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A Thesis on

**IMPACTS OF URBANIZATION ON INTANGIBLE HERITAGE: A CASE OF SANA
GUTHI AND RATO MACCHINDRANATH JATRA**

by

Dipesh Pradhan

A THESIS ON

**SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHITECTURE AND URBAN PLANNING IN
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SCIENCE IN URBAN PLANNING**

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Abstract

Kathmandu valley has been the melting pot that hosts different ethnic groups of people. But the indigenous people of the Kathmandu valley are the Newar ethnic group. The history dates back as earlier as Licchivi period followed by Malla rule. During this period Newars had developed the settlement with rich culture with abundant heritage. The courtyard settlement pattern designed as Palace centric city is its peculiarity. According as functional caste group, the city was hierarchically planned. Immense numbers of temples, Baha, Bahi were constructed at the time which is still intact. The heritage is rich in its expression. The architecture, technology is still very relevant and inspiring for the present generation. Similarly, Newari tradition is rich in intangible expressions. Newar have their own language. The skills and knowledge are orally transferred to the newer generation some of which are still practiced by specific respective communities. Foods, cuisine, fabrics, are well articulated in the culture. One of such form of intangible expression is Guthi system. Specifically, Sana Guthi is the form of Guthi, designed to carry out service to the community and also important rituals like death and festivals. Sana Guthi are still present in the society with stronger roots. From the research it is found that Sana Guthi has various expressions in various communities although their purpose is the same. Similarly modern transformation has also molded the Guthi as per the necessity of the time. Change in rituals; unclear meaning of the rituals; difficulty in management of attendance in Guthi rituals are the prominent issues raised in running Guthi. Proper transformation and progress shall contribute to welfare of the Newari community as well as it will stand as an important social system in the country. Impacts of urbanization is more vivid in Festivals like Rato Matsyendranath Rath Jatra. It has positively impacted in economic sense while spatial problems can be found as negative impacts.

Contents

Abstract.....	1
Introduction.....	5
Importance of the research.....	7
Problem Statement.....	7
Research Objectives.....	7
METHODOLOGY.....	8
Research Design.....	9
Ethnography.....	9
Phenomenology.....	10
Research Process.....	10
Scope and Limitations of the study.....	10
Literature Review.....	11
Urbanization.....	11
Heritage.....	13
Intangible Heritage.....	14
Characteristics of Intangible Heritage.....	15
Domains of Intangible Cultural Heritage:.....	16
Oral traditions and expressions.....	16
Performing arts.....	18
Social practices, rituals and festive events.....	21
Knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe.....	22
Traditional craftsmanship.....	23
History of safeguarding intangible cultural heritage:.....	26

Significance of Intangible cultural Heritage:	27
ICH in context of Nepal	27
Nepal: A Country Rich in Cultural Diversity	28
The Bearers of Intangible Cultural Heritage.....	28
The Nepalese Context for Intangible Cultural Heritage	30
The Characteristics and Dynamics of Intangible Cultural Heritage	32
The Nepalese Languages: a Vehicle for Intangible Cultural Heritage	34
Oral Traditions and Folk Literature	35
Folk Performing Arts	38
Customary Folklore	40
Material Folklore	41
Guthi	42
Meaning and its origin	42
Classification of guthi	43
Sana Guthi in focus.....	45
Philosophy of death.....	47
Death rituals	48
Rituals after death	52
Importance of Sana Guthi in Death rituals	54
Impacts of Modernization	55
Festivals and rituals conducted by Sana guthi	57
Festivals	58
Rato Matsyendranath Rath Jatra	58
Case Study	60
Relevance of Festivals/ Cultures in Urban context and its impact	60

Field Observation and Analysis	63
Overview of Study Area	64
Case 1 Dhallachhen, Patan Sana Guthi.....	64
Overview.....	64
Discussion.....	86
Negative sides of Urbanization on Intangible Heritage.....	86
Positive sides of Urbanization on Intangible Heritage	88
Conclusions and Recommendation.....	89
References.....	91
Annex	92
Annex 1.....	92
Annex 2.....	93
Annex 3.....	94
Annex 4.....	95
Annex 5.....	96

Introduction

Sana Guthi is one of the most commonly practiced *Guthi* among the *Newars*. Though it falls under the category of service oriented *Guthi*; it is one unique *Guthi* that incorporates the functionalities of religious, service-oriented, communal as well as entertainment oriented *Guthi*. Religious in the sense that it performs the worshipping of deities; service-oriented as it incorporates the *Si Guthi* in practice which has involvement in the death rituals along with other services to the communities and also responsible for the religious *Jatra* rituals and festivals; communal as it is separately run by the certain caste and actively involves in the installation and maintenance of idols of gods in Temples and *Vihars* (Buddhist Monasteries); and entertainment oriented in the sense that it promotes *Newari* culture, traditional dance and dances of Gods and Goddesses, cultural dresses and the traditional customs in general. Most importantly, it focuses on social harmony and periodic traditional social gatherings offering feasts; regardless of the social status of each individual *Guthiyaar* (member of *Guthi*); maintaining equality in individual society and creating the feeling of togetherness.

In this ever changing world, the rituals also are not the exceptions. Death rituals are also changing its shape along with the duties and responsibilities of the *Sana Guthi*. Modernization can be regarded as one of the factors for such kind of changes. Whether the changes are negative or positive, it cannot be distinguished.

In *Newar* Society, the family members of the deceased have to visit various Hindu shrines and Buddhist monasteries during the whole year across the valley for *puja*; during which they have to offer 108 lights at each shrine in the name of the deceased. These rituals are performed in order to make sure that the deceased soul rests in peace. However, such rituals are diminishing in the current context. Thus, it seems that lack of time is the cause behind the degenerating trend of such performances.

Another change that can be observed is the lack of participation of the relatives as well as the *Guthiyaars* in the funeral procession. Migration of people to different places within the country as well as abroad is much higher these days, due to which the relatives become unable to attend

the funeral procession. In case of the *Guthiyaars*, though they live in the same territory, it is not always possible for them to attend the funerals. And, the fine amount for not attending the funeral is much lower, which increases the tendency in people to pay fine instead of “*wasting their time*” in the funerals.

Rituals are also reshaping according to availability of resources and materials and also, lack of participation is forcing for such changes. Thoughts of the young generation, the way they think and do, are forcing the rituals to change. Additionally, Guthi system is also under the influence of modern thoughts of youngsters. Flexibility is provided to the Guthiyaars concerning their own individual daily lives which increased the tendency among them to remain absent during such funeral rituals and pay few amount of money instead. This tendency has resulted in less participation of the Guthiyaars due to which the human resources required for the rituals become inadequate.

Importance of the research

This research will focus on the factors that conjoin urbanization and its impact on intangible cultural heritage. This research will be fruitful to Nepal government to overlook the situation of intangible cultural heritage, the perception of the stakeholder in order to strategize plans and policies for development process. Local trust, national and international agencies working on the heritage conservation of Patan will be benefitted. Heritage are also linked with the emotional aspect of the original residents, hence this research will also cater the needs of the local indigenous Newar people and the in-migrated dwellers about their vision of the city.

Problem Statement

Due to migration of indigenous people, various intangible heritages like Jatras; guthi are being affected. Lack of skilled manpower during Jatras is being experienced which is transforming the pattern of Jatras. The quality of Jatras is slowly distorted. This has to do with the increasing gentrification in the city. Guthis in the city are experiencing the major distortion of its functions. Due to dispersal of the indigenous people of outmigration and growing distaste shown by the younger generation towards guthi system, these heritages are at the stake of its disappearance.

Research Objectives

The main objective of the research is to identify the problems caused due to urbanization on

Other objectives are:

1. To record the problems faced by the public due to urbanization on guthi processes.
2. To record the problems faced by the public stalk holder due to urbanization on Rato Matsyendranath Rath Jatra.
3. To case study the impacts of urbanization on intangible cultural heritages.

METHODOLOGY

A paradigm is a set of theoretical framework that influences the way information about particular subject is studied and understood.

Positivists' paradigm believes that social observation should be treated as units in the same way as scientists treat physical phenomena. Positivists aim to test a theory or describe an experience "through observation and measurement in order to predict and control forces that surround us." (O'Leary, 2004) The ontological position in positivists' paradigm describes the reality as it is that can be apprehended. The epistemology is dualist and the findings are considered true. The methodology used in this paradigm is experimental and manipulative. Chiefly quantitative methods are used in verification of hypothesis. Since this research consists of study of society of people where gentrification is taking place, people, their views and their situation itself cannot be measured and manipulated like the conditions in experiments and also the thinking of each person is different which is why this research is not possible through positivist paradigm.

