its cultural and social identity; its standards and values are transmitted orally, by imitation or by other means. Its forms are, among others, language, literature, music, dance, games, mythology, rituals, customs, handicrafts, architecture and other arts.”* (UNESCO, 1989; p.1). The recommendation was about conserving the intangible heritage from all the state parties. But still the some critiques of this document consider this document was influenced by the colonial mentality (Smith, 2006).

After this recommendation in 1989, the Korean government proposed to institute “The Living Human Treasures” in 1993. According to this proposal in order to preserve folklore, it is necessary to recognize and value the people who excel in those arts. By only documenting the folklores, it cannot document the true spirit of those cultures. So this program was proposed for the conservation of its true spirit and transmission of those skills to the next generations. This recommendation was important because the concept of heritage was from the perspective of the countries other than West. This system was created much earlier in Japan that is in 1950, Korea in 1964 and also other six countries created such system but differently from each other. In 1998 UNESCO developed the program for the Proclamation of Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity (Smith, 2006).

After many programs, meetings and recommendations finally in 2003 UNESCO’s General Conference adopted the Conventional for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. As Smith mentions the UNESCO Convention 2003 was a shift form the non-binding ‘soft law’ Recommendation to a ‘hard law’ Convention, which binds the states which chose to be the Parties. The 2003

Convention defined intangible cultural heritage as, *“the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity. For the purposes of this Convention, consideration will be given solely to such intangible cultural heritage as is compatible with existing international human rights instruments, as well as with the requirements of mutual respect among communities, groups and individuals, and of sustainable development”* (UNESCO, 2003; p. 2).

The intangible cultural heritage are categorized under the five domains as a) oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage, b) performing arts, c) social practices, rituals and festival events, d) knowledge and practices concerning nature and universe, and e) traditional craftsmanship. This convention as in the convention of 1972, took intangible heritage more seriously and more systematic like formed funds for intangible, lists of Intangible Cultural Heritage in need of Urgent Safeguarding and the representative list of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity and so on. This convention was adopted in 2003 and was enacted from 2006 only. The operational directives for the listing of intangible heritage were adopted in 2008. Even though debate for the intangible cultural heritage has been going since a long time and the convention is very new which can add value to the underrepresented heritages. As intangible heritage deals with the living component and to address it requires a lot of effort. It's not easy as just to deal with the monument. Amidst lot of speculation Convention of 2003 was indeed a leap forwards in terms of Intangible heritage and strong foundation that paved way for the safeguarding of Intangible heritage.

c) Converging Tangibility and Intangibility

The heritage management has undergone a gradual change from the monument to landscape and from tangibility to the intangibility. This does not mean it has left its former policies and practices and adopted the new policies in conservation, but it has broadened its way of management by incorporating the issues with the necessity of time. With the active participation of the people and countries in the discourse of the heritage conservation, it has made a new space to accommodate all. Though the evolution of the tangible and intangible heritage has led a different path of evolution but both are inter-connected. As Munjeri expresses, *“What began as a battle between foes at Armageddon ended in a marriage of the two – the tangible and the intangible”* (Munjeri, 2004; p.18). The tangibility cannot be expressed without expressing its intangible value, so the monuments become valuable or outstanding because of the expression of its underlying values.

The heritage conservation has not been limited to the tangibility and intangibility but also the wide range of spectrum in the heritage conservation has been added like urban landscape, diversity, sustainability and so on. In 2005, UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions was adopted. The aim of this Convention was the protection and the promotion of the cultural diversity so that the minority cultures do not disappear. And also under its article 13 it has mentioned about the integration of the Culture in the sustainable development, *“Parties shall endeavor to integrate culture in their development policies at all level for the creation of conditions conducive to sustainable development and, within this framework, foster aspects relating to the protection and promotion of the diversity of cultural expression.”* (UNESCO, 2005; p. 8)

In add to this, in 2011 UNESCO Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape was introduced. The recommendation was to address the challenge brought by the Development, Urbanization and Globalization that the present

world is facing at the fast pace. So to accommodate all the changes this recommendation of 2011 has tried to incorporate all the issues. Landscape is not a new approach in the heritage conservation as it has been in the conservation since the nineteenth century the hint for the landscape conservation was there. But this came to be more used during 1990's (Veldpaus et. al., 2013). Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) has been more dynamic as it's not only looking at the physical form of the landscape but also the intangible form of the landscape. As there has Veldpaus (et. al., 2013) has mentioned that the greatest challenge for the conservation and urban management is "conflict between heritage needs and development needs". So it is addressing those issues and recommends state parties to incorporate it in the heritage policies of the member states.

HUL has clearly pointed out the changing pattern in the heritage conservation and the need of multidisciplinary approach to combat the new and rapid changing situation as *"... the shift from an emphasis on architectural monuments primarily towards a broader recognition of the importance of the social, cultural and economic process in the conservation of urban values, should be matched by a drive to adapt the existing policies and to create new tools to address this vision."* (UNESCO, 2011; p. 3)

So this century has brought the new addition in the heritage conservation with the new conventions and recommendations in the international context. It has addressed all the emerging issues like urbanization, globalization, sustainable development, climate change and may more. With these changes we can now say that cultural heritage is not just limited to the monument and the work of architect and archeologist, but the wide range of discipline is needed to address. As its not only the issue of the isolated monuments but now it's the issue of the whole humanity and living beings. For the heritage to sustain there is a need of corporation of local bodies, indigenous people, traditional know-how, and many more. The heritage conservation is now being holistic and inclusive in the international conventions and recommendations so now there is need of it to be

applied in practice. In add to that heritage is now not the isolated field, it's inter-related to many other fields.

6.6 Need for Discourse in Nepalese Cultural Heritage Policies

As, we looked into the discourse in the heritage conservation in the international level and how the heritage is being interlinked with many other issues. Similarly the need of the new and modified heritage laws has been felt in the Nepalese context since the decades earlier. In add to the laws also the need for the separate institution to take care of the heritage along with the new laws has been cited in many documents. The first and still the major legal document of Nepal in heritage conservation "Ancient Monument Preservation Act" is considered to be very much traditional and the change in the name of document itself has been recommended (Amatya, 1983). Nepal's entry into the formal heritage conservation is very new as Ancient Monument Preservation Act being the first act. Though Nepal has made a considerable progress in the heritage conservation but the change the world and Nepal itself has seen is unprecedented. It cannot keep up the pace with the new challenges or still Nepal has not addressed it well.

The responsible ministry to look after the cultural heritage in Nepal in itself does not have a strong position. As Ministry of Culture has always been joined with the other ministry since its formation in 16th June 1981. When it was formed it was called the Ministry of Education and Culture (1981-1995). Then along the time it has been joined with many ministries as Ministry of Youth, Sports and Culture (1995-2000), Ministry of culture, tourism and Civil Aviation (2000-2008), Ministry of culture and State Reconstructing (2008-2009), Ministry of Federal Affairs, Constituent Assembly, Parliamentary Affairs and Culture (2009-2011) and now Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Civil Aviation (2011-till now). Department of Archeology, which has now responsibility to look after all the tangible heritage is under the Ministry of Culture.

Since in the international context the heritage conservation had made an incredible progressive change and mainly after 1980's. But Nepal is following the heritage trends that were started with the safeguarding of the monuments and archeological objects. Nepal is still not able to incorporate the broadening horizon of conservation. Actually it is the country like Nepal, which have a different culture, concept and practice in the heritage need the emerging concept of conservation. These new conservation strategies are actually lobbying for the heritage different from the "*status quo*" heritage conservation strategy of West. The traditional skills, craftsmanship, traditional practices which are still living should be addressed well and made a proper strategy before it gets too late.

For the intangible heritage still guided by the constitution of Nepal. In the policy of State regarding social and cultural transformation, constitution of Nepal states that country will preserve and develop various caste, groups, languages, scripts, culture, literature, art, films and heritage according to mutual existence and equality in order to maintain the cultural diversity. The section four of constitution regarding Country's policy, strategy and responsibility in article 51(c), it defines about the culture and society (GoN, 2015). According to Mr. Bhim Nepal⁶⁷ still, the intangible heritage conservation practices are guided by constitution of Nepal. Now Nepal needs dynamic and scientific laws regarding heritage rather than depending few lines of constitution or being taken as a secondary subject. The step has already been taken by formulation of Cultural policy 2010 and according to Mr. Bhim Nepal, the country is in process of making inventory of all the intangible heritage. After the state party ratifies the UNESCO convention of 2003, has to identify the intangible heritage within the country. But except that there has not been any significant development in this sector of heritage. The traditional know-how of the Knowledge and ancient practices like Guthi should get more attention then just blindly following the international trends. The context

⁶⁷ Mr. Bhim Nepal is Head of the National Archives of Nepal. Mr. Nepal was contacted over the telephone, as during the field visit I could not meet him. I communicate with him over email as well as over phone. This part of information was from the telephone conversation 10th December 2015.

of heritage should be understood well before designing the strategy. Nepal need a dynamic and community driven discourse on heritage but based on the need of its background.

a) Building on What Nepal has

Even though the need for the new law and the institutions has been raised but Nepal does not need to start from the scratch. It is a fact that still Nepal does not have the law regarding the intangible heritage (except the National Cultural Policy which has been newly formulated in 2010 which will be explained in detail in the next section). But Nepal has the traditional system called Guthi that is taking care of the tangible and intangible in practice. Though the Guthi act has tried to address the issue but it has actually failed the core value of Guthi system. When we look at the trend of conservation internationally when the Guthi act was formulated, intangibility was never considered in the conservation of heritage. Similarly in the Nepalese context also the intangibility was not considered as a heritage. Even the Guthi act defined Guthi which was actually a traditional system defined it as an endowment a tangible objects. In the Guthi Corporation Act, Guthi is defined as:

“Guthi” means and includes a Guthi (trust) endowed by any philanthropist through relinquishment of his or her title to a movable or immovable property or any other income-yielding property or fund for the operation of any shrine (matha) or festival, worship or feast of any God, Goddess or for the construction, operation or maintenance of any temple, shrine (devasthal), rest house (dharmashala), shelter (pati), inn (pauwa), well, tank, road, bridge, pasture, garden, forest, library, school, reading hall, dispensary, treatment facility, houses, building or institution for any religious or philanthropic purpose.” (GoN, 1964; p. 2-3)

Though the concept of Guthi was originated form Kathmandu Valley and still have the organic association within community within the Valley. The new

heritage law for Nepal should include the existing social practices like Guthi. Still for the indigenous community the Guthi means association which takes care of the monuments, festivals, rituals and so on; even though the definition of Guthi in terms of government is just the physical existence. So there seem to be lack of understanding in while formulating the laws for Guthi or the intention of the government at that time was to focus on the tangible part of the heritage, as during that time there was not much understanding of intangible part.

Guthi Corporation which was is considered to be autonomous with its own funds⁶⁸ and its functions as defined in the act was, *“to carry out or cause to be carried out religious festivals, worship as set forth in the donation deed, document and custom, in such a manner as not to cause the extinction of religious performance (dharmalop)”* (GoN, 1964). But in practice it only takes care of the monuments and rituals which endowments were registered in the Guthi Corporation and except that it does not have any responsibility. So the new laws should consider all these issues.

While making the AMPA, the indigenous practices, intangible heritage, traditional know-how and so on were completely ignored. The need for the community involvement has been stressed in many international documents as well as in the Integrated Management Framework (IMF), which was prepared after Kathmandu Valley was kept in the UNESCO list of danger. There was mentioned about the intangibility, sustainable development, spirit, and so on in the IMF but it was mainly made for the seven-monument zone of Kathmandu Valley World Heritage Site.

⁶⁸ The revenue generated from the lands and properties, which was kept by the people who made the monuments and started festivals for the continuity of rituals and festivals. Also the maintenance of the temples, monuments, rest houses and so on. As every individual temples had a separate endowment even the rituals had the endowments for it continuity.

b) National Cultural Policy 2010

More than the half of century after the formation of the formal policy for the heritage conservation (which was of course tangible only), came into the National Cultural Policy of Nepal in 2010. For the first time the formal policy document of Nepal defined the Culture as, “... *the aggregated form of the tangible and intangible heritages, created and passed on by the different human community or communities inhabited within the boundary of the current Nepal during different periods of time and handed over to our responsibility after creating and adopting them by the ancestors of our different ethnicities and communities currently inhabiting, as well as the life-style in harmony with them*” (GoN, 2010). This policy defined culture as not only the tangible but also intangible which includes all the communities and ethnicities; including the culture created by them.

According to the Cultural Policy 2010, the existing acts and rules will be reformed as the need of time also with the necessary structural reforms. It also says the Ministry of Culture will be formed with the independent portfolio for the proper management and preservation of heritages. Management of religious places, study on ethnicity, study and categorization of customs, rituals, festivals and festivities, languages and dialects, literatures and folklore, and so on. So this Policy seems to be the remedy for the entire existing problem in the Cultural heritage of Nepal. It addresses every existing problem of the cultural heritage form the reform in the existing acts and laws in add to the formulation of the new laws with the intangible heritage, also with the structural reform. There is a lot more to be done in the cultural heritage, as policy cannot act until the proper laws are formulated.