Post positivists' work from the assumption that research is influenced by number of well-developed theories apart from, and as well as, the one which is being tested (Mackenzie and Knipe, 2006). The ontological position of reality is real that can be apprehended imperfectly and probabilistically. The epistemology is modified dualist and objective. This may also include quantitative methods. Since the research would be incomplete by observing and interpreting social reality, this research can't be in post positivists' paradigm.

Transformative researchers believe that inquiry needs to be intertwined with politics and political agenda and contain an action agenda for reform that may change the lives of the participants, the institutions in which individuals work or live and the researcher's life (Creswell, 2013). The ontological position is historical realism that includes virtual reality molded by social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic and gender values that have formed over time. The epistemology in this paradigm is transactional and subjectivist that searches for value mediated findings. The methodology is dialogic and dialectical. Transformative researchers may utilize qualitative and quantitative data collection and analysis methods. Since this research objective is to focus on the study of impact on heritage, opinions of local people and limited study of restricted perspectives, transformative paradigm is not fit for the research.

Pragmatism is not committed to any one system of philosophy or reality. Pragmatist researchers focus on the what and how of the research problem. (Creswell, 2003) The pragmatic paradigm provides an opportunity for multiple methods, different worldviews and different assumptions as well as different forms of data collection and analysis in the mixed methods study. (Creswell 2003) In order to make the research focused on the research objective and also since the use of mixed approach of study would not give desirable result to the research, pragmatic paradigm would not benefit for the research.

Interpretivist approaches to research have the intention of understanding the world of human experience (Louis Cohen 2007), suggesting that reality is socially constructed. (Mertens, 2005) The interpretivist researcher tends to rely upon the participants' views of the situation being studied (Creswell, 2003) and recognizes the impact on the research of their own background and experiences. The ontological perspective of this research is based on relativism that includes local and specific constructed realities. The epistemological perspective is transactional and subjectivist. The methodology is hermeneutical and dialectical. The constructivist researcher is most likely to rely on qualitative data collection methods and analysis or a combination of both qualitative and quantitative methods. Quantitative data may be utilized in a way which supports or expands upon qualitative data and effectively deepens the description.

Research Design

Ethnography

Ethnography is a research method central to knowing the world from the standpoint of its social relations. It is a qualitative research method predicated on the diversity of culture at home (wherever that may be) and abroad. Ethnography involves hands-on, on-the-scene learning — and it is relevant wherever people are relevant. Ethnography is the primary method of social and cultural anthropology, but it is integral to the social sciences and humanities generally, and draws its methods from many quarters, including the natural sciences. For these reasons, ethnographic studies relate to many fields of study and many kinds of personal experience — including study abroad and community-based or international internships. The certificate program in ethnographic studies (ETH) is intended for undergraduate students in all divisions as a supplement or complement to their department concentration or other certificate studies.

Phenomenology

Phenomenology is the study of structures of consciousness as experienced from the first-person point of view. The central structure of an experience is its intentionality, its being directed toward something, as it is an experience of or about some object. An experience is directed toward an object by virtue of its content or meaning (which represents the object) together with appropriate enabling conditions.

Phenomenology as a discipline is distinct from but related to other key disciplines in philosophy, such as ontology, epistemology, logic, and ethics. Phenomenology has been practiced in various guises for centuries, but it came into its own in the early 20th century in the works of Husserl, Heidegger, Sartre, Merleau-Ponty and others. Phenomenological issues of intentionality, consciousness, qualia, and first-person perspective have been prominent in recent philosophy of mind.

Phenomenological research will be done to describe the lived experience of the people of Patan. How they feel about the gentrification is necessary in the research.

Research Process

Data collection

Literature Review

Field Visit and collection of Primary and Secondary Data

Data analysis

Review of recommendations by respondents and professionals

Finalizing the recommendations and the report

Scope and Limitations of the study

The study will be focused on specific Guthis' and a festival celebrated in Patan, Rato Matsyendranath rath jatra and is based on the observation of existing situation, interviews with key informants and secondary sources.

Literature Review

Urbanization

Nepal is one of the ten least urbanized countries in the world and is also one of the top ten fastest urbanizing countries (Bakrania, 2015). UN DESA in 2014 revealed that the level of urbanization was 18.2 percent and a rate of urbanization at 3 percent with 1.9 percent of urbanization rate projected for the period of 2014-2050 (2014). Kathmandu valley, Pokhara valley, the inner terai valleys account for the high urban growth in Nepal while urban growth centers are also emerging close to the border with India (Muzzini and Aparicio, 2013). 33.5 percent of the urban population is concentrated in 16 urban centers with disproportionate distribution (MoUD, 2015).

Kathmandu Valley is the most densely populated urban area and one of the fastest growing urban agglomerations in South Asia (Muzzini and Aparicio, 2015). According to Muzzini and Aparicio, in 2011, annual population growth was high in the peripheral municipalities of kirtipur (5%) and Madhyapur Thimi (5.7%), a substantial land use change in Kathmandu valley. With 3.94 percent urban growth rate between 2010- 2014, the valley is having significant transformation of land use and heritage. Population growth in peri urban areas in 2011 was also high at 4.8 percent per year.

In 2011 census, the population of Kathmandu Metropolitan City was 1,003,285; updates to 1,142,000 and projects a population of 2030 to be 1,855,000 (CBS, 2011; UN DESA 2014). Kathmandu valley has 29 percent of the country's total urban population, with Metropolitan city alone accounting for 22.2 percent (MoUD, 2015). However, the addition of 133 municipalities by 2014 drops it to 24 percent with metropolitan city alone accounting for 9.7 percent. The percentage of the total population residing in Kathmandu Metropolitan City in 2015 will be 4.2 percent, rising to 5.6 percent in 2030 (UN DESA, 2014).

With the change in structure of government, the creation of new municipalities occurred; decentralization of urban governance trend appears as evidenced by the formation of the Kathmandu Valley Development Authority (KDVA) and the implementation of the Local Governance and community Development Program (Bakrania,2015). It has responsibility for

planning, development, enforcement of regulations and coordination of over five urban local bodies and 99 VDCs in Kathmandu Valley.

Heritage

“Heritage is our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generations. Our cultural and natural heritage is both irreplaceable sources of life and inspiration.” It is generally understood that the past is our ‘inheritance’ or ‘legacy’ whether we like it or not. Is it our ‘heritage’ - or is heritage just selected, valued and respected bits of the past?

“Heritage is such a strong term that it seems to have become popularly interchangeable with history itself. It suggests however some obligation on the part of the present to the past and also on behalf of the future, and that the past should give us, in some way, a lesson for the present and future. This is because heritage suggests continuity, perhaps of ideas and ideals felt to be on the decline, and usually suggests some fixity of form or practice. One can safely suggest that ‘Heritage’ (like tradition) is a way of ‘managing’ the past, managing history and (re)presenting it in the present. In a sense it is not only a ‘reading’ of the past but a ‘writing’ of it - a way of establishing ‘history’ itself. This places considerable responsibility on the presentation and also offers great opportunities for manipulation of it.”

After the World War I, the idea of creating an international movement for protecting heritage emerged. In 1972 the ‘Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage’ came out from two movements where:

The first focused on the preservation of the cultural sites. The second dealt with the conservation of Nature. This convention recognized the fundamental need to “preserve the balance between the two” (UNESCO)

“The Convention concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage was adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO on 16 November 1972. The same General Conference adopted on 16 November 1972 the Recommendation concerning the Protection, at National Level, of the Cultural and Natural Heritage. ”The World Heritage Convention propelled the sense “of belonging to an international community of appreciation and concern for universally significant properties that embody a world of outstanding examples of cultural diversity and natural wealth.”

The sites listed on the World Heritage Map open the doors for international cooperation and may open the channels of financial assistance for heritage conservation projects from a variety of sources. “Sites inscribed on the World Heritage List also benefit from the elaboration and implementation of a comprehensive management plan that sets out adequate preservation measures and monitoring mechanisms. In support of these, experts offer technical training to the local site management team.”⁵But most importantly the listing of a site on the World Heritage List increases a public awareness of the site and of its “outstanding values”. Alongside, if organised and planned, sustainable tourism principles can bring important funds to the site and to the local economy (Goswami).

Today the word ‘Heritage’ broadly refers to Natural Heritage- an inheritance of fauna and flora, geology, landscape and landforms, and other natural resources; Cultural Heritage- the legacy of physical artifacts and intangible attributes of a group or society; man-made heritage such as Food Heritage or Industrial Heritage- monuments from industrial culture; Virtual Heritage; Inheritance of physical goods after the death of an individual; of the physical or non-physical things inherited through heredity i.e. the biological inheritance of physical characteristics; Birthright- something inherited due to the place, time, or circumstances of someone's birth or kinship- the relationship between entities that share a genealogical origin.(UNESCO)

Intangible Heritage

Since the adoption of the Venice Charter in 1964, there have been many conservation guidelines in the form of charters, recommendations and resolutions that have been introduced and adopted by international organizations such as UNESCO and ICOMOS. The term ‘historic monument’ used in the Venice Charter 1964 was reinterpreted by ICOMOS in 1965 as ‘monument’ and ‘site’; and by UNESCO in 1968 as ‘cultural property’ to include both movable and immovable. The different terminology between the UNESCO and ICOMOS was reconciled at the World Heritage Convention 1972. At national and regional levels the scope of heritage was broadened to include gardens, landscape and environment, and later reinterpreted and defined quite differently in Europe, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and China. Although the scope of heritage, in general, is now agreed internationally to include ‘tangible’ and ‘intangible’ as well as

‘environments’, the finer terminology of ‘heritage’ has not been streamlined or standardized, and thus no uniformity exists between countries. (Ahmed, 2006)

The intangible cultural heritage means the practice, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts 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.– Burra Charter, 2013.