The research, documentation and dissemination of the information, which has, been lacking in the heritage of Nepal, this policy has kept as its objectives. Even Nepal is a small county is full of cultural diversity with 103 caste and 92 languages so to document all the cultural heritage is quite a huge task in terms of

resources and manpower. So the country that is under the process of the political transition, and recently hit by the devastating earthquake (25th April 2015), it is quite unlikely to do the changes very soon. And we cannot forget the economic constraints Nepal have.

c) 2003 UNESCO Convention in context of Nepal

The Convention for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage was adopted by UNESCO General Conference in 2003 and came to practice from 2006. Nepal ratified the 2003 convention in 2010. Nepal for the first time coined the term intangible heritage in the government policy in 2010 with the National Cultural Policy 2010. Also 2010 Cultural policy underlined the formation intangible cultural heritage laws. When we discussed in the beginning of this chapter the influence of the international conservation trends Nepal is following and 2010 Cultural Policy seems to be also guided by the trends. It is definitely a good sign for the heritage conservation of Nepal, as it seems to be more dynamic and progressive. But the trend of treating the cultural heritage as a two stream tangible and intangible won't be practical. As cultural heritage of Nepal is so much interconnected and to separate the institutions to look after then would not be what Nepalese Culture need. 2003 Convention categorized intangible heritage in the five domains but the heritage, which is still living as in case of Nepal, cannot be categorized under the five categories. As the case of Yanya Punhi festival, the theme of this research all the five categories are included, even including the tangible space. During the seven- eight days long festivals, every sub festivals have their own folklores, stories which have been continuing since the time unknown. The dances performed during the festival are being transmitted from the older generations to the newer generations. The knowledge of making masks; painting mask, gods and goddess; making chariots and so on is continuing from generations. With small groups having specializations on the specific tasks. Still there are people who have specializations of the traditional crafts, which have been tradition of the families and communities. And with every

things like dances, music, festival, crafts and so on there is association of rituals. All these activities take place within the specific place, with specific temples. Even a small space, which seems to be functionless, comes alive when the performances and practices take place.

The living culture like of Nepal needs a special attention than just categorizing into some classes and making rules for each. As my study is on the Kathmandu Valley here I will express more with the example from the Kathmandu Valley. As, the indigenous people are responsible for taking care of most of the temples and monuments, rituals and festivals. This is mainly with the local association called Guthi, and for every temples, festival and activities there is this association of people. Traditionally it is the system that is joining both the tangibility and intangibility. The new laws and institutions should also be with the inter-linkages between both. The existing institutions in Nepal do not have any linkages or coordination with each other. The convention of 2003 helped Nepal to reflect on its intangible heritage as now Nepal is in process of making inventory of its intangible heritage.⁶⁹ There is still a long way to go for Nepal for safeguarding Intangible Heritage as except National Policy 2010 there is not much development been done. Also Nepal being a small county is so diverse and has numerous intangible heritages that is still living. So it needs to be handled skillfully understanding the Nepalese context.

⁶⁹ According to Mr. Bhim Nepal, Head of the National Archives of Nepal over the telephone conversation on 10th December 2015.

Chapter VII

Beyond the Horizon

The concluding chapter of the thesis tries to make an analysis of the research work. This section consists of the special case of Earthquake of 2015 that did an immense damage in the infrastructure and loss of human lives, including the built heritages. As this type of earthquake happens once in the century so as a researcher which affected my subject of study while it was still in the process I cannot let it without being mentioned. This section has been a very personal to me as well because it brings the emotional moment of my life and the destruction which I had never imagined. The earthquake section is the result of the situation I lived and output of continuous follow up with the development of that phase. This earthquake has been an unfortunate opportunity to see how people deal with the intangible heritage even with the loss of tangibility. The some key findings of the research and the notion of interconnectedness of people, place and practices are also defined in this chapter. In add to that the way ahead for the intangible heritage of Nepal or the countries like Nepal where heritage is still is living.

7.1 The day that shook the nation

25th April 2015 will be marked in the history of Nepal as a darkest day that killed thousands of people and did immense damage to the physical structures and to the soul. The earthquake occurred during the process of writing this thesis and I could not let it go as pretending nothing happened. As every Nepalese citizen was affected directly or indirectly with this earthquake, I was too. In add to that the study site of this research work, which has faced an immense damage due to earthquake obliged me to mention this National tragedy that killed thousands, did immense physical damage to public and private buildings and monuments.

Everyone in Nepal knew there would be a major earthquake sooner or later because of the smaller earthquakes once in a while as well as also due to the recorded history of major earthquake every hundred years interval. The first recorded earthquake was of 1255 AD on which incident one third of population of Kathmandu Valley was killed including King Abhaya Mall (NPC, 2015). In add to that there has been a major earthquake on the interval of every hundred years 1505, 1833 and 1934, including the smaller quakes from time to time. Kathmandu Valley now being the densely populated and the increasing number of high raised buildings and decreasing open spaces had been receiving warning signals by geologist and other experts. Due to the lack of urban planning and strict laws for the buildings there has been a haphazard growth of buildings all over the Valley. This has been reflected in the destruction it did during the earthquake of 2015. 7.9 Richter scale of earthquake on the morning (11:56 am) of 25th April for one minute will be the day to be remembered in the years to come a national tragedy⁷⁰.

According to the report of National Planning Commission of Nepal this earthquake claimed 8,790 lives, injured 22,300 and affected lives of eight million people that accounts for one third of whole population. It also assumed that the loss of life was minimum because it took place on Saturday when most of the offices and schools were closed. In monetary value the loss due to the disaster was 7 billion USD (NPC, 2015). If we concentrate in one of the densely populated place in Nepal, Kathmandu Valley from the perspectives of urban planning and traditional knowledge then it makes us to realize why the traditional architecture of the Valley has been like this. The three to four story houses, open spaces in form of courtyards, squares and so on did not came out of coincidence but out of necessity. It has once again proved that old age knowledge

⁷⁰ Earthquake of 7.8 magnitude on 25th April 2015 at 11:56 am with epicenter in Lamjung district, located 81 km northwest of Kathmandu with a depth of 15m for one minute. After that several after shocks followed.

is not always a bad one but to be considered when venturing for the newer development.

Among the chaos, destruction and fear, this earthquake has taught the lesson of humanity and the importance of local community. People started to help each other for the rescue. Nepal army and Nepal police was deployed in the affected area. The people who were not much affect by the earthquake went to help the people in the need with rescue operations, food and water before the government reached the affected areas. The help form the other countries could not be neglected who came with the rescue missions. During this process the capacity of government to handle such a big disaster prove to be inadequate. Once the news of Earthquake broke out it spread like a wild fire all over the world. Within the few hours the picture of devastation spread in social media. The first images that were circulated were the spine chilling images of flattened giant monument of Kathmandu Valley Kasthamandapa. The monuments have not only been the place of worshipping and festivity but also a place of meeting and interaction; and people still connect with those places. These images of devastation were from the place where people have the emotional linkages of daily life and every Nepalese felt being affected even their family, friends and places were safe.

Then the international agencies started to pour in for the disaster relief. During this disaster the spontaneous spirit of voluntarism was seen in Nepal. The Nepalese diaspora also helped in spreading the information and collecting the relief funds. Most of the people were living in the open space and with tents, or taking shelter somewhere safe place. Government was criticized very much for the lack of relief work and at the remote places nothing could be reached. Also lack of local government was felt very badly which was not elected since twelve years.

Along with the humanitarian support, there organizations like UNESCO, ICCROM, ICOMOS-ICROP and so on that came for the early assessments. With the help of local community, municipalities, Nepal Army, Guthis and international organizations salvages of the arts and architectural remains; and securing of the sites were done. In add to that documentation, retrieval of architectural remains and artifacts, salvages of art and securing the sites and assessment was done by organizations like ICCROM and ICOMOS-ICROP with the help of experts and local people (ICCROM, 2015). The loss of the tangible cultural heritage was another major negative impact of the Earthquake. The majestic buildings, which stood as a symbol of Kathmandu Valley, came down to the rubbles. Many private and public monuments were destroyed including the once within the Kathmandu Valley World Heritage Sites. As an example we can see in the Picture 7.1 below from Kathmandu Hanumandhoka Durbar Square monument zone. The giant temples, which dominated the skyline of the ancient, are seen turned into rubbles as seen in the picture. This devastation in the built heritage showed the need of the disaster management in cultural heritage. As in the Picture 7.2 can be seen the heavy machinery being used to clear the debris of ancient buildings. Many experts within and outside the country criticized this type of insensible act form the government.



Figure 7.1: The monuments that came to rubbles after the Earthquake of 25th April 2015 in the Kathmandu Hanumandhoka Durbar Square (one of the monument zone of Kathmandu Valley World Heritage Site) (Source: Internet/ Unknown as circulated in social media after the earthquake/ 2015)

Also government was being criticized for not providing the immediate relief. Nepalese Army and Nepalese Police were very much appreciated for their work in the rescue mission. Being the small airport and improper management in the airport in add to that the flooding of the international organizations, countries and individuals to help in Nepal created a chaos and negative news of this type got more air. This Earthquake has been a whistle-blower for Nepal. According to the experts, the scenario could have been far more devastating then it was. There was another quake of 7.1 on May 11th that again left with some casualties and leaving many people again in open space reviving the fear back. After shock still continues to shake Nepal till now when the thesis is being written.



Figure 7.2: Heavy machinery being used after the earthquake to clear the rubbles of the ancient building in the Hanumandhoka Durbar Square. Many experts have criticized this kind of act but it continued. (Source: Kai Weise/2015)

People continues to suffer even months after the earthquake. The slow attitude of government to work like sending the relief material, delay in the reconstruction, lack of information to people regarding the rules and regulations of building laws after earthquake all added the pain of the victim. Monsoon rain which started few months after the earthquake started to make the situation worse for the people as well as the damaged monuments. Still with the arrival of winter the quake victim were seen living in tents and the temporary settlements. Just after the months of earthquake, the economic embargo by India with which Nepal share three side of its border is hitting is crippling the daily life of the people.

While this thesis is being written many things have been happening for the reconstruction but in a very slow pace. The initiation was not only form the government sector but from the local community and organizations as well. While

government were busy searching for the funding from the international community for the reconstruction during the early stage community and people were busy collecting the destroyed pieces of the monuments for the reconstruction. The local people and community have started many reconstruction processes already in a small scale. Local municipality, UNESCO office in Kathmandu, local people as well as many experts has started to work towards the process of restoration and reconstruction.

The small Himalayan nation which was struggling with its political chaos was hit hard by the earthquake and has the immense effect on the every sector from education, tourism, economic and so on. When the country was in the recovery stage the economic embargo by the neighbor made the situation even worse than the earthquake. The embargo, which started after the Constituent Assembly of Nepal passed on its Constitution on 16th September 2015, has been continuing till now.⁷¹ Tourism, which was contributing as one of the major part in the economy of Nepal, was also hard hit by the Earthquake and the fuel crisis due to blockade made it worse. Many people compare with the earthquake of 1934 regarding the destruction and actions from the government side. The reconstruction after the earthquake of 1934 were completed within one year and of 1890 earthquake the reconstruction was done within seven months even though 70% of houses were damaged. Now in this modern era of technology after nine months it has just begun reconstruction campaign officially. The reconstruction process of Nepal government has been very slow and been criticized harshly by the people (Sharma, 2016).

Amidst the negative things, still some rays of hope are with the people and are doing what they can with the limited available resources. The temples and stupas are started to be renovated and pieces being brought together for reuse. The reconstruction process has been started in the local scale as well as some initiatives by the government side. The communities of *Bungamati* and *Pila Chhe*:

⁷¹ This embargo has been continuing till this section is being written (10th March 2016).

of Patan has started the reconstruction of the locality, which was inaugurated on 16th January 2016, nine months after the earthquake. The reconstruction work of Bungamati was inaugurated by Prime Minister K.P. Oli on the occasion of 18th Earthquake Safety day (Sharma, 2016), while *Pila Chhe*: of Patan was initiatives of the local to rebuilt the places as it was before. In add to there has been series of workshop and trainings by the international experts and organization like ICCROM, UNESCO along with the Department of Archeology in Nepal on post-earthquake recovery of cultural heritage. Also the safe preservation of the artifacts from the damaged monuments and temples were being done in the museums along with the trainings for the staff members of the museums. For that several training programs were being held by different organizations by national and international experts in Kathmandu Valley.⁷²

Kathmandu Valley had stood by many earthquakes in past and the only reason we could witness the magnificent art and architecture was because of the will to rebuild and transfer of the skill and knowledge form generation to generation. On the brighter side there are still skillful hands, which can build the monuments with the knowledge of the past. The traditional knowledge of the forefathers has been passed on to the younger generations and still living. So the good news for the heritage of Nepal is, the people who can recreate such work are still living. People still have a memory of the past either in the legends or memories to recreate the masterpiece. The documentation of Nepal is poor and the catastrophes of this kind show the need of documentation of each and every monument. There are a lot more work to be done form the reconstruction to documentation but now the urgencies is renovation and reconstruction.