Characteristics of Intangible Heritage

Intangible cultural heritage is important because it is part of people’s way of life and culture. It can reinforce a sense of identity, relationship to a group or community, and connection to the past, present and future, and also to place. Intangible cultural heritage has certain defining characteristics:

- Intangible cultural heritage is an aspect of the associations that may exist between people and a place, and that contributes to the cultural significance of the place.
- Intangible cultural heritage is a form of knowledge, skills or techniques that is passed from person to person over time, and often across generations.
- Intangible cultural heritage may be known and important to a specific community or group or to a wider community or the society as a whole.
- Intangible cultural heritage may be traditional or contemporary or both, and is part of the life of its community or group.
- Intangible cultural heritage is often dynamic and may be characterised by continuity, adaptation, and revival, along with changes in methods, materials used, and technology.
- Intangible cultural heritage may be enriched through continuing cultural creativity, responses to the environment and nature, and interaction with other groups.

- Intangible cultural heritage is often undertaken, performed or practised by people with specific skills, knowledge or status within the community or group and who may have the responsibility for passing on the knowledge.

A place may have both intangible and tangible attributes that contribute to its cultural significance. In relation to place, intangible cultural heritage may include cultural practices that:

- are part of the use of a place.
- relate to a single place, a series of places, or a large place such as a landscape or cultural route, or the setting or approach route to a place.
- relate to a place as a whole or to particular spaces within a place.
- are specific to the place, have modified the place or be modified by the place.
- occur away from a place but be symbolically or spiritually connected to that place.
- relate to or use objects and artefacts that are part of the contents of the place, or stored elsewhere.
- result in the creation of artefacts or objects which are retained or disposed of as part of the practice.

Importantly, not all cultural practices should be considered as intangible cultural heritage. Drawing on the guidance from UNESCO and Australian heritage practice, the key indicators include that the cultural practice has been transmitted from generation to generation, and it continues today as a living practice. In some instances, a cultural practice may be considered as ‘living’ if it remains sufficiently known to the community or group and they desire its revival.

Domains of Intangible Cultural Heritage:

Oral traditions and expressions

The oral traditions and expressions domain encompasses an enormous variety of spoken forms including proverbs, riddles, tales, nursery rhymes, legends, myths, epic songs and poems, charms, prayers, chants, songs, dramatic performances and more. Oral traditions and expressions

are used to pass on knowledge, cultural and social values and collective memory. They play a crucial part in keeping cultures alive. Some types of oral expression are common and can be used by entire communities while others are limited to particular social groups, only men or women, perhaps, or only the elderly. In many societies, performing oral traditions is a highly specialized occupation and the community holds professional performers in the highest regard as guardians of collective memory. Such performers can be found in communities all over the world. While poets and storytellers in non-Western societies such as the griots and dyelli from Africa are well known, there is also a rich oral tradition in Europe and North America. In Germany and the USA, for example, there are hundreds of professional storytellers. Because they are passed on by word of mouth, oral traditions and expressions often vary significantly in their telling. Stories are a combination – differing from genre to genre, from context to context and from performer to performer – of reproduction, improvisation and creation. This combination makes them a vibrant and colourful form of expression, but also fragile, as their viability depends on an uninterrupted chain passing traditions from one generation of performers to the next.

Although language underpins the intangible heritage of many communities, the protection and preservation of individual languages is beyond the scope of the 2003 Convention, though they are included in Article 2 as a means of transmitting intangible cultural heritage. Different languages shape how stories, poems and songs are told, as well as affecting their content. The death of a language inevitably leads to the permanent loss of oral traditions and expressions. However, it is these oral expressions themselves and their performance in public that best help to safeguard a language rather than dictionaries, grammars and databases. Languages live in songs and stories, riddles and rhymes and so the protection of languages and the transmission of oral traditions and expressions are very closely linked. Like other forms of intangible cultural heritage, oral traditions are threatened by rapid urbanisation, large-scale migration, industrialisation and environmental change. Books, newspapers and magazines, radio, television and the Internet can have an especially damaging effect on oral traditions and expressions. Modern mass media may significantly alter or over replace traditional forms of oral expression. Epic poems that once took several days to recite in full may be reduced to just a few hours and traditional courtship songs that were sung before marriage may be replaced by CDs or digital music files. The most important part of safeguarding oral traditions and expressions is maintaining their everyday role in society. It is also essential that opportunities for knowledge to

be passed from person-to-person survive; chances for elders to interact with young people and pass on stories in homes and schools, for example. Oral tradition often forms an important part of festive and cultural celebrations and these events may need to be promoted and new contexts, such as storytelling festivals, encouraged allowing traditional creativity to find new means of expression. In the spirit of the 2003 Convention, safeguarding measures should focus on oral traditions and expressions as processes, where communities are free to explore their cultural heritage, rather than as products.

Communities, researchers and institutions may also use information technology to help safeguard the full range and richness of oral traditions, including textual variations and different styles of performance. Unique expressive features, such as intonation and a much larger number of varying styles, can now be recorded as audio or video, as can interactions between performers and audiences and non-verbal story elements including gestures and mimicry. Mass media and communication technologies can be used to preserve and even strengthen oral traditions and expressions by broadcasting recorded performances both to their communities of origin and to a wider audience.

Performing arts

The performing arts range from vocal and instrumental music, dance and theatre to pantomime, sung verse and beyond. They include numerous cultural expressions that reflect human creativity and that are also found, to some extent, in many other intangible cultural heritage domains.

Music is perhaps the most universal of the performing arts and is found in every society, most often as an integral part of other performing art forms and other domains of intangible cultural heritage including rituals, festive events or oral traditions. It can be found in the most diverse contexts: sacred or profane, classical or popular, closely connected to work or entertainment. There may also be a political or economic dimension to music: it can recount a community's history, sing the praises of a powerful person and play a key role in economic transactions. The occasions on which music is performed are just as varied: marriages, funerals, rituals and initiations, festivities, all kinds of entertainment as well as many other social functions.

Dance, though very complex, may be described simply as ordered bodily movements, usually performed to music. Apart from its physical aspect, the rhythmic movements, steps and gestures of dance often express a sentiment or mood or illustrate a specific event or daily act, such as religious dances and those representing hunting, warfare or sexual activity.

Traditional theatre performances usually combine acting, singing, dance and music, dialogue, narration or recitation but may also include puppetry or pantomime. These arts, however, are more than simply ‘performances’ for an audience; they may also play crucial roles in culture and society such as songs sung while carrying out agricultural work or music that is part of a ritual. In a more intimate setting, lullabies are often sung to help a baby sleep. The instruments, objects, artefacts and spaces associated with cultural expressions and practices are all included in the Convention’s definition of intangible cultural heritage. In the performing arts this includes musical instruments, masks, costumes and other body decorations used in dance, and the scenery and props of theatre. Performing arts are often performed in specific places; when these spaces are closely linked to the performance, they are considered cultural spaces by the Convention.

Many forms of performing arts are under threat today. As cultural practices become standardized, many traditional practices are abandoned. Even in cases where they become more popular, only certain expressions may benefit while others suffer.

Music is perhaps one of the best examples of this, with the recent explosion in the popularity of ‘World Music’. Though it performs an important role in cultural exchange and encourages creativity that enriches the international art scene, the phenomenon can also cause problems. Many diverse forms of music may be homogenized with the goal of delivering a consistent product. In these situations, there is little place for certain musical practices that are vital to the process of performance and tradition in certain communities.

Music, dance and theatre are often key features of cultural promotion intended to attract tourists and regularly feature in the itineraries of tour operators. Although this may bring more visitors and increased revenue to a country or community and offer a window onto its culture, it may also result in the emergence of new ways of presenting the performing arts, which have been altered for the tourist market. While tourism can contribute to reviving traditional performing arts and give a ‘market value’ to intangible cultural heritage, it can also have a distorting effect, as the performances are often reduced to show adapted highlights in order to meet tourist demands. Often, traditional art forms are turned into commodities in the name of entertainment, with the

loss of important forms of community expression. In other cases, wider social or environmental factors may have a serious impact on performing art traditions. Deforestation, for example, can deprive a community of wood to make traditional instruments used to perform music.