⁷² As being the member of ICOMOS Nepal I receive updates about the events and programs in Nepal. Also because of the networking I have in Kathmandu I receive information of the processes that is undergoing in the Valley mostly related to cultural heritage.

7.2 Yenya Punhi Festival after the Earthquake

As mentioned in the previous section the year 2015 has not been a good year for Nepal and its people. The year will be remembered for the years to come but not in a good sense. Most of the monuments were damaged some even became flattened to grounds. As every Nepalese I was quite devastated to see the giant monuments coming to grounds. But a researcher inside of me urged the need to document how the intangibility continued when the tangibility was fallen apart. So I took this opportunity to document the Yenya Punhi festival of 2015, which was scheduled to take four and half month after the earthquake of April 25th and 12th May 2015. I was in constantly following the news and developments in Nepal after the earthquake. This was even more for the festival of Yenya Punhi.

This section has been best done to brief the festival of Yenya Punhi of 2015 after the earthquake. Due to the commitment to the University and personal reason it was not possible for me to attend the festival of 2015. The connection I made during the field visit of 2014 has been best utilized in 2015. Guthi members, journalists, photojournalists, Guthi members' leaders of Guthi members and also bloggers were contacted and flowed for the information. As researchers to be far for the place and people and get information from them was a new experience for me as well. The main event and scenario of 2015 festival has been presented as best as possible.

Most of the festival of Newars does not mean only the rituals and worshipping but mostly associated with the entertainment. Especially this festival have a theatrical value as well which was supposed to entertain people with dance, music and merry making. So Guthi members was not sure to organize the festival that year as most of the people were still in pain. Until the Manandhar Guthi Mambers went to forest to fetch the tree to make pole, which marked the official start of the festival, the uncertainty loomed in people's mind. All the indoor rituals were taken place, as before because the ritual performed inside were very much important

for the smooth operation of the festival. As with this festival the ritual for the people who died during that year was also an important part of the festival so it was taken bit more seriously because of the life lost due to earthquake. The decision to carry out the festival was uplifting news for the people amidst pain and sorrow.

But the decision on carrying out the festival was a big decision in itself. Most of the buildings in the Kathmandu Hanumandhoka Durbar Square were damaged while some in the rubbles with just remaining giant plinth of the temples as in picture 7.1. The damaged buildings were supported by the wooden logs and some buildings like Gaddi Baithak was covered in the scaffoldings for the repair. Also along the road inside of the old city of Kathmandu most of the buildings were in support of the wooden log. The first day of the pole of festival went well as before with the pole raising ceremony. The dances, music and the traditional army were all present as usual tradition among the damaged monuments with support. Huge crowd of spectators were present, some climbing the damaged monuments.

The various mask dances took place as usual in the respective places as usual including once everyday in the palace area. On the first day of the chariot procession of the Kumari the special care was taken. On this day the along with the President various dignitaries were invited as usual. As the traditions, they used to view the procession from the balcony of the *Gaddhi Baithak* (the white building adjacent to Kumari chhe:). But this time it was not possible as that building was badly damaged by the earthquake. So the arrangement was made in the open space in front of damaged building. Tents were arranged for the VIPs, with chairs. All the VIPs watched the start of procession from that place. Also the chariot procession was started earlier than the normal time. According to the program officer of Hamuman Dhoka Palace Conservation Project, Mr. Narendra Bilash Bajracharya, the first day of chariot procession, which was the day to have more crowd were carried out carefully amidst buildings supported

by logs on the way (Kamjor Samrachana, 2015). Also to avoid the accidents on the way the procession was concluded earlier before it became dark⁷³. This year the safety had been the major concern for the procession. Most people have even suggested carrying the Gods and Goddess in the palanquin instead of the chariot but the normal procession were done. The people also had the belief that if the rituals were carried out in the usual way then it will take ward off the evil from the country (Gurung, 2015).

The Dus Aavatar which was shown in the Laxmi Narayan Temple which came to the rubble except its base which consist of multi-stepped plinth. So there was speculation on how to carry it out. But the stage was prepared in that remaining base of the temple and the Dus Aavatar show was carried out as before. But this time they received the new clothes, jewelry and light as help form the Hanumandhoka Durbar Square Conservation Program. As the chariot festival all other processions were carried out earlier and ended earlier.⁷⁴ The procession of *Daagi* and *Bahumata*, which used to finish by 1 a.m. (last year during my field visit it was 1 a.m. when procession ended) was also concluded earlier. This procession is usually carried out after the Chariot of Kumari reached its house. Since the chariot procession ended earlier so as the other procession also concluded earlier. The crowd of people was present as before. Even people were seen to observe the festival climbing on the damaged monuments and houses as in the Picture 7.3 and 7.4 below. In the images that circulated in the social media,

⁷³ In Kathmandu still the electricity is transmitted by the wires which are in surface supported by the poles. While walking around the city the tangled wires with the poles are still the common practice. So during the chariot procession in order to avoid the accidents related to electricity, the areas where chariot pass by are cut off of electric supply. This supply are cut off by only on those areas and after the chariot passes the area again the supply is continued.

⁷⁴ This information was provided by Mr. Sailesh Rajbhandari who was helping me to collect the document for the Guthi Corporation as well as for some other offices.

blogs and newspaper the scenario were clearly seen.⁷⁵ The images below were also taken from the social media after taking permission with the publisher.



Picture 7.3: People seen in the ruins of the temples to watch the chariot procession of *Kumari* during the 2015 festival. In the background can be seen the pyramid of people which is actually the surviving base of temples which was destroyed by the earthquake. (Source: Arbin Singh/2015)

The festival for most people this time was not only limited to an entertainment and ritual but also people took it emotionally and to stand tall in spite of the massive earthquake. With the speculation and eager the common people and Guthi members were watching closely the festival of that year. When the intangible heritage is still not taken seriously by the government and with the traditions of indigenous the huge festival was carried out despite the unfortunate situation. This proves the perfect example where even though with the loss of the

⁷⁵ <http://www.thelongestwayhome.com/blog/nepal/celebrating-indra-jatra-yenya-festival-in-kathmandu/>
<http://nagariknews.com/photo-feature/story/46066.html>
<http://nagariknews.com/society/nation/story/46204.html#sthash.Qm0HEG7e.dpuf>

tangible aspect of heritage, the intangible heritage was continued. This establishes the link between tangible and intangible, but perhaps more important, between intangible and space. This is a bright part of living heritage and the community involvement. The country and government which was struggling to provide the basic need for the people after the massive earthquake, the community spirit and will power to organize the festival could not be left unnoticed. This was not just a matter of chance or happened due to the initiation of the government but it was due to the motion that was already in pace hundreds of years back as a Guthi. In add to the Involvement of the traditional institution, Kathmandu Hanumandhoka Conservation Program site office also mobilized manpower to prevent the unknown accidents during the festival.



Figure 7.4: The traditional musical band of Nepal army also known as *Gurju ya paltan* meaning army of priest or army lead by the Buddhist priest during the Yenya Punhi festival of 2015. This musical band is always lead any chariot procession. In that background can be seen the palace (white building) being supported by the wooden pole and scaffoldings which was damaged by Earthquake of 2015. (Source: Impact Productions/2015)

Although the festival was concluded successfully in at that critical moment also but the damaged monuments were very much vulnerable. It was seen people climbing on the ruins of monuments to observe the festival. There was not seen much care by the concerned authority on those demolished monuments, which had only plinth remaining. Some places in the Palace area of Kathmandu Hanumandhoka were seen with the bars for not allowing people to cross it. This lack care for the ruins and proper management again proves Nepal was not prepared for such huge disasters neither in solving humanitarian crisis nor on the heritage. But the images like 7.3 and 7.4, people continuing their traditions despite the buildings in ruins shows the possibility and hope of continuing traditional know-how in the modern world.

7.3 People, Place and Practices

After going through a bit of history, urban planning, social life and architecture in the chapter II, the indigenous management system “*Guthi*” in chapter III, Festival “Yenya Punhi” in chapter IV and the rules and regulation in chapter V we could analyze how the people, place and practices are well integrated in the context of Kathmandu. Despite having numerous intangible heritages, which are well practiced but not well addressed yet as tangible heritage in the policy, law and conservation practices of Nepal. With the advent of modernization and globalization, the threat for loss in both heritages is even more. While the built heritage could be recovered but the intangibility, connected practices with the tangibility will be impossible to recover in its original form once it is lost.

As in the case of this festival in research, people are still carrying out the ancient traditions. As most of the researcher write, “ancient Kathmandu can be seen in the festival of it” (Levi, 2007). With the changing societies still the traditional practices has been continuing as before. The traditional groups are still functional, the places like courtyards, raised platform (*dabu*), gods houses and open spaces are still used for the traditional practices. The tradition of

circumambulation of the ancient boundary of Kathmandu city on the 3rd day of the festival is still been done as before. Which mark the boundary even though the boundary of Kathmandu has been changed in an unimaginable way and no traces of ancient boundary is visible.

The division of Kathmandu that was as upper, middle and lower city can be seen in this festival too. The division of the city and boundary has been already explained in the chapter two in detail. The chariot procession of Kumari still takes place on the three different routes during three days as in the time of Malla Kings. The local people still use the term to identify people as form which part they belong during the conversations among themselves. The fixed work division for different Guthi members from different task from different locality making connection with people and place. The mask dances like *Devi Pyakha* performed during the Yenya Punhi festival also have a fixed place and day to perform. Even without any traces of physical structure, the dance is still performed in one place where the platform used to be which was explained in detail in Chapter 5. This gives the living proof of how the intangibility can help to explain the tangibility.

As in the Diagram below People, Practices and Places are interconnected which can be analyzed form the example of the festival, which this research studied. But interconnectedness between these components was not seen while reviewing the national policies and laws. People who practice those intangible heritages are still in isolation in the laws. Although the international conventions and recommendations are directing towards looking heritage in the holistic way. The new conventions are even more focused towards considering tangible and intangible heritage like UNESCO Recommendation for the Historic Urban Landscape in 2011. After the UNESCO Convention for the Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2003, the issue of intangible heritage has taken a new speed towards its conservation. But this has not been seen in the Nepalese law yet which has already been discussed in the Chapter regarding the rules and regulations.

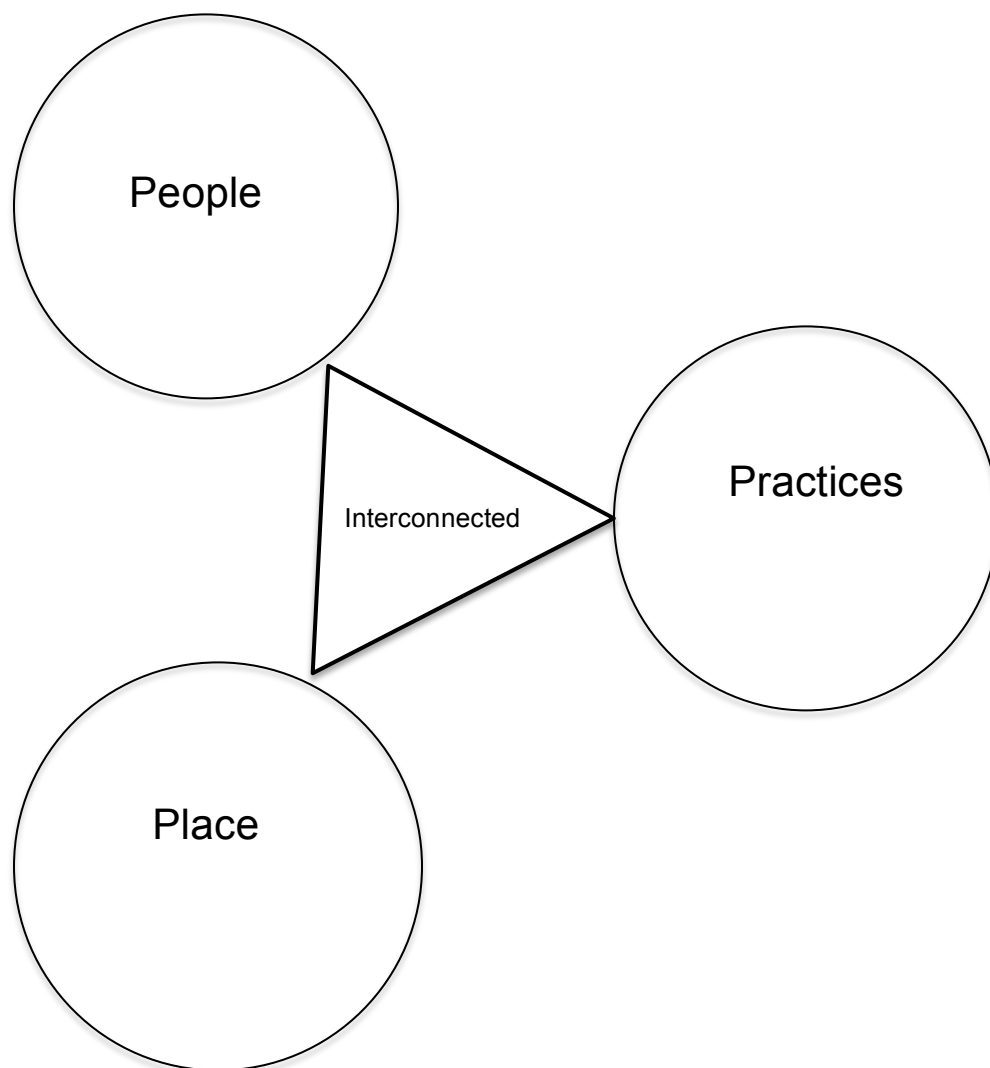


Figure 7.5: Interconnectedness of People, Place and Practices (Source: Author).