Many music traditions have been adapted to fit western forms of notation so they may be recorded, or for the purpose of education, but this process can be destructive. Many forms of music use scales with tones and intervals that do not correspond to standard western forms and tonal subtleties may be lost in the process of transcription. As well as music being homogenised, changes to traditional instruments to make them more familiar or easier to play for students, such as the addition of frets to stringed instruments, fundamentally alter the instruments themselves.

Safeguarding measures for traditional performing arts should focus mainly on transmission of knowledge and techniques, of playing and making instruments and strengthening the bond between master and apprentice. The subtleties of a song, the movements of a dance and theatrical interpretations should all be reinforced.

Performances may also be researched, recorded, documented, inventoried and archived. There are countless sound recordings in archives all around the world with many dating back over a century. These older recordings are threatened by deterioration and may be permanently lost unless digitized.

The process of digitisation allows documents to be properly identified and inventoried. Cultural media, institutions and industries can also play a crucial role in ensuring the viability of traditional forms of performing arts by developing audiences and raising awareness amongst the general public. Audiences can be informed about the various aspects of a form of expression, allowing it to gain a new and broader popularity, while also promoting connoisseurship which, in turn, encourages interest in local variations of an art form and may result in active participation in the performance itself.

Safeguarding may also involve improvements in training and infrastructure to properly prepare staff and institutions for preserving the full range of performing arts. In Georgia, students are trained in anthropological fieldwork methods as well as how to record polyphonies, allowing them to create the foundations of a national inventory by creating a database.

Social practices, rituals and festive events

Social practices, rituals and festive events are habitual activities that structure the lives of communities and groups and that are shared by and relevant to many of their members. They are significant because they reaffirm the identity of those who practise them as a group or a society and, whether performed in public or private, are closely linked to important events. Social, ritual and festive practices may help to mark the passing of the seasons, events in the agricultural calendar or the stages of a person's life. They are closely linked to a community's worldview and perception of its own history and memory. They vary from small gatherings to large-scale social celebrations and commemorations.

Each of these sub-domains is vast but there is also a great deal of overlap between them.

Rituals and festive events often take place at special times and places and remind a community of aspects of its worldview and history. In some cases, access to rituals may be restricted to certain members of the community; initiation rites and burial ceremonies are two such examples. Some festive events, however, are a key part of public life and are open to all members of society; carnivals and events to mark the New Year, beginning of Spring and end of the harvest are inclusive occasions common all over the world.

Social practices shape everyday life and are familiar to all members of the community, even if not everybody participates in them. Distinctive social practices that are specially relevant to a community and help reinforce a sense of identity and continuity with the past are given priority in the 2003 Convention. For example, in many communities greeting ceremonies are informal while in others they are more elaborate and ritualistic, acting as a marker of identity for the society. Similarly, practices of giving and receiving gifts may range from casual events to formal arrangements with significant political, economic or social meanings.

Social practices, rituals and festive events involve a dazzling variety of forms: worship rites; rites of passage; birth, wedding and funeral rituals; oaths of allegiance; traditional legal systems; traditional games and sports; kinship and ritual kinship ceremonies; settlement patterns; culinary traditions; seasonal ceremonies; practices specific to men or women only; hunting, fishing and gathering practices and many more. They also include a wide variety of expressions and physical elements: special gestures and words, recitations, songs or dances, special clothing, processions, animal sacrifice, special food.

Social practices, rituals and festive events are strongly affected by the changes communities undergo in modern societies because they depend so much on the broad participation of practitioners and others in the communities themselves. Processes such as migration, individualisation, the general introduction of formal education, the growing influence of major world religions and other effects of globalization have a particularly marked effect on these practices.

Migration, especially of young people, may draw those who practise forms of intangible cultural heritage away from their communities and endanger some cultural practices. At the same time, however, social practices, rituals and festive events may serve as special occasions on which people return home to celebrate with their family and community, reaffirming their identity and link to the community's traditions.

Many communities find that tourists are increasingly participating in their festive events and while there may be positive aspects to tourist involvement, the festivals often suffer in the same way as traditional performing arts. The viability of social practices, rituals and especially festive events may also depend quite heavily on general socio-economic conditions. The preparations, the production of costumes and masks and providing for the participants is often very expensive and may not be sustainable in times of economic downturn.

Ensuring the continuity of social practices, rituals or festive events often requires the mobilization of large numbers of individuals and the social, political and legal institutions and mechanisms of a society. While respecting customary practices that might limit participation to certain groups, it may also be desirable to encourage the broadest public participation possible. In some cases, legal and formal measures need to be taken to guarantee the access rights of the community to its sacred places, crucial objects, or natural resources necessary for the performance of social practices, rituals and festive events.

Knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe

Knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe include knowledge, knowhow, skills, practices and representations developed by communities by interacting with the natural environment. These ways of thinking about the universe are expressed through language, oral traditions, feelings of attachment towards a place, memories, spirituality and worldview. They also strongly influence values and beliefs and underlie many social practices and cultural

traditions. They, in turn, are shaped by the natural environment and the community's wider world. This domain includes numerous areas such as traditional ecological wisdom, indigenous knowledge, knowledge about local fauna and flora, traditional healing systems, rituals, beliefs, initiatory rites, cosmologies, shamanism, possession rites, social organisations, festivals, languages and visual arts. Traditional knowledge and practices lie at the heart of a community's culture and identity but are under serious threat from globalisation. Even though some aspects of traditional knowledge, such as medicinal uses of local plant species, may be of interest to scientists and corporations, many traditional practices are nevertheless disappearing. Rapid urbanisation and the extension of agricultural lands can have a marked effect on a community's natural environment and their knowledge of it; clearing land may result in the disappearance of a sacred forest or the need to find an alternative source of wood for building. Climate change, continued deforestation and the ongoing spread of deserts inevitably threaten many endangered species and results in the decline of traditional craftsmanship and herbal medicine as raw materials and plant species disappear.

Safeguarding a world view or system of beliefs is even more challenging than preserving a natural environment. Beyond the external challenges to the social and natural environment, many underprivileged or marginalized communities are themselves inclined to adopt a way of life or a purely economic development model which are far from their own traditions and customs.

Protecting the natural environment is often closely linked to safeguarding a community's cosmology, as well as other examples of its intangible cultural heritage.

Traditional craftsmanship

Traditional craftsmanship is perhaps the most tangible manifestation of intangible cultural heritage. However, the 2003 Convention is mainly concerned with the skills and knowledge involved in craftsmanship rather than the craft products themselves. Rather than focusing on preserving craft objects, safeguarding attempts should instead concentrate on encouraging artisans to continue to produce craft and to pass their skills and knowledge onto others, particularly within their own communities.

There are numerous expressions of traditional craftsmanship: tools; clothing and jewellery; costumes and props for festivals and performing arts; storage containers, objects used for

storage, transport and shelter; decorative art and ritual objects; musical instruments and household utensils, and toys, both for amusement and education. Many of these objects are only intended to be used for a short time, such as those created for festival rites, while others may become heirloom that are passed from generation to generation. The skills involved in creating craft objects are as varied as the items themselves and range from delicate, detailed work such as producing paper votives to robust, rugged tasks like creating a sturdy basket or thick blanket.

Like other forms of intangible cultural heritage, globalization poses significant challenges to the survival of traditional forms of craftsmanship. Mass production, whether on the level of large multinational corporations or local cottage industries, can often supply goods needed for daily life at a lower cost, both in terms of currency and time, than hand production. Many craftspeople struggle to adapt to this competition. Environmental and climatic pressures impact on traditional craftsmanship too, with deforestation and land clearing reducing the availability of key natural resources. Even in cases where traditional artisanship develops into a cottage industry, the increased scale of production may result in damage to the environment.

As social conditions or cultural tastes change, festivals and celebrations that once required elaborate craft production may become more austere, resulting in fewer opportunities for artisans to express themselves. Young people in communities may find the sometimes lengthy apprenticeship necessary to learn many traditional forms of craft too demanding and instead seek work in factories or service industry where the work is less exacting and the pay often better. Many craft traditions involve trade secrets that should not be taught to outsiders but if family members or community members are not interested in learning it, the knowledge may disappear because sharing it with strangers violates tradition.

The goal of safeguarding, as with other forms of intangible cultural heritage, is to ensure that the knowledge and skills associated with traditional artisanship are passed on to future generations so that crafts can continue to be produced within their communities, providing livelihoods to their makers and reflecting creativity.

Many craft traditions have age-old systems of instruction and apprenticeship. One proven way of reinforcing and strengthening these systems is to offer financial incentives to students and teachers to make knowledge transfer more attractive to both.