Despite the lack of laws or conservation mechanism for intangible heritage these traditional festivals and practices have been continuing. As Munjeri (2009) explains some of the intangible heritage even established and entrenched that the national law and regulations even become irrelevant. This happens when community feels the ownership of the heritage. This has been true in case of Kathmandu Valley too where community are taking the ownership and even with the lack of conservation law, the centuries old traditions has been continuing even in this modernized world in an ancient fashion. *“This is because intangible heritage is underwritten by the principle of intergeneration equity which is the*

responsibility of generations to inherit and pass on that heritage to succeeding generations. It is this temporal solidarity and responsibility in space and time” (Brown Weiss 1989 quoted in Munjeri, 2009; p. 148).

7.4 Key Research findings

Except the broader fact that the people, place and practices are interconnected as explained in the above section, there are some finding within the festival, which is noteworthy. This will also address places where the correction measures have to been taken which were seen during the research. Some of the points mentioned here have also been described in the broader scale in the earlier chapters. The main idea of this section is to find out the key points together. The key findings of the research can be summarized under the categorized as:

Lack of coordination between different Institutions involved

The various institutions that are involved for the support of the Yenya Punhi festival do not have coordination among themselves. The traditional institutions like Guthi corporations, *Kaushitoshakhana* and comparatively new institutions like Kathmandu Metropolitan City and the Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Civil Aviation are just fulfilling its duty by providing support in cash or kind, which they were supposed to do. *Kaushitoshakhana* and Guthi corporations are providing goods and money as they were providing since the ancient time. Kathmandu Metropolitan City and Ministry of Culture and Civil Aviation are the new institutions, which are providing cash for the Guthi. Ministry started to provide the cash only after the conflict of the Yenya Punhi of 2008. Except these they do not seem to have any duties. Various Guthi gets money and goods form various organizations while some Guthi receives help from many organizations while some does not receive anything.

Kathmandu Hanumandhoka Durbar Square, which has been a center of everything since the ancient time, is still the center of attraction during the

festival. Still most of the activities start and take place in this area during the festival, this institute also does not have any responsibility according to the director of the museum Ms. Sarashwoti Singh. She adds on that they keep the light on in the balcony of the palace for the dances and audience. But the staff from that office is seen taking the attendance of the Guthi members who come to dance there everyday during the eight days festival⁷⁶. The place which is the center of all the festival i.e. the Hanumandhoka Palace has not been given a formal responsibility except the traditional responsibility of the Palace.

Changes in the institutions, which were supporting the various Guthi like Department of Archeology, were responsible for providing the funds in the beginning. Later the responsibility regarding the entire intangible heritage was shifted to Ministry that is now the Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Civil Aviation. These changes in the institutions has made the Guthi members more bureaucratic burden. But now with the formation of Indra Jatra Management Committee it has become easier for the individual Guthi, the committee is responsible in getting money from the government, which it later distributes among the various Guthi.

Guthi Corporation

During the field visit there has been seen many grievances against the Guthi corporation being Guthi Corporation still the major supporter of the festival. But it is not responsible for every Guthi. According to the Director of Guthi Corporation Mr. Maharjan, only the Guthi that are registered under the Guthi Corporation gets the support from it. Which means during the nationalization of Guthi, the lands which were under the Guthi Corporation receive the support from them. But there are many Guthi which does not have any land under Guthi Corporation and also

⁷⁶ The Guthi members of the various dance group of the festival still believe that they have to go in the palace premises to dance every day (or even just do some steps of dance) and make attendance there. According to them some believe that the registration copy is seen to give them the money they are allocated but some does not know the significance of the attendance but still have to do it. But according to the director of the Hanuman Dhoka Palace Museum, nobody checks the registration.

does not know about such property does not receive any help from the Guthi Corporation such as Lakhey dance and Devi Pyakha of Kathmandu and Mahakali Dance from Bhaktapur.

Guthi Corporation is providing the support still in the traditional fashion. Even Guthi Corporation admits that some of the Guthi are really in the trap of the traditional way for support. For example the support which they used to give 50 paisa (which will now be the value of half of one cent) are still getting the same amount and even if the Guthi Corporation will help them by increasing to 300 percent will still be like 1.50 rupees (1.50 cent). While the market price has reached the sky. For most Guthi the monetary support that Guthi Corporation is providing nothing. While the Guthi, which was receiving goods instead of money, is still receiving the goods they used to get 50 years back which now seem to be the smarter option chosen by Guthi members.

The system of Guthi Corporation to give in tender to provide the necessary goods for rituals like fruits, grains, eggs, meat, animals and many more is also one of the trouble for the Guthi Members. The contractors in order to gain profit provide the less quality products or goods with the mixtures. But director of seem to be unaware of such problems and explains there is a provision to complain against such practices to the Guthi Corporations.

Traditional Guthi

Still the community people and their association called Guthi are responsible for most of the festivals and rituals. They come in the coordinated way as everyone knows their traditional role and perform as they were doing for the centuries. The Guthi members does not seem to get any monetary benefits except the benefit of attending the feast, prestige of being associated with the Guthi and the traditional belief of getting the piety. Most of the Guthi members who are performing the dances, playing the music seem to be getting the special attention and the

performers who perform as the Gods and Goddess are respected equally as the respect given to the Gods in temples.

Most of the Guthi members have the grievances against the Guthi Corporation and Government for not providing the necessary support to continue the traditional festival. This has been even more when the properties now within the Guthi Corporations worth millions and the Guthi members gets like peanuts who were the real custodians of the property as well. For an example the government building in the center of the city that is now of Nepal Airlines Corporation (NAC) was built in the land of Guthi of Kumari and Taleju.

Guthi members does not know about the present status of their property. Even when the property is sold and the amount is kept in the bank account of the corporation, they are never informed. And also they claim to not to know the account balance of the Guthi Corporations.

One of the major grievances of the Guthi members towards the Guthi Corporations was that the staff of the Guthi Corporations are given the benefits as the other staff of the Government offices. The salary raise they get, the perks and benefits as the other staffs while the people who are actually carrying the task of the traditional Guthi are getting nothing.

Lack of people in the ministry and Guthi Corporation who understands the local culture. Even though living in Kathmandu Valley that is comparatively very small in size has been seen indifference towards the local culture.

Even to get the limited funds they are allocated it's very difficult to get the money they are promised. They get the amount nearly half year after the festival.

The Guthi that are getting benefits are reluctant to share the information about the money they receive. Some of the Guthi are getting more benefit while others receive nothing.

Laws

There is no national law regarding the intangible heritage except the Cultural Policy formulated in 2010 and still in need of getting the formal law for intangible heritage for Nepal. The intangible heritage of Nepal, which is associated with religious and social life, is mostly guided by the Constitution as every caste and religion are free to practice their religion and social norms.

The tangible heritage laws do not incorporate the intangibility even though in practices the tangible and intangible heritages are very much interlinked. The tangible heritage law still needs to be amended to address the new challenging issues. This has been pointed out in many researches along which also addressed the need of the separate ministry or institution to look after the Cultural Heritage.

Other

The Guthi which have their source of income still under their control mostly in form of the God houses which are in center of the city are still functional and do not have the problem of funds as the other Guthi. Even if the Guthi Corporation does not continue to support them, they can support the festivals and rituals themselves. The Guthi like Aakash Bhairav, Pulu Kishi, Baka Dhyo Bhairav are well enough to support themselves by the rent they receive from the Gods houses they have in the prime locations.

Baka Dhyo Bhairav Guthi which was almost in the phase of extinct came to revival after the Guthi member decided to rebuild the house and give in for the rent.

Some of the Gods and Goddess which have many followers receive the donations and offerings from the people which are in large amount and are not considered seriously as the source of funds.

After the conflict of 2008 in the Yenya Punhi festival, the Government was seen a bit conscious about the need of the local Guthi members and as a negotiation between them they started to get the funds which is for now in the considerable amount. Before that they used to get very less while some Guthi used to get nothing.

Still there are many private and public Guthi which have difficulty in organizing the festivals and carrying out the rituals and these Guthi do not get support from anywhere. Those types of Guthis are in the phase of the extinction.

Many private independent Guthi, which are adding charm of the festival is not considered seriously, are disappearing. Also there is no data of how many such Guthi were there and now surviving. Some are disappearing because of their internal problem like fund crunch, modern lifestyle while some are disappearing due to the lack of security reason as the display gods and goddess are stolen during the festivals.

7.5 Optimistic Outlook

<p style="text-align: center;">STRENGTHS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - People still live the heritage. - Guthi are still functional and have the social connection. - Guthi Corporation still has the properties and cash. - Social life is still connected with the festivals, music and rituals. 	<p style="text-align: center;">WEAKNESSES</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Government lack of support. - Corruption in the Guthi Corporation. - Lack of transparency in Guthi funds. - Lack of the laws for intangible heritage in the government. - Festivals, rituals, music, dances etc are still not well recognized as heritage.
<p style="text-align: center;">OPPORTUNITIES</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Community are getting united for culture, mostly for the community identity. - People still have the feeling of belongings. - Intangible heritage is not still tapped as the potential for the tourism. - International recognition of intangibility as the heritage. - Ratification of UNESCO 2003 Convention by Nepal. - Intangible heritage policy 2010 of Nepal. 	<p style="text-align: center;">THREATS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Modern lifestyle of people. - Youngsters not much interested in the ritual aspect of the heritage. - Influence of the Western Culture. - Earthquake of 2015 and loss of physical structures. - Social bonding are weakening. - Guthi property being encroached due to high price of it.

Based on the findings of the research this section tries to analyze the strength and weakness the intangible heritage Yenya Punhi festival of Kathmandu. This

analysis is also very important to know the threat and the assets still have so that we can build on the remaining instead of finding the new solutions.

Strengths

As people are the strength of any society, the biggest strength of the intangible heritage in Kathmandu is its people. Here people's social life is still connected with the rituals, festivals, music and so on that form the intangible heritage. Even though the traditional institution is losing its grip on the society but still the Yanya Punhi festival is carried out with by the traditional institution Guthi. The people's connection with Guthi associated with the place, identity and position in the society with it matters to most of the people. This belief of the people is reason being the continuation of the traditional practices.

The Guthi Corporation under which responsibility most of the lands and properties came into after the nationalization still has a considerable property. If this property is managed well then still it can generate revenues and funds for the continuity of festivals and also renovations of the monuments. These properties mostly within the Kathmandu valley has the added benefit of having a high value and could give the high earnings by managing if its managed well by making the good strategy and stopping the corruptions.

Weaknesses

The main weakness is still the intangible heritage is not considered seriously compared to the tangible heritage in the context of Nepal. For the first time intangible heritage was mentioned in the cultural heritage policy in 2010. Most of the intangible heritage like ritual and festival are still guided by the interim constitution as all the religion and people are free to practice and continue their religion, culture and language. So except that government does not seem to have many programs for the intangible heritage.

Guthi Corporation that is still the major supporter during the festivals and rituals does not have a good image in public. Most of the Guthi members complain of the corruption in the Corporation and shows their lack of trust in that institution. During the research it was seen the lack of transparency in the monetary transactions of Guthi Corporation. Due to the bureaucratic nature of the corporation and government institution people are reluctant ask for the needs and also due to the past experience of the lack of cooperation.

Opportunities

As intangible heritage is untapped source by the government and private sector there is a huge opportunity. The tourism sector still need to promote the intangible heritage more in order to get the benefit from it. The changing politics of Nepal is making people to recognize their identity and the some of the traditional Guthi are also getting reformed to get establish their identity. These new organization is putting pressure on the government to recognize their heritage and also working and providing the information for the younger generations.

Nepal ratifying the UNESCO Convention for Safeguarding of the Intangible Heritage made liable for the state to recognize the intangible heritage of Nepal. Also as every state party is responsible to make the national inventory of the intangible heritage and Nepal is in process of that. In the mean time in 2010, government of Nepal has formulated the Cultural Heritage Policy in 2010, which has addressed intangibility as a heritage of Nepal.

Threats

As every nation of the world the primary threat to the heritage is modernization and globalization. The new life styles people are adopting and leaving the traditional values is a major threat. In Nepal too the sudden changes in the recent decades has made people to change in a considerable way. The younger generations are busy with the studies and under the pressure of modern lifestyle

so does not have time and also are not much interested in the traditional practices. The traditional social bonding and structure is being erased. The nuclear family and independent lifestyle is also one of the threats to traditional system like Guthi which is based on the social bonding and dependency on each other. The exponential growth in the property value is also one of the threats as many Guthi lands are being encroached and corrupted.