Local, traditional markets for craft products can also be reinforced, while at the same time creating new ones. In response to urbanization and industrialization, many people around the

world enjoy handmade objects that are imbued with the accumulated knowledge and cultural values of the craftspeople and which offer a softer alternative to the numerous ‘high tech’ items that dominate global consumer culture. In other cases, trees can be replanted to try and offset the damage done to traditional crafts reliant on wood for raw materials. In some situations, legal measures may need to be taken to guarantee the access rights of communities to gather resources, while also ensuring environmental protection. Further legal measures, such as intellectual property protections and patent or copyright registrations, can help a community to benefit from its traditional motifs and crafts. Sometimes, legal measures intended for other purposes can encourage craft production; for example, a local ban on wasteful plastic bags can stimulate a market for handmade paper bags and containers woven from grass, allowing traditional craft skills and knowledge to thrive.

UNESCO emphasizes that ICH is continuously recreated and evolves as the community adapt and adjust their cultural practices in response to the environment (ICHC – Questions and Answers, 2003). Although these domains indicate division of which a certain ICH can be manifested, a heritage is not solely limited to a single domain. One heritage of a certain community can be classified into various manifestations. One of many examples is festivals. Festivals are complex expressions of ICH which comprise of performing arts, oral expressions, social practices and compositions of craftsmanship. Thus, the proposed domains are inclusive rather than exclusive (ICHC – ICH Domains, 2003). Smeets (2003) stresses that the five domains are intersected. Representation of one heritage is a result of manifestations of more than one domain. The fourth domain, ‘knowledge and practices’ is a necessary tool needed to be learned for the enactment of the rest of the manifestations. Performing arts could also result from oral traditions or instruments craftsmanship (Smeets, 2003). Accordingly, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004) highlights that the meaning of ICH itself as described by UNESCO is collective works of a community based on culture and traditions which undergo a process of combined representations. Additionally, UNESCO has allowed states to use different systems of domains for the purpose of manifestations.

History of safeguarding intangible cultural heritage:

Since 1952, UNESCO has begun the efforts to establish methods in protecting what is now known as ICH. Previously, ICH was known as folklore. However, concept and manifestation of protecting folklore has failed as folklore existed in many versions and variations rather than in a single and an original form. Folklores are not unique creation of individuals or human representations (Smith, 2006; Smith and Akagawa, 2009).

The realization of the importance of ICH began from the disappearing traditions due to failure in cultural reproduction. Consequently during 1980s, legal issues were distinguished and in 1989, UNESCO General Office adopted the *Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore*. Correspondingly some activities were carried out in order to make emphasis on ICH. In 1993, the dissemination of *Living National Treasures* system was launched, and the *Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity* was established in 1998.

Accordingly, in May 2001, the Report on Preliminary Study on the Advisability of Regulating Internationally, through a New Standard-setting Instrument, the Protection of Traditional Culture and Folklore has highlighted the importance of emphasizing practitioners of a certain traditions rather than the role of professional folklorists or folklore institutions. Thus, the shift from protecting the artifacts of customs, tales and songs to protecting people which included the performers and craft workers began (Smeets, 2003; Smith, 2006; Smith and Akagawa, 2009).

The idea of the shift was to support the value of ‘carriers’ and ‘transmitters’ of cultural heritage (ICHC, 2003; Smith, 2006; Raj isar, 2004). The solution was to protect not only the masterpieces but also the masters – owners and successors of the skills and knowledge (Smeets, 2003). The protection of ICH required more than just attention towards the artifacts but also the persons. Considerations on the persons involved were applied upon their habitus, habitat and social interactions (Smith, 2003). Unlike tangible heritage, ICH is alive and needs to be passed on (ICHC, 2003). Hence, to ensure the preservation of ICH, the whole system of living heritage transmission must be observed and protected (Bakar, 2011).

Significance of Intangible cultural Heritage:

According to UNESCO, there are five stages of culture cycle which are creation, production, dissemination, transmission and reception, and participation and consumption respectively (ICHC 2003). The significance of ICH in comparison to other heritages is the need of involvement by the communities or individuals which the culture belongs to. The four characters of ICH emphasize the importance of humans' representation to express their cultural identity and diversity.

The major significance of cultural identity is often claimed to be against the negative impact of globalization processes. As a result of globalization, growing fears exist, especially those concerning the homogenization of cultures. The issue against globalization is that cultures around the world will become more uniform, leading to a decline in cultural diversity (Hough, 1990; Cohen, 2001). In order to encounter this possible homogeneity, efforts and strategies have been formulated to preserve those cultures whose very existence could be threatened. Living cultures and heritage are highly subjected to becoming extinct (Hough, 1990, Cohen, 2001; Newman and Jennings, 2008; Pietrobruno, 2009). Since World War Two, UNESCO has introduced the efforts for a series of world heritage initiatives. The struggles to institute and establish ICH dates back to 1952 (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004).

Through understanding of how the people interact with their living environment and develop their sense of cultural distinction, cultural identity and diversity can be identified and maintained (Hough, 1990). The survival of intangible cultures rests on the process where the cultural enactments are being sustained through lived circumstances and storing or sustaining in human bodies and minds instead of documents, artifacts, and forms of media (Pietrobruno, 2009; Potteiger and Purinton, 1999). The aim of ICHC 2003 is to raise the awareness at the local, national and international levels of the significance of ICH, ensure ICH is mutually respected by the communities concerned and provide assistance for education and fund for the maintenance of this heritage (ICHC, 2003).

ICH in context of Nepal

This chapter gives a synopsis of the rich cultural diversity in Nepal; a Nepalese explanation and understanding of ICH (related to folklore); its dynamic and fluid nature which mirrors the living

cultures that it is an expression of; and it provides an overview of each Nepalese category used to define ICH.

Nepal: A Country Rich in Cultural Diversity

Nepal is a country rich in terms of cultural diversity, with more than one hundred ethnic and caste groups. Hence it is a multilingual country, where more than 92 languages and dialects are spoken. The speakers of these languages have their own oral traditions and cultures, which have been handed down from generation to generation. The diverse natural environments, which have given seed to a plethora of living cultures, are unique to Nepal.

The dominant pre-literate Nepalese societies have expressed their reflections on their unique life experiences through various forms of folklore from time immemorial, notably through oral traditions. Geographically, Nepal is a land of diversity. It is mainly divided into three regions from north to south: the Mountains, the Hills and the Terai (or plain lands). There are also major rivers which divide the country into four regions from east to west. The natural resources and biodiversity of Nepal are related to the rivers, mountains, lakes, forests and plains, which have cultivated in the Nepalese an array of livelihoods and their associated cultural practices. These predominantly agricultural livelihoods have greatly influenced the traditional folk life customs amongst Nepal's diverse ethnic and caste groups.

The Bearers of Intangible Cultural Heritage

Dahal (2005) has classified these groups into five main categories: (a) Castes originating from Hindu groups (b) Newars (c) the ethnic groups or *janajati* (d) Muslims (e) Others.

The Hindu caste system is based on the four *Varna Vyavastha* "the class system"². It has four hierarchical levels, from top to bottom, these are; *Brahmans*, *Chhetris*, *Vaishyas* and *Shudras*. Among these castes there are again further subdivisions of each, into at least three categories; high, middle and low caste Hindu groups. The Brahmans and Chhetris are the so called 'high' caste Hindu groups, and the 'low' caste Hindus are the so called 'Dalits' of the hill and Terai regions. 'Dalits' are those communities who, by virtue of caste-based discrimination and so called 'untouchability', are stigmatized in social, economic, educational, political and religious fields. They are traditionally deprived of human dignity and social justice. The National Dalit Commission (2002) has listed 28 cultural groups as so called *Dalits* (Dahal, 2005).

The indigenous people of the Kathmandu valley, the Newars follow Hinduism and/or Buddhism. According to the 2001 census they can be classified into 40 distinct cultural groups all of which speak a common language called *Nepal bhasha*. However, whilst the caste based Hindu groups of the hills will speak Nepali, the groups in the Terai on a day to day basis speak the dominant local languages of the region, such as *Maithili*, *Bhojpuri* and *Awadhi*.

The ethnic groups of the hills, Terai and mountain areas are grouped as *Janajati*. According to the National Foundation for Development of Indigenous Nationalities (NFDIN), ethnic groups are those “who have their own mother tongue and traditional customs, a distinct cultural identity, a distinct social structure and written or oral history all of their own” (NFDIN, 2003). According to NFDIN there are 59 ethnic groups, however the Central Bureau of Statistics (2002) has listed only 43 ethnic groups in Nepal.

The majority of Muslims live in the Terai. The Terai Muslims speak the dominant languages of the area where they live, whilst the Hill Muslims use a variation of Nepali sometimes known as *Churaute*. This however is not a term they would use themselves; Hill Muslims say that they speak the ‘language of the Muslims’, thus reaffirming a unique group identity. Some Muslims, such as Ali Miya, should be remembered and acknowledged for their contribution to promoting Nepali folksongs. Other caste and ethnic groups included in the ‘other’ category are; Sikhs, Christians, Bengalis, and Marawadis.

According to the National Census of 2001 there are 43 caste Hindu groups in the Terai. High caste Hindu groups include Brahmans, Bhumihars, Rajputs, and others such as Halwai, Hajam, Kayastha, Lohar, Rajbhars, Sonar, Yadav, as well as so called ‘untouchables’ such as the Bantar, Camar, Doms, Tatmas, and Musahar. In addition, the nomenclature of the following 35 ethnic groups in the 2001 census corresponds to their own languages. They are: Baramu, Bhujel, Bote, Byasi, Chepang, Chhantel, Darai, Danuwar, Dhimal, Dura, Gurung, Hayu, Jirel, Kumal, Kusunda, Lepcha, Limbu, Magar, Majhi, Meche, Newar, Pahari, Rai- Kirati, Rajbamsi, Raji, Raute, Sattar, Dhangar/Jhangar, Sherpa, Sunuwar, Tamang, Thakali, Thami, Tharu, and Yakkha. This list is by no means extensive.

Identity and Development

In multicultural Nepal groups are identified by both their tangible and intangible cultural heritage. At a regional level people identify themselves as the inhabitants of eastern, central or western Nepal, or from the mountains, hills or the Terai. They also identify themselves by their caste and ethnic groups and by their religion; Hindu, Buddhist and so on. We can identify Nepalese people through their face and body structure, languages spoken.

In contemporary Nepalese society, migration, change of traditional occupations, change of religion, modern education and urbanization have all contributed to ethnic and folk groups identifying themselves in different ways. Linguistic and ethnic identities are receiving greater prominence as Nepal moves forward into a new political era and individuals try to place themselves within a plethora of social groupings. The National Foundation for Indigenous Nationalities (NFDIN) has recently encouraged different folk groups to study the languages and cultures of groups different from their own, which mirrors at a national level wider international viewpoints, such as the UNESCO declaration on Cultural Diversity (2005) which states that “cultural diversity is as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature” (Article 1).

Having said this, substantial attention has however not yet been given towards addressing the uniqueness of Nepalese cultural pluralism in relation to development. The supremacy of the classical knowledge of Pundits and so-called modern educated elites has often ignored non urban cultures. Thus very little attention has been given to promoting traditional technologies and wisdom, and much more needs to be done.

The Nepalese Context for Intangible Cultural Heritage

The five domains of the Convention on ICH provide a starting point, however they are by no means complete in the Nepalese context. ‘Intangible Cultural Heritage’ is a fairly new term and concept in the Nepalese academic field. Previously the domains of ICH were discussed under the general term of ‘Folklore’. In the context of Nepal, Folklore is largely understood as being divided into two overarching domains: (a) Oral Traditions and Performing Arts and (b) Customary and Material Folklore.

In essence, the former is more intangible and the later is more tangible, although for many Nepalese it is difficult to make such a clear cut distinction between them. At the core of ICH in

Nepal are oral traditions. In general, oral traditions in Nepal are understood as expressions by word of mouth, such as phrases and idioms, recited poems, chanted hymns, recounted tales, ballads, epics, folk tales, riddles, proverbs and narrated myths and legends. All these, together with folk songs and folk dramas make up folk literature. Indeed, as Osman points out, some of the items such as folk tales, myths, legends, epics, ballads and historical recollections are oral narratives, whilst others, such as riddles, proverbs, hymns, chants, dirge and folk poetry are non-narratives (1982).

In a Nepalese context ICH also comprises of various types of folk music, folk dances and dramatic performances, which can be understood through the lens or title of 'Folk Performing Arts'; performed by individuals or groups. Whilst the proponents of Performance Theory conceptualize both oral traditions and folk performing arts as one; under the term "verbal art", considering both as performance (Bauman, 1984), the authors prefer to follow the domains of the UNESCO ICH Convention by making a distinction between "Oral Traditions" and "Folk Performing Arts", because it is believed to be more appropriate to the Nepalese context. Each domain has so many forms and examples that to prescribe only one definition does not in fact allow for the intricate differences (although, as with all definitions, they can be limiting and restrictive).

Having said this, the life cycle rites and various types of rituals, social practices including ceremonies, and festivals are all aspects of customary (or behavioural) folklore, and because they represent social practices, and wider institutions the authors will refer to the aforementioned as "Customary Folklore". In fact, various types of narratives such as myths, legends, songs, hymns, ritual songs, dirges, as well as dances and plays when accompanying social practices and festive events represent customary folklore. In Nepalese traditions, various types of songs, dances and myths and legends are closely linked to rituals and festivals. Artistic, functional objects made by folk groups, such as musical instruments are created to be practical and visually pleasing. They are also symbolic representations of the knowledge and skills used in creating them, and whilst the products are physical and tangible, the knowledge, skills and cultural associations attached to them are intangible. Hence, in order to fully comprehend ICH in Nepal, one needs to acknowledge "Material Folklore".

Thus, following a Nepalese framework on folklore and tradition we can discuss the intangible cultural heritage of Nepal within the following fluid domains:

- (a) Oral folklore
- (b) Performing folk arts
- (c) Customary folklore
- (d) Material folklore

The Characteristics and Dynamics of Intangible Cultural Heritage

ICH or folklore (as it is understood in Nepal) has some basic characteristics. It is traditional rather than modern; it is group based rather than individual; and oral rather than written. It is handed down from generation to generation. ICH contains the beliefs, customs and thinking of a group of people, and it describes the deeds of ancestors, including their contributions towards communities, society and mankind. Those who carry traditions can be called the ‘tradition bearers’. The singers of folk songs and the tellers of folktales are both examples of tradition bearers because they are knowledgeable persons who disclose the history of their folk group, and often also create stories of the universe and origin of their people. This tradition is alive in all Nepalese folk groups because it is the mainspring of any group. In most cases the origin of traditional intangible heritage forms is unknown, and indeed focus on an individual is often not important. All folklore items are the property of any given group in Nepal i.e. ICH has no individual ownership.

ICH and folklore are therefore not something that is newly created with each generation; rather it is transmitted through language and learnt from older generations. Oral literature is learnt through word of mouth, whilst the performing arts such as music, dance, drama and games are learnt by regular practice. Sometimes regular practice is taught under the guidance of a teacher or ‘guru’. Thus the *Guru Parampara* "teaching tradition" is an institution in itself; the key transmitter of all kinds of traditional performance, whether the end product is tangible or intangible. The teacher of folk music, the teacher of shamanism, the teacher of priesthood (for performing rituals), the teacher of faith healing and of textile weaving – are all vehicles for transmitting ICH.

One of the characteristics of ICH is that it is not age-old and static, but rather a **dynamic** phenomenon, **part of living cultures**. Not only do songs and ballads, proverbs and riddles, phrases and idiomatic expressions, art and crafts transform over time and space, but knowledge, skills, products and performances are also constantly being adapted. For example, each performance of oral poetry and music performed by the same tradition bearers may slightly vary. Folktales can also be narrated in a slightly different way each time they are performed, because they too are fluid, just like the cultures they are part of. Factors such as the nature of the audience and venue can also have an impact on delivery, and thus ballads and epics have multiform. Furthermore, the handmade masks, khukuris, water jars, pottery (all part of material culture) also show variations in design, just as the customs and social practices they serve are constantly changing. The same is true for festivals and fairs. Adaptation is an organic process for Nepalese folklore and ICH.

There is also always the possibility that traditions die out. If a group is relatively small, many of the languages, oral traditions, various types of performing arts, customs, beliefs and practices, as well as their knowledge, and skills may be threatened if they are not transferred to younger generations. This can be a great loss. If language, which is the basis of oral traditions is lost, many other things that the language supports or influences, may also disappear. Joshua Fishman very aptly remarks that:

"Our minds are culturally fashioned so as to discern attributes in our language of everything that it is theirs. And when we lose our language we lose an entire world of seemingly automatic and immediately symbolic associations with the history and attainments of our own slice of humanity; in other words our own self-concepts become altered thereby. The turns of phrase that were parts and parcel of patrimony inherited from gifted kinfolk, historical events, triumphs of the mind, or ascents of God per se, exist no more, and it will take unfold time for a successor's language to develop new ones that are as rich in symbolic value for anywhere near as many members of the speech community. The shared symbols associated with a language are the shared sinews of community and of group identity" (Fishman, 2005).

The Nepalese Languages: a Vehicle for Intangible Cultural Heritage

As has already been stated, Nepal is a language store house. Grimes (2000) list 126 spoken languages in Nepal whereas the Population Census of Nepal 2001 states that there are only 92 languages.