The next threat is the Earthquake of 2015. Due to the attention the destroyed monuments are receiving for its revival there is still a threat that the intangible heritage will be in the shadow again. Also most of the monuments were affected by the earthquake and some are in very bad shape with the high risk of being lost. So the tenability associated with it is also at risk. The smaller rituals and practices, which were associated with the monuments if not revived in the traditional form might get lost with it being unnoticed by many.

7.6 A way forward

The main reason behind going to the detail of the ritual and the management side of the indigenous group and formal institution to get actual insight on the heritage of Kathmandu Valley. So, while designing policy, laws and program also should be done accordingly seeing all the sides of the heritage. As with the tangible heritage when International Safeguarding Campaign for Kathmandu Valley was launched following the success it had in other countries. That strategy was not as success as it was expected in Nepal as in other countries (UNESCO, 2001). Though it made a considerable impact in the conservation of heritage in Nepal and paved the way ahead for the conservation. Similarly in case of intangible heritage the heritage conservation strategy should be sought from within the context of Nepal. The context of the heritage of Nepal is different from the other countries and this should be understood well before implanting any programs in Nepal.

The Asian countries like China, Japan and South Korea has been backing the intangible heritage to be recognized in the international context. China is taking the intangible heritage as an identity and unity. Recognizing the intangible heritage and safeguarding it, China is linking local, provincial and national cultural expressions, which ensures the consistency and unity. It has launched the “Project of Protecting Folk and Ethnic Culture in China” which will run until 2020. Japan, which has been a key leader in the Intangible Cultural Heritage has made, has made two categories of intangible heritage under the Law for protection of Cultural Property. Intangible Cultural Property (ICP) relates to techniques, music and other similar expression. The next one is Intangible Folk Cultural Property (IFPC) that embraces local religious rites and festivities (Munjeri, 2009). These are the countries with the resources and money. But similarly Nepal needs to find the solutions from within.

One of the uniqueness of Kathmandu Valley is Guthi where indigenous people still plays the key roles. Even without the places where there is no social Guthi cohesion as outside the Valley, people have the social linkages with the intangible heritage. So we need safeguard the heritage within its environment by the people who know it. Nepal still has the opportunity for safeguarding the heritage as in the ancient time because ancient heritage is still living. Munjeri again quote Kurin (2007) explaining that intangible heritage cannot survive *“if it is appropriated by others who are not members of the community whether they be government officials, scholars, artist etc”* (Munjeri, 2009; p. 148).

Government of Nepal, which is in the process of preparing the inventory of intangible heritage should be quick enough and move on with the next phase. Guthi association should be taken serious and should be understood well its meaning in the life of people. The grievances locals have should be solved and communion and dialogues should be established. Top down approach of the heritage will never work in the intangible heritage as community are continuing heritage till now not because of the higher authority suggested so. Its because

they still feel the ownership and identity associated with it. The management and safeguarding strategy should come within the community this time.

National Cultural Policy has been seem to stress much on the documentation and research which is good as with the intangible heritage there are still lot to be done. But in add to that the quick actions should be taken for not letting the heritage which are in danger. The biggest boost for the local will be once their practices are considered in the national list. This will be also a step shown by the nation towards its people the attitude of care. The assist of Guthi corporations should be analyzed well to know its exact position. All the inter-winding institutions should turned into one intuition for the support. In the government level, the person with the knowledge of their duty area should be appointed in near future not because of political appointment.

As land was been the major source of the fund in the ancient time. The patrons like wealthy people and kings have been supporting the festivals and rituals. So now with the changing world, the new opportunities has arrived like tourism that should be tapped well. The collection as a entry fee within the World Heritage Site are in considerable amount so these are the new sources funding mechanism in the modern world like land revenue from the ancient days. Nepal still have a long way to go even though Nepal has a continued undisturbed intangible heritages continuing so there are many benchmarks to be crossed.

Also with the recent devastating tremors showed the sentiments people have with the built heritage. This was because people still feel associated with those structures, which collapsed. This open squares; temples, rest houses and platforms have been a meeting place for the people. The place to gather, interact and socialize. This was not just a monument of past which did not have any connection with the present. The solidarity these heritage sites got after the earthquake from the national and international community it got was because of the human connection that this place has with it. So this earthquake should also

be taken as a lesson that has been one of the greatest enemies of the Nepalese heritage since the ancient time for the future.

7.7 Research Limitations

As every research this research has its own boundary. The detail analysis of the Guthi Corporation could not be done due to the difficulty in assessing the document from the Guthi Corporation. If the detail assess of Guthi Corporation funds can be done then clear analysis of the funding and improvement can be done. Also there are many more private Guthis within the Yenya Punhi festival which is still functional and many small activities still takes place which was could not be considered in this study. If considered all the Guthi then it will be a huge saga in itself. In add to that every thing has their time limit so too my research and I had the boundary of time as given by Erasmus Mundus of three years. There are still more work for the other researcher to work on even within this festival or even myself in the near future.

7.9 Notes for future research

This journey of my research has been a new life for me. The knowledge gained in this process has been an invaluable reward for me. The long and lonely hours I spent in office of IIFA (Institute of Advanced Training) and Library, the reading pace, search for the knowledge and linkages with the other professional have been a great training skill for me. So I have some plan drawn up for myself to work on. The first will be the documenting the intangible heritage of Nepal and creating a website of its won. In add to that the immediate will focusing on the Devi Pyakha dance, which had no any tangible assets. With the detail documentation of this and drawing up some idea for it's safeguarding I want to follow up in the next project.

For the researchers who are interested in this field there are many more things to be done. Documentation of the private Guthi which are in the phase of extinction due to the internal problem as well as the external problem like stolen images during the display. Also the mammoth task of detail analysis of the Guthi Corporation's assets should be analyzed in detail. This has to be done with the priority as the report presented by the High Level Study Committee regarding the Validity of Guthi Corporation was not detail and systematic. Also it has mentioned about the lack of data being provided by the Corporations.

Conclusion

After going through the heritage management in the Kathmandu Valley with the lens of festival “Yenya Punhi” we could make an analysis on how the formal and indigenous Guthi have been working. We came to the conclusion that the indigenous Guthi institution has still strong hold on taking care of the festivals including the temples and monuments. While the formal institutions that are involved are just providing some funds that too in not so sufficient amount. Most of the formal institutions were just working as fulfilling their obligations while the traditional institutions were seen to be working as it a part of their own life (which is in the true sense yes). But these centuries old institution now faces the modern threat and its worse with the lack of support form the government. The traditional institution Guthi is not considered seriously in the heritage management is seen as a major backbone in conducting the Yenya Punhi festival while a week support has been seen from the government side. Though some new institutions like Kathmandu Metropolitan city and the Kathmandu Hanumandhoka Management Project has seen to be a contributing in the smooth operation of the festival. Also the new financial support from the Ministry of Civil Aviation and Culture is seen a good start but still there is many areas of improvement. These fragmented help only for the groups, which can demonstrate against government, are getting support. While the groups, which are important from the cultural aspects but weak in pressurizing the government are getting no support.

One of the major problem was seen the fragmented support system of the various institutions. In add to that these institutions do not have coordination among themselves. The formal organizations, which are supporting the festivals, are seen just doing their responsibility of providing specific goods and amount. Except that they seem not be concern with any thing else. The concern for the intangible heritage has been seen with the New Cultural Policy on 2010 but it's already been five years and nothing significant has happened till now in terms of policy and laws regarding the intangible heritage. It is now high time to look at

these festivals and rituals as a heritage than just a social way of living of people. The rapid social changes should be considered and necessary steps should be taken before it's too late. As already mentioned Nepal does not need to bring a brand new concept for the heritage conservation or follow the international trends of conservation. But should built on the amazing indigenous system it has that is indigenous Guthi system. And also the people who are making the conservation plans for these type of heritage should know what is actually the core value of this indigenous system.

The mistake that government did before as identifying Guthi as just a means of financing or endowment should be corrected. Guthi is actually an association of people while endowment is a secondary thing. As in this research we have seen the rituals and dances even without the endowment are continuing. If endowment were the major concern then these festivals would have lost its existence years back. Finally, here in this case study we studied only the major Guthi and the activities but there are numerous Guthi which function in the small way even in this festival. These should not be left out in the future conservation plans. Since the major portions of the Nepalese heritage is associated with the people. When it means heritage its not just about the magnificent monuments but also the simple rituals and festivals of the normal people.

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Online Sources

With the age of digitalization it was much easier to collect the information and documents from the websites. The journals and publications that published decades earlier were able to be collected easily (actually with the references and rigorous search for the required information) from the online sources. Thanks to the effort of the various international organizations which made the effort to digitalize the journals and made it accessible online. The online sources have the collection of the various journals within a single website arranged chronologically which would have been very difficult to get accesses in the Nepalese library. I sincerely thank for such noble initiative of making it accessible to the wider mass so easily. Some of the online sources I used during the process of gathering information were as:

Journal and research articles sources

<http://whc.unesco.org/en/documents/>

<http://www.doa.gov.np/>

<http://himalaya.socanth.cam.ac.uk/collections/journals/>

<http://www.digitalhimalaya.com/collections/journals/regmi/>

<http://www.digitalhimalaya.com/collections/journals/contributions/nonjavascript.php>

<http://www.digitalhimalaya.com/collections/journals/ancientnepal/>

http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications_resources/

<http://www.kailashkut.com/pageone/publications.html>

<http://www.icomos.org/en/documentation-center>

<http://www.guthisansthan.com.np>

Some of the online Newspapers were as follows:

<http://www.kailashkut.com/pageone/publications.html>

<http://www.ekantipur.com/>

<http://nagariknews.com/index.php>

<http://www.myrepublica.com/>

<https://thehimalayantimes.com/>

<http://www.theguardian.com/international>

http://nepalitimes.com/issue_archive/list/2016

<http://www.spacesnepal.com/>

<http://himalmag.com/>

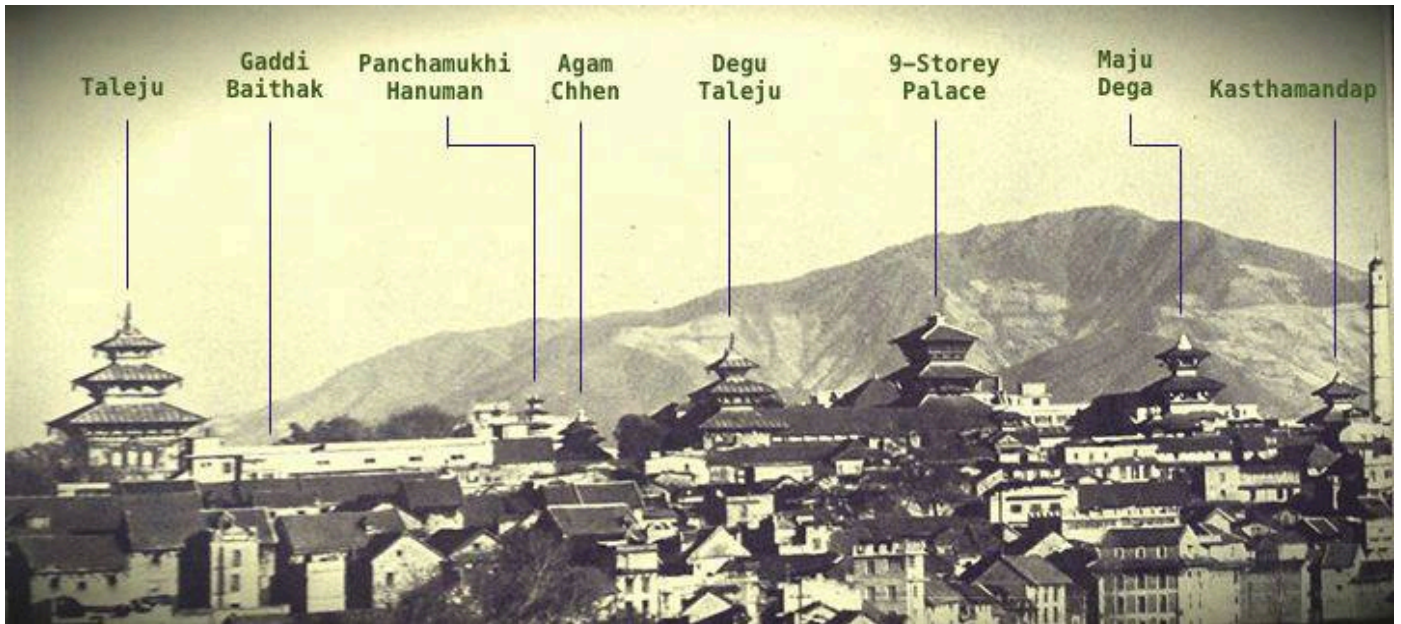
Annexes

Annex: 1

Gallery of the Pictures – People and Place

Picture of the Kathmandu Valley and the Yenya Punhi festival. The reason for this form of library was to give some pictorial idea about the Kathmandu Valley and also the festival. Though some pictures have been included in the text, these pictures are to give further clear idea about the subjects. Also the festival and the people behind the festivals have been shown in this library.

Architectural Background of Kathmandu Valley



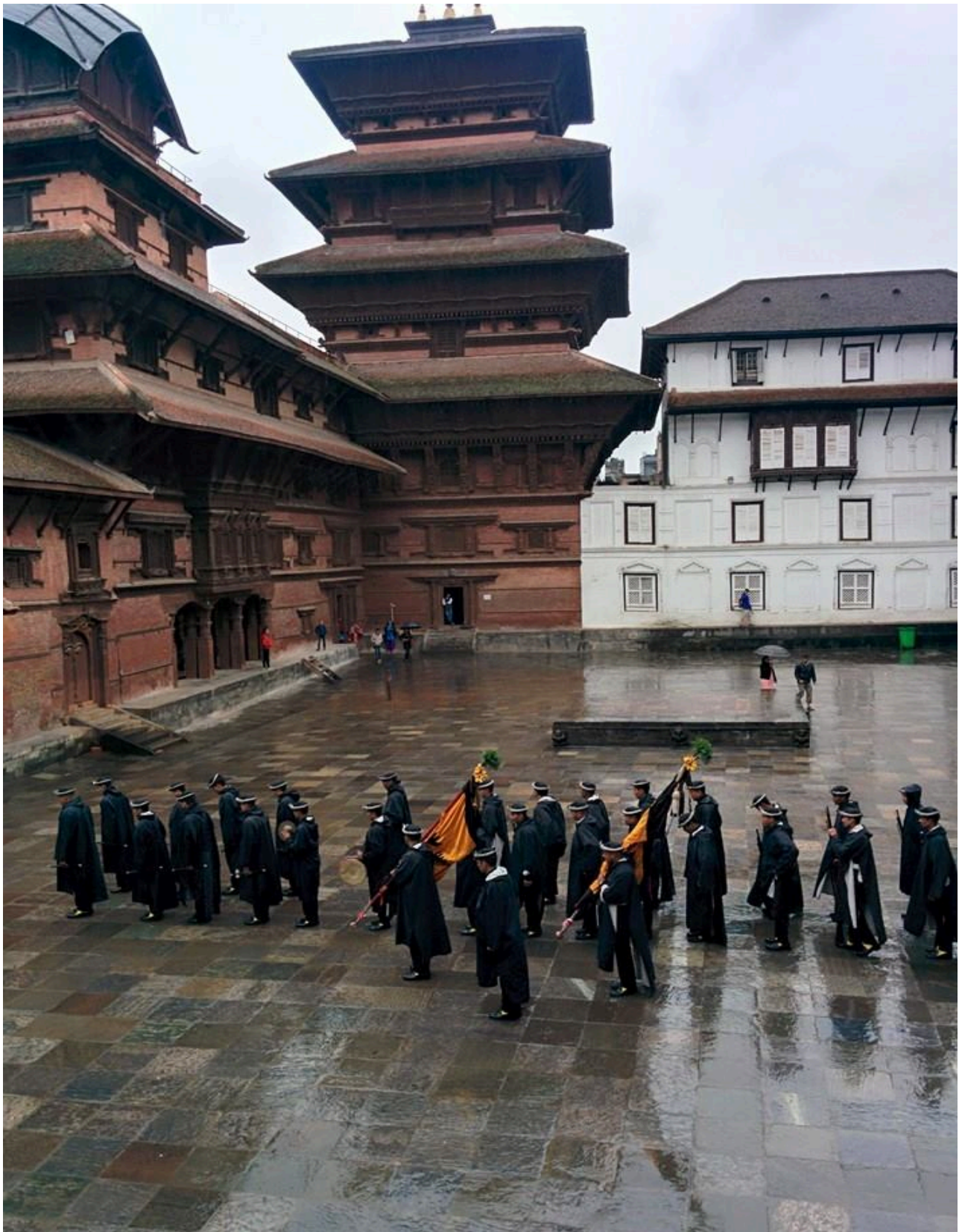
Ancient Skyline of Kathmandu with temples and hills, which was, still dominated the ancient city of the city until the devastating Earthquake of 25th April 2015.



Jana Bahal of Kathmandu. Buddhist Bihar with the temples and the numerous Chaityas surrounding but now can be seen the high raising buildings in the background.



Palace Complex of Kathmandu Hanuman Dhoka Durbar Square, which is one of the monument zone of UNESCO World Heritage Site



Traditional Army during the religious ceremony within the palace complex of Kathmandu Hanuman Dhoka Durbar Square.

House of the ordinary people.



Artistic window of the traditional house.



Renovated traditional Newar house



Chaitya within the courtyard of the house



Traditional house in the depleted state. Most of the houses because of the preference over the modern houses and high cost, these types of styles of houses are being abandoned over the cement houses.

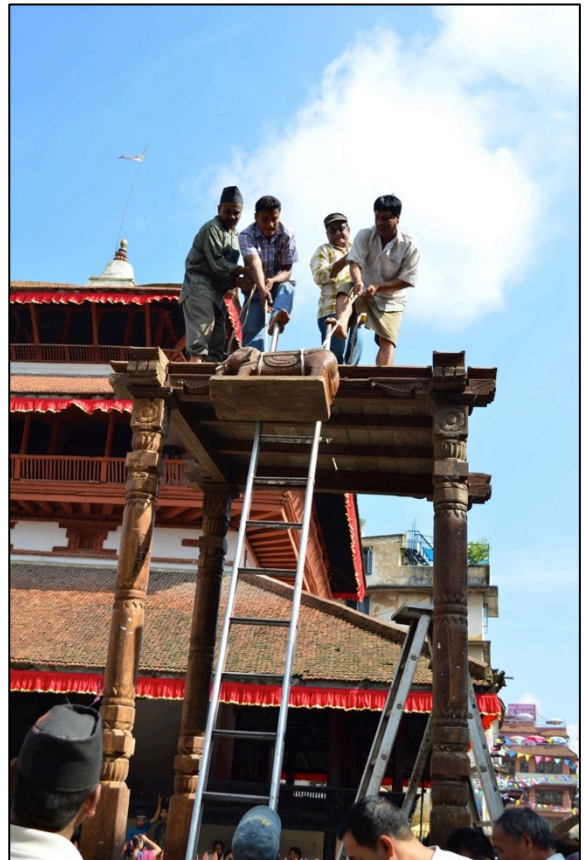
Preparations of the Festival



Artist painting the chariot before the start of festival.



Elderly Guthi member directing the position of the idol to the other Guthi members during the display of God outside the temple for the festival.



Left: Painting of the Kumari House for the preparation of festival.
Right Wooden high raise pavilion being setup for the God Indra where he is tied up as a punished of stealing flower. Every year these pavilions are set up in the start of festival and dismantled with the end of the festival.



Guthi members practicing the dances days ahead the festival. It has to follow many rituals just than practicing the dances. This practice is performed in the specific courtyard. Followed by the actual dances at the various places which has been specific for this dance.



Workers still continuing the repairing of the road even after the festival has started.



Preparation of the traditional breads for the festival inside the courtyard of Kumari "the living Goddess".

Festival As seen by the Mass



Pole being carried to the Palace premises from the outer boundary of the ancient city.



Pole raising ceremony in presence of traditional army, Guthi members, Press and Observers.



Guthi members along with the army pulling the pole from the place which used to be outside of the city in the ancient times to the Palace area



Lakhey Dance



Mahakali Dance and the audience in the premises of Kathmandu Hanuman Dhoka Durbar Square.



Baumata Procession during the festival which (this was after the midnight). Guthi of Manandhar community carry out this procession.



Devotees worshipping Aakash Bhairav which is also regarded as the first King of Kathmandu “Yalamber”. Worshipping of Bhariav is also a major component of the “Yenya Punhi Festival” who is also considered as a protective deity of the City.



Various types and forms of the Bhairav are seen in display during the Festival. Some with the Giant like Swet Bhairav while some small in form of just pots. All these Bhairav have a pipe inserted in the mouth through which liquor flows and due to that the Bhairav are also known as *Hathu Dhyo* which means “from whose mouth liquor flows”.





Dhimey is one of the various musical instruments of Kathmandu Valley and also the integral part of Newar festival. Without of music festival is not complete. And can be seen local youth playing the pole with the yak hair known as *Dhynya*. To play dhynya requires a special skills and training which also the identity of the farmer community of the Kathmandu.



Chariot procession of Kumari.



Chariot Procession of Bhairav, with a male child inform of God Bhairav inside.



Chariot in resting position during the day. The chariot with three tires is of main deity "Kumari" while the smaller ones with one tire are of Bhairav and Ganesh other male deity.



Left: People waiting outside of the Daagi House to start the Daagi Procession.



Devotees worshipping the Goddess in form of people. They are the normal people who act as gods and Goddess. People worships them and gets the special attention as the gods of the temples when they are in the attire of the Gods.



Devi Pyakha dance in the open space within the ancient quarter of Kathmandu while local people are see as an audience.



Dabali or Dabu a raised platform which is now used as the shops.



Left: Dabu seen where the vendors are displaying the goods to sale. This was recently renovated for the film festival which was used to show the stage plays in the ancient time. Now the new form of paly in the digital form are being started by the local youths to revive the lost heritage.



Various display Gods being displayed within the city. Some are very beautiful while some plane looking. But numerous display of the Gods statues are performed which is now decreasing due to the theft and security reason.



Gods in Display during the festival.



Dus Aavtar show being performed in the plinth of the temple within the Kathmandu Hanuman Dhoka Durbar Square

People Behind the Festival





Devi Pyakha Dance groups preparing before the dance.



Guthi members performing rituals before the start of the dance. The dances which are performed are not only for the entertainment but also a way to please God. And the person who performs is not only artists but also gets prestige as a God during the festival.



Now many banners like in the pictures are seen before the start of the festival. Some welcoming the for the upcoming events while some are the banner for the unity of the culture.



Batch as an identity for the people of Manandhar Community for the Baumata procession. People were seen to wear this in their shirt during the procession to Distinguish themselves for other. In the bath written name of the Manandhar Community along with the date and time of the procession. Even the time of procession was written 7:00 pm but actually it started after the midnight in 2014



People in the open space seen singing the religious songs called Bhajan during the festival. Many such groups are seen in the different places in the city. This bhajans adds on to the festive mood of the place.





Left: Stone Lion which was destroyed by the chariot of Kumari in the night was repaired in the early morning next day. Such types of incidences are considered as inauspicious.

Below: Devotes lightening butter lamps in front of tied statue of God Indra. 108 butter lamps are lit which are considered to be auspicious. Anyone wishing to light the lamps could light the lamps.





Left: Maju Degal, the biggest temple in the Kathmandu Hanumandhoka Durbar Square. Even being huge in size it does not have the worshippers and is less significant in the daily life of people. But this temple is much famous for observing the various festivals within the Durbar Square. In picture can be seen people observing the Yenya Punhi Festival despite the rain.

Below: The same temple after the earthquakes with the people observing the Yenya Punhi festival in the remaining plinth of the temple.





People Watching the festival from the ruins of the Earthquake

Below pictures are the destructions in the monuments caused by the Earthquake of 2015 which was of 7.8





Annex 2

Glossary of Terms

Chaitya	a Buddhist cult object modeled on the stupa, but generally much smaller.
Dega/ degal	the denotation of the Temples to Newar irrespective of size, shape or any architectural differences. These words derived from the Sanskrit <i>deva-griha</i> , 'god house' or <i>deva-sala</i> 'god-place'.
Durbar	palace in Nepali language. Such as Kathmandu Hanuman Dhoka Durbar Square.
Gorkhali	people form the Gorkha. King Prithivi Narayan Shah who came unified Nepal by taking Kathmandu Valley in 1768/69 came from Gorkha.
Guthi	association of people according to the caste, locality and functions for the specific social or religious purpose. Its derived from Sanskrit word "Gosthi" which later because Guthi in Newari. All the Newar house hold are member of at least one Guthi.
Jatra	which mean festival in both Nepali and Newari language.
Kaushitoshakhana	treasury department of Nepal which is under the ministry of finance and is also responsible for funding some of the Guthi in their traditional rituals.
Mandala	a ritual diagram with a principal deity at its centre and the other divinities of this deity's retinue arranged geometrically around it. The mandala is the model for the design of Nepal's square pagoda temples and also, though less obviously, for the layout of the royal cities of the Valley during the Malla period.
Newari	language spoken by the Newars. Also known as <i>Nepa Bhaya</i> or <i>Nepal Bhasa</i> meaning language of Nepal (as Kathmandu Valley used to be called Nepal in ancient time).