Historically all the Nepalese languages are grouped into four families: Indo-European; Tibeto-Burman; Dravidian; and Austro-Asiatic. Indo-European languages are spoken in the Terai and Hill regions, and in some parts of the Himalayan areas. Tibeto-Burman languages are spoken in the Himalayan and Hill regions and in some parts of the Terai since the 1950s large numbers of people who speak Tibeto-Burman languages have migrated from the hill regions to the Terai, and Dravidian and Austro-Asiatic languages are mostly spoken in the Eastern Terai region.

Out of 92 languages (CBS, 2002) only 14 are spoken by more than 100,000 people in Nepal, and hence they are categorized as the major languages of Nepal. They are Nepali, Maithili, Bhojpuri, Tamang, Tharu, Newar, Magar, Awadhi, Bantawa, Gurung, Limbu, Bajjika, Rajbamshi and Sherpa languages. Bajjika, a language spoken in the Bihar state of India has only recently been recognized in Nepal in the census of 2001. In the second category, there are 16 languages spoken by more than 10,000 people. They are Chamling, Santhali, Chepang, Danuwar, Jhangar, Sunuwar, Majhi, Thami, Kulung, Dhimal, Angika, Yakkha, Thulung, Sangpang, Bhujel and Darai.

In the third category there are 42 languages spoken by less than 10,000 speakers, out of which about 40 languages are spoken by the indigenous people: Khaling, Kumal, Thakali, Chantyal, Dumi, Jirel, Umbule, Puma, Hyolmo, Nachiring, Dura, Meche, Pahari, Lepcha, Bote, Bahing, Koyu, Raji, Hayu, Byangsi, Yamphu, Ghale, Khadiya, Chiling, Lohrung, Mewahang, Kaike, Raute, Kisan, Baram, Tilung, Jerung, Dungmali, Limkhim, Kusunda, Koche, Sam, Kagate, Chintang and Lhomi. In addition, Sanskrit is the classical language of the Hindu Pundits, Tibetan is the language of the Buddhist Lamas and Churauti is a variety of Nepali language used by the Hill Muslims. Nepalese Sign Language was recognized for the first time in the National Census of Nepal, 2001.

Only a handful of spoken languages in Nepal have written traditions; namely, Nepali, Maithili, Bhojpuri, Awadhi, Tharu, Newari, and Limbu, which all use *Devanagari* script. Previously,

Mithilakshar was used to write Maithili, and *Ranjanaw* was used by speakers of the Newari language. Traditionally, Tibetans have used a different script to *Devenagari*, however these days the speakers of various Tibeto-Burman languages also find it convenient to use Devanagari in Nepal.

A large number of people known as Hill Brahman, Chetri, Sanyasi, Kami, Damai, Badi, Sarki, and Gaine (Gandharva) speak Nepali as their mother tongue. Various caste groups of

the Terai use the dominant language of the region such as Maithili, Bhojpuri and Awadhi. Even the language of the Tharus in the Terai is heavily influenced by these major Terai languages. Most of the speakers of various languages of Nepal use Nepali as their second language. Generally, different groups in rural areas use their own languages within their groups and Nepali as a *lingua franca*.

Oral Traditions and Folk Literature

As has already been stated, oral traditions are oral expressions "spoken, sung or voiced forms of traditional utterances" (Dorson, 1972) known as folk literature, including prayers and curses, tales and memories, myths and legends. Sometimes *lokoti* "saying of the folk" is used to designate idioms and phrases as well as proverbs and riddles. The idiomatic expressions of the phrases are in essence colloquial metaphors based on the knowledge and experiences of the people within a given cultural group.

Children do not use proverbs when they communicate with their elders. Rather, as a mark of status, the wisdom and knowledge of folk proverbs are used to teach juniors by their elders. People who have a high level of competency in the use of their language are likely to use more idioms and proverbs. Riddles are popular among children as verbal games, and in Nepali they are called *gaunkhanekatha* "the anecdote told to win a village". Whereby a riddler can win over an entire village if the listeners are not able to provide the correct answer! Thus riddles can be used as an important means of creating acceptance and affirming one's position within a village. Riddles are popular among various ethnic groups in the hill areas and the Terai. It is known as *Bujhawal* in Bhojpuri. Some traditional Nepali riddles have been collected and published, and some of them are also transmitted via radio and television programs. Due to the popularity of

riddles amongst children, new riddles have been created, signifying the transformation and renewal of oral traditions.

Nepal has a large number of myths and legends associated with the origins of different ethnic groups; many relating to mountains, hills and rivers. Myths and legends expressed in their prosaic forms are grouped together with folktales in the Nepalese tradition, whilst poetic forms are sung, and they are considered as folk epics and ballads. There are several myths and legends related to the origin of the gods and goddesses, as well as place legends relating to the valley of Kathmandu and different parts of Nepal. Sometimes the same legend will only be expressed in one of the forms whilst in other cases it may be expressed as a mixed form. The *Bharats* being performed by the Hudkyas of far western Nepal, and the story of *Sarumai Rani* sung and told by the Gandharvas of western Nepal are good examples of mixed forms. Sadly however, there remain place specific legends and heroic legends of different linguistic communities which have not yet been documented, such as the *Jari-Sona* of the Dhimals in the Terai.

Far Western Nepal is equally rich in its oral literature as the other districts, especially in relation to epic traditions. The *Hudkyas* are the carriers of the *Bharat* performance, which they sing playing a drum known as the *Hudka*. They sing epics on folk heroes, such as *Sakram Karki*, *Rani Raut*, *Uda Chapala*, and *Rani Maula*. *Chait*s are other forms of mythological and heroic based poems, which are narrated by men and women in the far western region. There are *chait*s of the folk gods and goddesses such as *Ganyap*, *Tulachhaha*, and *Malika Bhageshwar*. There are also some *chait*s of mythological heroes like *Rama*, *Sita* and *Pandavas*. The characters of Ram, Sita and Hanuman are presented as part of an oral recitation of the Ramayana. There are also the *chait*s of historical personalities such as Kings and fighters. Some of the Kings talked of are Ram Shahi, Narapati Shahi and Hari Shahi, and famous fighters include Rupa Shahi, Lal Deuwa, Dipa Rajawar, Piri Bora, Sai Karna (Bandhu, 2001). There are also notable epics such as *Salheshin* in Maithili Language, *Sorathi-Brijabharand Alha-Rudalin* in Bhojpuri and *Ram Bihagra* "the Folk Ramayana" and *Barkimar* "the folk Mahabharat" in the Tharu language of Dang

The most popular heroic poetry of central Nepal is known as *Karkha*. A *Karkha* is sung by professional singers known as the *Gandharvas*- a so-called 'caste of singers'. The *Gandharva*s sing playing a type of fiddle called a *Sarangi*. Their narratives are either based on

the classical and local myths like *Pashupati*, *Gorakhanathor* the legends related to historical personalities, which include Kings, prime ministers and famous fighters of the country; such as Prithiwi Narayan Shah, MadanKirti Shah, Amar Singh, Bhakti Thapa, Balabhadra, Jung Bahadur, Chandra Shamsheer, and JuddhaShamsheer. *Gandharvas* also perform tragic ballads like *Sarumai Rani*, and recite narratives composed known locally as *Sabai* and *Ghatana*. *Sabai* is also popular among the Nepali speaking communities in a semiliterary form. It describes tragic events such as wars, earthquakes or floods, as well as the deeds of heroes. The *BhotkoLadainkoSabai* which describes the war in 1854 between Nepal and Tibet was published in 1855 and remains very popular to date.

Whilst most *Sarang* and *Hudka* players are men, women sing various mythological, legendary and social ballads notably during their work sessions in the fields. In eastern Nepal, women sing a mythological ballad called *KansasurMama*, whereas in western Nepal they sing *Krishna Lila*, *Bala Chandra*, *Sudham*, *Dilli Ram Bhujel*. The legendary ballad of *Bharathari* and *Gopichan*, and some of the social ballads such as *Dhanasiri*, *DeukalaCheli* are sung mainly in the eastern and central areas. These ballads reflect the beliefs of the women, and often serve as a cathartic release against life's hardships.

The Role and Function of Oral Traditions in Nepalese Society

The different languages spoken by each ethnic group represents each group's collective identity, as well as the wider way in which interpersonal communication occurs in Nepalese societies. That is to say that in the context of Nepalese folk life, oral communication is more functional than written forms of communication. Oral traditions are immediate and directly engaging, serving as a point of immediate contact in village communities. Whereas written forms are limited; as illustrated by the fact that according to the 2001 Census only 53% of the population was literate.

Oral traditions are not just forms of entertainment; they also serve various other functions: for example, school children develop their education and socialization through nursery rhymes, folk tales, riddles and proverbs. It is interesting to note that many creative writers in Nepal enrich their works with elements from oral traditions. *MunaMadan*, the renowned literary work of a great poet, Laxmi Prasad Devkota, is an adaptation and recreation of a Newari folk ballad. In addition, religious songs, prayers and hymns are an integral part of Nepalese religious life, and

many songs and performances are interwoven amongst rituals and festivals. Not only do folk songs help to entertain onlookers, but they can provide respite from a day of hard manual work, or song competitions can even act as a way to meet potential spouses!