Newars	are the indigenous people of Kathmandu Valley.
Paathi	Nepali measurement unit for grains and liquids where one paathi grains equals to 2.5 kg.
Panchayat	palace in Nepali
Pati	a simple colonnaded open-fronted building that provides shelter for passing travellers and pilgrims.
Puja	ritual Worship
Punhi	full moon day according to Newari Language and the day of full moon are considered to be the auspicious day. Most of the full moon days have special worshipping and festivals.
Purana	Literally old. The name given to Sanskrit scriptures that record the scared origins and associations of specific temple sites, or which in a few examples tell of the exploits of particular deities, e.g. Swyambhu Purana is a fundamental text for Newar Buddhists
Rana	Surname of the First Prime Minister who started the autocratic rule, while King being a mere puppet. From 1846 to 1951, the Rana family ruled over Nepal.
Ropani	Nepali measurement for land where one ropani is equivalent to 507 sq.m.
Sattal	an elaborated, multistoried form of a mandapa.
Stupa	the primary cult-object of Buddhism in Nepal and elsewhere. Originally a simple mound entombing scared relics, now greatly elaborated.
Tantrism	a movement within both Hinduism and Buddhism based on scared texts called Tantras composed fro the 7 th Century onwards, which emphasized the mystical and psycho-sexual aspects of religious practice and iconology.
Tol/ Tva	traditional distribution of quarter or district of an urban area Tol in Nepali and Tva in Newari.

Vambshavali	a genealogical and historical text detailing the succession and pious acts of Kings. The vambshavalis are the primary sources for the reconstruction of the Nepal's early history.
Vihara	buddhist monastery.
Yenya	when divided the literal meaning of Yenya is "Yen" meaning Kathmandu City and "ya" meaning procession. Procession in the Kathmandu city. Also, local define Yenya as a celebration of the Kathmandu City.

Annex: 3

Checklist Questions in Field

The research in the field was based on the observation, participant observation as well as interview. The people interviewed were from the various field. As the people were categorized into the four groups to get the information accordingly and the questions were set accordingly. The interview were open ended so did not have the structured questions while it had the guides not to get diverted from the research objectives. The Four Groups of people and questions were as

A) Guthi Members

(These were the Guthi members who were actually working and involved in the festivals, rituals and dances. Their professions were different and the different Guthi members come from the different places according to the Guthi. Most of the old generations were not educated while the scenario is changing as new generations, most of being educated.)

- Name, Background, Profession and residency
- What Guthi is this one?
- How long have you been performing? What is your role in this?
- How this Guthi Works?
- Any benefits from this Guthi?
- Any knowledge how the Guthi is running?
- Problems?
- Need?
- How will it continue in future? Perspectives of the younger generations.

B) Guthi Members Leaders

These were the members of the Guthi but were in the position of the decision. Here when I say the leaders did not mean to be the eldest member in the Guthi which were actually used to be the leader in the Guthi. Here for this research the leader were mostly who were outgoing,

had contacted with the wider mass of people and were able to lead the people in various events. Some were old but some were young as well.

- What the Guthi is about?
- Its continuity?
- Funding for the Guthi?
- What is the asset it has?
- Some about the Gods houses and its renovation?
- What support does have form the various organizations like Guthi Corporations, Kaushitoshakhana, KMC and other organizations?
- Any other sources of income?
- Any help form the Government side?
- Are you called for the interaction, discussion form any organization?
- Problems being faced?
- What about the continuity in the future?
- What help do you need?

C) Government/ non government Officials

The government officials were from the various institutions like Guthi Corporations, Museums, Kathmandu Metropolitan City, Kathmandu Hanuman Dhoka Conservation Projects and so on.

- What is the role of this institution in the heritage?
- Role in the Festivals/ Yenya Punhi festival?
- Issues related to the National laws?
- Laws under their jurisdictions?
- Management?
- Funding? How is it divided? Given?
- About the Guthi without findings?
- Do you invite people (Guthi members) for the discussion, interaction, and suggestions?

- What about the peoples grievances?

D) Experts

For this research the experts were categorized as the people who had the knowledge about the cultural heritage of Nepal from the study as well as from the work experience. The experts were from wide range of field as the professors, ex-professors in the universities, people working in the heritage sector independently as the entrepreneur, bloggers, photographers and documentary makers, researchers and so on.

- What is Yenya Punhi festival? Start? Modification?
- Interaction in the festival?
- Social and architectural plan?
- Relation of the space and festival in the Newar context?
- Meanings Bhairav, Kumari, Processions, chariots (according to the experts)?
- Management?
- For the future?
- Support?
- Next level?

Annex: 4**List of the Interviewee in Field 2014**

S.N.	Date	Name and Designation	Category	Time	Code
1.	31 st July 2014	Mr. Sukha Sagar Maharjan	Expert	24:02	SSM_E_2014
2.	1 st August 2014	Group Discussion with Digital Film festival Group	Expert Groups	28:56	GD_E_2014
3.	1 st August 2014	Bishnu Maharjan	Guthi Member Leader	35:26	BM_GML_2014
4.	10 th August 2014	Mohan Krishna Dongol	Guthi Member Leader	1:19:13 7:03	MKD_GML_2014
5.	27 th August 2014	Tri-Ratna Manandhar (Prof. at Tribhuvan University)	Expert	2:43 58:42 1:30	TRM_E_2014
6.	28 th August 2014	Sudarshan Raj Tiwari (Professor Institute of Engineering/ Tribhuvan Univeristy)	Expert	1:15:06	SRT_E_2014
7.	28 th August 2014	PanchaLal Maharjan (Director of Guthi Corporation)	Government Officials	19:08 38:41	PM_GO_2014
8.	31 st August 2014	Rajeeb Ranjit (Lakhey Guthi)	Guthi Member	44:01	RR_GM_2014
9.	1 st September 2014`	Kilagal Guthi (Devi Naach Guthi)	Guthi Members	6:05	KG_GM_2014
10.	1 st September 2014	Mukunda Aryal (Professor at Tribhuvan University)	Expert	1:09:42	MA_E_2014
11.	3 rd September 2014	Guthi Members Kilagal	Guthi Member	3:44:14	KG_E_2014

12.	4 th September 2014	Sarashwoti Singh Chairperson, Hanuman Dhoka Museum Development Committee	Government Official	19:44	SS_GO_2014
13	5 th September 2014	Bahumata Guthi	Guthi Members	5:20	BG_GM_2014
14	6 th September 2014	Meeting with Guthi Members (Meeting during the Pole raisin ceremony when Guthi members complained about the problems to Guthi Corporations)	Guthi	1:02:34	GM_GM_2014
15.	5 th August 2014	Bal Dev Juju Retired Professor of Culture	Expert	1:30:29	BDJ_E_2014
16.	11 th September 2014	Gautam Shakya Chairperson of Indra Jatra Management Comittee	Guthi Member Leader	34:57	GS_GML_2014
17.	9 th September 2014	Surya Man Maharjan	Guthi Members	4:31	SMM_GM_2014
18.	6 th September 2014	Mahakali Guthi		16:10	MG_GM_2014
19.	7 th September 2014	Hathu dhyo		1:55	HD_GM_2014
20	7 th September 2014	Baka Dhyo	Guthi Members	6:54	BD_GM_2014
21	5 th September 2014	Mr. Ravi Narayan Manandhar (Baumata Guthi)	Guthi Member	5:20	
22	15 th December 2015	Mr. Bhim Nepal	Folklore	10 min	Telephone Conversation

Informal talks and discussion with people in Field.

Rosha Chitrakar, Social Entrepreneur and energy planner

Anil Chitrakar, Entrepreneur related to heritage

Alok Siddhi Tuladhar, Media personality

Pabitra Kasha

Michael Balatus, Assistant Professor, University of Wisconsin

Gagendra Man Manandhar, Guthi member of Manandhar Guthi

Nirmal Baral, Civil Engineer at Kathmandu Hanumandhoka Conservation Program

Sanu Kale Putuwar, Guthi member of Sawa Bhaku Guthi

Annex: 5

List of Guthi for the Yenya Punhi/ Letter

Copy of the letter sent by Indra Jatra Byasthapan Simiti to Cultural, Tourism and Civil Aviation Ministry for the disbursement of money and later part is the list of Guthi for festival being supported by Guthi Corporation.

श्री आर्थिक प्रशासन शाखा

संस्कृति, पर्यन तथा नागरिक उड्डयन मन्त्रालय,

सिंहदरवार ।

विषय : भुक्तानी सम्बन्धमा ।

प्रस्तुत विषयमा यस मन्त्रालय र इन्द्रजात्रा व्यवस्थापन समिति बीच भएको सम्झौता बमोजिम कार्य गर्न देहायमा उल्लेखित नाच तथा जात्राका व्यवस्थापक एवं दश अवतार नाचको पोशाक फेर्ने प्रयोजनको लागि रु. २,००,०००/- (दुइ लाख) रकम बुझाई भर्पाइ सहित कार्य सम्पन्न प्रतिवेदन तथा लेखापरीक्षण प्रतिवेदन पेश गर्ने गरि रकम भुक्तानी गरिदिनु हुन निर्णयानुसार अनुरोध छ ।

क्र.सं.	गुठी/जात्राको नाम
१	श्री लाखे आजु (मजिपात लाखे)
२	महाकाली नाच छ थरी १. मुस्याजु समुह २. खर्बुजा समुह ३. जोशी समुह ४. दैवज्ञ समुह ५. लोहला समुह ६. फैजु समुह
३	रामचन्द्र नाच भक्तपुर
४	कुमारीमन्दिर सरसफाईको लागि
५	त्रिपुराशुर नाच ज्याठा

६	कुमार नाच, असन
७	श्री हलचोक भैरव
८	श्री पुलुकिसि जात्रा -हात्ती जात्रा) किलाघ: त्वा)
९	श्री दश अवतार नाच
१०	श्री केन्द्रिय मानन्धर संघ
११	श्री श्वेत भैरव
१२	श्री कुमारी -कुमारी घर)
१३	श्री गणेश
१४	श्री भैरव
१५	श्री दागी गुठी
१६	श्री अशोक विनायक गुठी
१७	श्री कुमारी, श्री भैरव महान
१८	देवी नाच, किलाघ:
१९	श्री लिङ्गोमा डोरी बाँध्ने गुठी र सरकारी नाइके
२०	श्री गणेशको कहाने
२१	श्री कुमारी दुका गुठी
२२	श्री कँडेल चोक भगवती
२३	श्री स्वच्छन्द भैरव
२४	श्रीवौमती गुठी
२५	श्री आकाश भैरवनाथ गुठी
२६	श्री ठूलो नगरा बाजा उपभोक्ता समिति
२७	श्री कुमारी, श्री गणेश, श्री भैरव रथ संरक्षण पुच (७ वटा गुठी)
२८	श्री राज गुरुजु (पञ्चबुद्ध)
२९	श्री तलेजु भवानी नाय् समुह
३०	श्री वतु सनागु खल: वाकादे
३१	श्री कुमारी यात्रा पञ्चे बाजा (कुस्ले) समुह
३२	श्री कुमारी, श्री गणेश, श्री भैरव रथमा सम्मानीय राष्ट्रपतिज्यूबाट पूजाको लागि खर्च
३३	श्री ठूलो घण्टा

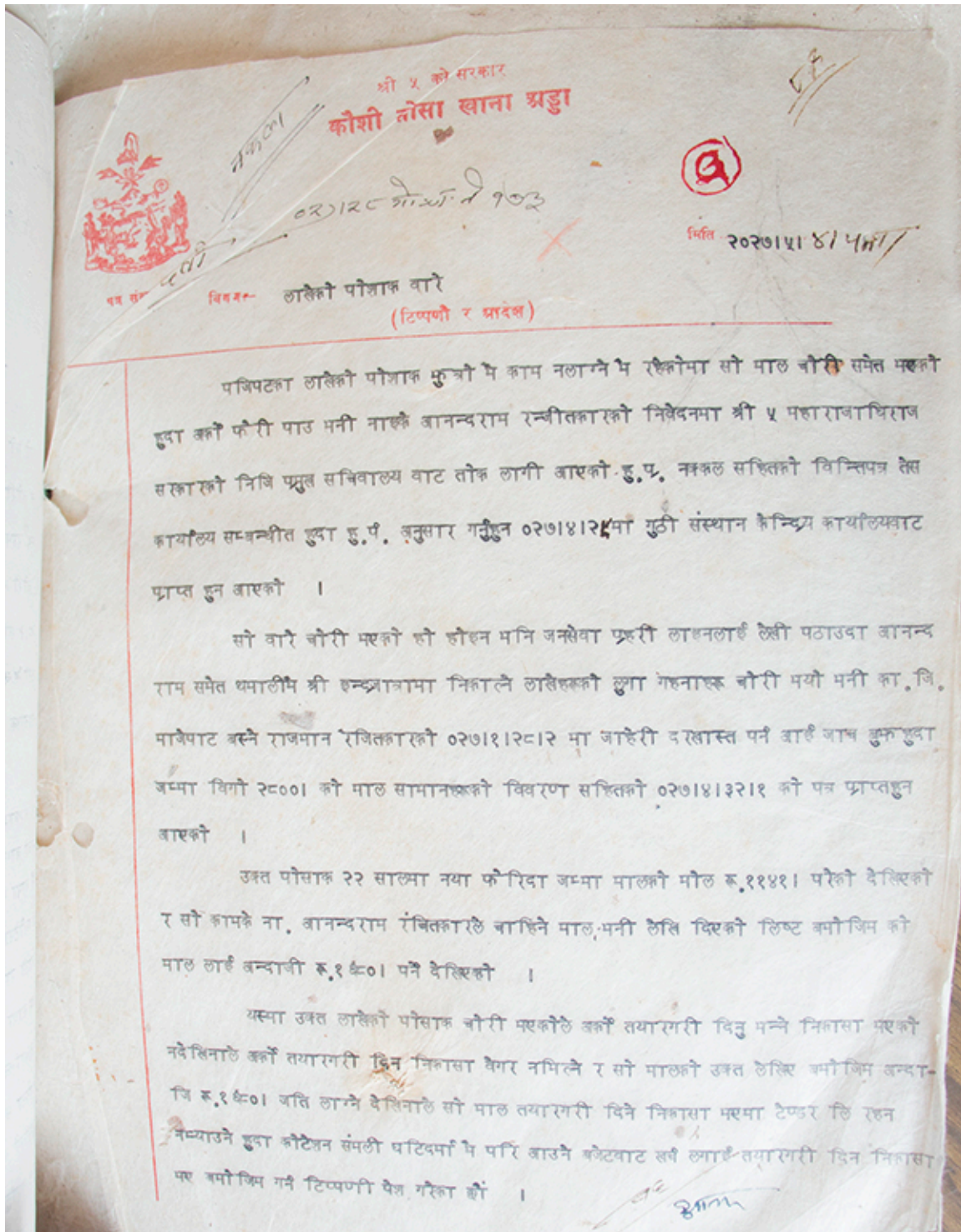
३४	श्री श्री श्री कुमारी भक्तजन सेवा समिति
३५	गाउने ढाडी काठमाडौं

गुठी संस्थान प्रधान कार्यालय, त्रिपुरेश्वर, काठमाडौं

सि.नं.	जिल्ला	गुठी नाम
१.	काठमाडौं	इन्द्रजात्राका स्वच्छन्द भैरव गुठी
२	काठमाडौं	इन्द्रजात्राका विश्वरुव गुठी
३	काठमाडौं	इन्द्रजात्राका लिङ्गगुठी
४	काठमाडौं	काठमाडौं कुमारीका दुका गुठी
५	काठमाडौं	पंच बुद्ध भगवान गुठी
६	काठमाडौं	इन्द्रजात्रा लिंगो
७	काठमाडौं	इन्द्रजात्रा जगेडा
८	काठमाडौं	कंडेलचोक भगवती
९	काठमाडौं	कंडेलचोक आकाश भैरव
१०	काठमाडौं	काठमाडौं स्वच्छन्द भैरव

Annex: 5

Samples of collected documents



नेपाल सरकार
अर्थ मन्त्रालय
महालेखा नियन्त्रक कार्यालय
निवृत्तभरण व्यवस्थापन कार्यालय
त्रिपुरेश्वर, काठमाडौं

कार्यालयबाट गरिने देवी देवताहरुको दरबन्दी सूची

पचसी भैरव देवता बडा दशैमा (कार्यालय माफत आफै लाने)

सि.नं.	विवरण	परिमाण	इकाई	दर	जम्मा
१	फूलको माला	३	थान		
२	स्याउ	२	किलो		
३	फलको मुठा	३	मुठा		
४	मोसम	१ १/२	किलो		
५	केरा	१ १/२	दर्जन		
६	दही	३	कतारा		
७	धूप	१	मुठा		
८	पञ्चमेल लोटी	३	थान		
९	टपरी	१५	गोटा		
१०	अवीर	१	पाकेट		
११	दुध	१	पाकेट		
१२	प्लेट	१	पा		
१३	भेटी घाटी	१	ठाउँमा		
१४	चाँदीको जनै	१	जोर		
१५	चाँदीको टिकपा (किकिपा)	१	थान		

नोट-

- १) दरबन्दी अनुसारको कार्यालयबाट रांगो १ जाने गरेको छ ।
- २) चाँदीको टिकपा (किकिपा) - १ र जनै चाँदीको - १ जोर ठेकेदार माफत जाने गरेको छ ।

सि.नं.	सामानको नाम	परिमाण	इकाई
१	रातो बुट्टे कपडा	१	मि.
२	सेतो कपडा	१	मि.
३	साटन असल	५०	से.मि.
४	सिङ्गो सुपारी	४	वटा
५	हाँसको फूल	२	वटा
६	भुटेको कालो भटमास	१	माना
७	जटा नरिवल	१	वटा
८	जौ तेल	५०	ग्रामको पाकेट
९	कपूर	२५	पाकेट
१०	सिन्का धूप	१	मुठा
११	केशरी	२५	ग्राम
१२	सिन्दुर	२५	ग्राम
१३	बत्ती	१	मुठा
१४	मह	५०	ग्राम
१५	गाईको घिउ	१००	ग्राम
१६	तोरीको तेल	१	लि.
१७	चिउरा	३	के.जि.
१८	माटाको गल्फू	३	गोटा
१९	चिनी	२००	ग्राम
२०	चामल	५००	ग्राम
२१	खाने मसला	१	पुरीया
२२	स्याबजी	६५०	ग्राम
२३	सुकेको माछा	१००	ग्राम



संस्कृति, पर्यटन तथा नागरिक उड्डयन मन्त्रालय

नेपाल सरकार
संस्कृति, पर्यटन तथा नागरिक उड्डयन मन्त्रालय
सिंहदरवार, काठमाडौं

E-mail: motca@ntc.net.np

फ्याक्स नं.: ४२११७५८

४२११८४६

४२११८४५

४२११७८५

४२११५९६

सिंहदरवार, काठमाडौं,
नेपाल ।

मिति : २०७१/१२/०३

पत्र संख्या:- ०७१/७२
च.नं. ४५१

श्री आर्थिक प्रशासन शाखा
संस्कृति, पर्यटन तथा नागरिक उड्डयन मन्त्रालय,
सिंहदरवार ।

विषय : भुक्तानी सम्बन्धमा ।

प्रस्तुत विषयमा यस मन्त्रालय र ईन्द्रजात्रा व्यवस्थापन समिति बीच भएको सम्झौता बमोजिम कार्य गर्न देहायमा उल्लेखित नाच तथा जात्राका व्यवस्थापक एवं दश अवतार नाचको पोशाक फेर्ने प्रयोजनको लागि (रु. २,००,०००/- दुई लाख) रकम बुझाई भर्ना सहित कार्य सम्पन्न प्रतिवेदन तथा लेखापरिक्षण प्रतिवेदन पेश गर्ने गरि रकम भुक्तानी गरिदिनुहुन निर्णयानुसार अनुरोध छ ।

क्र.सं.	संस्था/जात्राको नाम
१	श्री लाखे आज (मजिपात लाखे)
२	महाकाली नाच ६ थरी १. मुस्याजु समुह २. खर्वेजा समुह ३. जोशी समुह ४. दैवज समुह ५. लोहला समुह ६. फेजु समुह
३.	रामचन्द्र नाच, भक्तपुर
४	कुमारी मन्दिर सरसफाईको लागि
५	त्रिपुराशुर नाच ज्याठा
६	कुमार नाच, असन
७	श्री हलचोक भैरव
८	श्री पुलकिंस जात्रा (हात्ती जात्रा) किलाघः त्वा)
९	श्री दश अवतार नाच
१०	श्री केन्द्रिय मानन्धर सघ
११	श्री श्वेत भैरव
१२	श्री कुमारी (कुमारी घर)

"सुशासन र सदाचार : निजाम



पत्र संख्या:-
च.नं.

संस्कृति, पर्यटन तथा नागरिक उड्डयन मन्त्रालय

नेपाल सरकार
संस्कृति, पर्यटन तथा नागरिक उड्डयन मन्त्रालय
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E-mail: motca@ntc.net.np

फ्याक्स नं.: ४२११७५८

४२११८४६

४२११६८५

४२११७८५

४२११५९६

सिंहदरबार, काठमाडौं,
नेपाल ।

१३	श्री गणेश
१४	श्री भैरव
१५	श्री दानी गुठी
१६	श्री अशोक विनायक गुठी
१७	श्री कुमारी, श्री भैरव महाने
१८	श्री देवी नाच, किलाघः
१९	श्री लिङ्गोमा डोरी बाँध्ने गुठी र सरकारी नाइके
२०	श्री गणेशका महाने
२१	श्री कुमारी दुका गुठी
२२	श्री कंडेल चौक भगवती
२३	श्री स्वच्छन्द भैरव
२४	श्री वौमती गुठी
२५	श्री आकाश भैरवनाथ गुठी
२६	श्री ठूलो नगरा बाजा उपभोक्ता समिति
२७	श्री कुमारी, श्री गणेश, श्री भैरव रथ संरक्षण पुचः (७ वटा गुठी)
२८	श्री राज गुरुज (पञ्चवृद्ध)
२९	श्री तलेजु भवानी नाय समूह
३०	श्री वत् सानागु खलवाकादे
३१	श्री तलेजु भवानी निर्नि समूह
३२	श्री कुमारी यात्रा पञ्चे बाजा (कुस्ले) समूह
३३	श्री कुमारी, श्री गणेश, श्री भैरव रथमा सम्माननीय राष्ट्रपतिज्यूबाट पूजाको लागि खर्च
३४	श्री ठूलो घण्टा
३५	श्री श्री श्री कुमारी भक्तजन सेवा समिति
३६	गाउने ढाडी काठमाडौं
जम्मा	
३७	दश अवतार नाचको लागि पोशाक फेर्न
कुल जम्मा	

नोट : निकास भएकै कूल रकममा नपुग रकम रु.१,८८
व्यवस्थापन समितिबाट व्यहोर्नेछ ।

बोध्दार्थ :

श्री ईन्द्रजात्रा व्यवस्थापन समिति, हनुमानढोका ।

“सुशासन र सदाचार : निजामती

In the above two pictures the Guthi members of the Indra Jatra Management committee were reluctant to give the detail breakdown of the amount. As this was only the possible way to take the document from them. Not only from the Government offices but also from the Guthi management committee there was seen a lack of transparency.

Annex: 7
Some Festivals listed in the Calendar

S.N.	Festival Name	Date	Celebrations	City Celebrated
1.	Balaju Baish Dhara Mela	14 th April 2014	To take bath in 22 water sprouts of Balaju in Kathmandu	Kathmandu
2.	Rato Machindranath Jatra	30 April 2014 –	Start of Machindranath festival	Patan
3.	Buddha Jayanti	14 th May 2014	Worshipping of Lord Buddha	All over Nepal
4.	Sithi: Nakha	4 th June	Cleaning of water resources	Whole Kathmandu Valley
5.	Dila Chare puja	25 th June 2014		
6.	Gatha manga	25 th July 2014	Worshipping of demon god especially when the rice plantation is over	Whole Kathmandu Valley
7.	Gula:	27 th July 2014 -26 th August 2014	Worshipped in Swyambhu	Kathmandu only
8.	Naag panchami	1 st August 2014	Worshipping of Snake god	All over Nepal
9.	Janai Purnima	10 th August 2014		All over Nepal
10.	Gai Jatra	11 th August 2014	Procession in the name of deceased family members	All over Valley
11.	Krishna Janamasthami	17 th August 2014	Birth of Lord Krishna	Worshipped all over Nepal
12.	Kushi Ayoushi (Babu ko much herne)	25 th August 2014	To worship the Father and also to do some rituals and offerings in the name of deceased father.	Celebrated all over Nepal

13.	Indra Jatra	3 rd Sept.- 11 th Sept. 2014	Festival of rain god, Bhairab and Kumari. Associate with many celebration.	Celebrated all over the Valley but special celebration in Kathmandu
14.	Dashai	25 th . Sept.- 8 th Oct. 2014	Worshipping of goddess of power	Celebrated all over Nepal
15.	Tihar	21 st oct. 25 th Oct. 2014	Festival of light. Worshipping of goddess of wealth, brother and Newars have their New year.	Celebrated all over Nepal. Special celebration in Kathmandu for the New Year.
16.	Shangunarayan Aasthami	4 th Nov. 2014		
17.	Bala Chaturdashi	20 th Nov. 2014		Celebrated all over Nepal
18.	Panga Bashainavi Jatra	30 th Nov. 2014		Celebrated in Panga
19.	Kirtipur Indrayani Jatra	1 st Dec. 2014		Celebrated in Kirtipur
20.	Swasthani Brata	4 th Jan. 2015 – 3 rd Feb		Celebrated all over Nepal
21.	Maghe Sankranti	15 th Jan 2015	Festivals to eat	
22.	Saraswati Puja	25 th Jan 2015	Worshipping of Goddess of Wisdom. And arrival of spring	All over Nepal
23.	Shivaratri	17 th Feb. 2015	Worshipping of Lord Shiva	All over Nepal
24.	Holi	5 th March 2015	Festival of colors	All over Nepal
25.	Pachare	19 th March 2015		Celebrated in Kathmandu

26.	Swait Machaindranath Jatra	27 th March 2014	Chariot procession of White Machindrantha of Kathmandu	Celebrated in Kathmandu
27.	Sakhu yatra	25 th March		Celebrated in Sankhu.

Source: According to 2014/2015 (2071 B.S.)¹ Calendar.

¹ Nepali year which follow B.S. i.e. Bikram Saamvat and is according to lunar calendar a and is now in year 2071.