Folk Performing Arts

Folk Performing Arts constitute of folk music, dance and drama. There are a variety of songs, dances, and plays performed in different parts of the country by different communities. Each performance creates a unique identity for a particular folk group, and it serves to reaffirm group identity within the wider Nepalese caste/ethnic group. Folksongs are the most popular genre of Performing Arts in Nepalese society. So much so, that Nepalese folksongs are popular in the high hill areas, where the people will use their own Tibeto- Burman languages in their day today functions, yet they will sing in Nepali. Songs are not only limited to traditional folk singers and dancers like *Hudkyas*, *Dholis*, *Badis*, *Gandharvas* and *Damais*, but are also popular amongst all Nepalese people of all ages. In different regions, children are taught about life through children's folk rhymes or poems, which are recited by the children themselves. Likewise there are songs appropriate for aged men; they sing various seasonal songs and recite poems and prayers. The folk poems composed in traditional folk meters are generally composed and recited by semiliterate Brahmins and Chetris (often with a religious social standing) in the hill regions. Prayers such as *Bhajan* and *Arati* are performed in the temples, pilgrimage sites, and during religious fairs and rites.

The hill regions of Nepal are very much active with songs and dances like *Deuda*, *Jhyaure*, *Selo*, and *Sangini*. Starting from the west, *Deuda* is the most popular among both men and women in the far western hills, *Jhyaure* in the western hills, *Selo* in the central hills and *Sangini* among the women of the eastern hills. Though *Jhyaure* is a general term for folksong, the words *Sangini* and *Deuda* are the songs and dances of the eastern and western regions respectively, and signify their unique cultural traits. Although geographically limited, *Tamang Selo* serves the same function for the Tamangs of the central hill region.

Ritual songs like *Mangal* and *Sagunare* are performed mainly by women or by professional singers as part of the performances. Singing of ritual songs is also important for the communities who speak *Maithili*, *Bhojpuri*, *Awadhi* and *Tharu* in the Terai. Seasonal songs like *Tije*, *Malsiri*, *Deusi*, *Bhailo* and *Phaguare* are performed during the various related festivals. Hindu women in the

hill areas perform *Tij* festival in August dancing to the typical tunes of *Tij* songs. Though the word *Malsiri* came down from classical traditions (Sanskrit) it has a place in folk traditions too, notably during the Nepalese festival of *Dashain*.

The songs of *Deusi* and *Bhailo*, which are sung during the festival of *Tihar* are very popular among the hill people. In some parts of Nepal *Deusi* is performed only by men and *Bhailo* only by women. These are typical songs often sung visiting neighbours' homes throughout the festival of *Tihar* in order to wish good health and prosperity to the family members. *Phagu* is more popular in the Terai regions, where it is performed during *Holi* festival in March. It is also celebrated to a lesser extent in the hill areas with local variations.

As Nepal (outside of Kathmandu) is still largely an agricultural society, there are several performing arts associated with this livelihood. For example, work songs are sung during the plantation of paddy, weeding of millet, at the time of harvesting and grinding of corn, and during the husking of rice. *Asare* is sung during plantations in the field, and it is sometimes known as *RopainGit* "the planting song". The tradition of planting paddy with songs and folk bands of *Panchai Baja* has almost vanished as many young farmers look for jobs in the towns, but *Asare* is still sung alone in some parts. Women also sing songs and ballads during the weeding of millet in the hill areas. However traditional songs are dying out: a typical song called *Dain Gitor* "harvesting song" is slowly disappearing, because the boys who would have performed it in the past are now going to schools.

The Gurungs and Athpahare Rais have specific entertainment houses called *Rodighar* and *Deraghar* respectively, and it is here that young men and women traditionally assemble for singing and dancing; it serves as a courting place for young boys and girls - a place to meet potential spouses. However during the last twelve years of insurgency many of these places have closed down due to the restrictions placed on groups gathering and fear of intimidation.

Like the other regions, Western Nepal has many unique folk dances/songs and dramatic performances. *Sorathi* is perhaps the most popular one. The story of *Sorathi* which is dramatized in the Magar and Gurung communities of central Nepal is also performed in some of the villages of eastern Nepal, and in the Nepalese populated villages of north-eastern India. There are Bhojpuri, Maithili and Tharu versions of *Sorathi*. In addition, *Ghantu* is another dramatic

performance which is mainly performed in the Magar and Gurung communities of western Nepal, in which virgin girls are selected to perform a colourful dance.

For the Dimals, the performance of the *BadhaNhakais* their great dance drama. Around 400 years ago singers, saints and travelers came and helped spread different verbal art form. The contribution of Gorakhpanthi saints should also be noted in relation to the performances of *Sorathi*, *Gopichanand* and the song of *Bharathari*. For Sherpa Buddhist monks, *Mani Rimduis* a significant dance-drama performed during the Mani Rimdu festival at the Monastery of Tengpoche. It is essentially a prayer ceremony in which the dances are symbolic, as are the special costumes and masks worn by the monks. The main purpose of this dramatic performance is to initiate the fundamentals of Buddhism as practiced by the Sherpas (Fantin, 1976).

There are many other examples of dramatic performances. For example, the episodes of *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* are also performed in many communities during night-long *Bhajan* (song and dance) sessions after the *Satya Narayan Puja* and *Saptaha*. In *Bhajan*, the singer is the main performer, whilst in *Balung* groups of four, eight or sixteen perform important portions of the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*. In addition, the Tharu communities of Dang perform *Barkimar*, the Maithils of the Terai *Jat-Jatin*, and the Newars of Kathmandu perform *Charya* and *KartikNachin* Lalitpur.

During traditional performances people use different types of folk musical instruments and costumes. There are varieties of folk musical instruments used locally in many parts of the country. Some of them are collected and preserved at the Museum of Folk Musical Instruments in Kathmandu. In most of the dances and dramas typical dresses and costumes are also worn that serve as visual markers for unique cultural identities.

Customary Folklore

In Nepal, rituals are related to the life-cycle activities of people, whilst festivals are related to the annual lunar cycle and agricultural calendar. Different castes and ethnic groups perform their life cycle rituals in different ways. Birth, initiation, marriage and death rituals each have unique rites (prescribed customary acts) with interesting variations. For example, the Newars perform *Ihi* also known as *BelBibaha*, which is the symbolic marriage of young girls to nature. The girls are

dressed in wedding attire and the rite is performed as a group whereby the girls give offerings to the sun.

Various songs and dances are performed for the sake of good rains and agricultural prosperity, such as *Bhoto Jatra* and *Indra Jatra*, and for the good health of children, *Ghode Jatra* in Kathmandu Valley. Related to wellbeing, *Chhathais* celebrated by the Maithili people and *Mhapujaby* the Newars in order to encourage the well-being of the self. Similarly, *Dashain* and *Tihar* are also celebrated for the well-being and re-union of the family.

It is important to note that different castes and ethnic groups sometimes celebrate the same festival but on a different day and in a different manner. New Year is such an example, whereby it is celebrated by different ethnic groups such as the Sherpas, Gurungs, and Thakalis on different days of the year, just as Hindu caste based groups celebrate New Year in mid-April in different ways (this is called *Bisu* in far western Nepal).

There are some festivals that are celebrated every 12 years. One of them is *Bya-La*, a festival organized in Baudhanath, Kathmandu. *Gaurais* another important festival in the far western region celebrated by women in the month of August. Some performances like *Chaits* and *Athawaliare* related to this festival.

Pilgrimage to holy places is an important custom of Hindus, Buddhists and Muslims alike. Both Hindus and Buddhists visit Muktinath and Pashupati. Lumbini (the birthplace of Lord Buddha) is perhaps the most sacred site of pilgrimage for Buddhists and there are many important pilgrimage sites for Hindus; notably, Gosainkunda, Devaghat, BarahaChetra, and Triveni.

Material Folklore

Material folklore has a visible component. However, the knowledge and skills inherited by the folk group are invisible and intangible. For centuries various ethnic groups of Nepal have survived due to their knowledge and practices relating to nature and the universe, which has been handed down from generation to generation through spoken word. The knowledge of cultivating fields and taming animals, preparing and using agricultural tools, designing houses and furniture, using tools and techniques for fishing, hunting and gathering are all skills passed from generation to generation. In addition, medicinal plants and herbs have been sourced and used to become part of systems of diagnosis of diseases and healing practices. Such practitioners in various ethnic

groups and communities are the pioneers of traditional ecology, ethno-zoology, ethno-biology and ethno-botany.

Traditional arts and crafts are unique examples of material folklore. The distinction between arts and crafts is well made by Henry Glassie (1972) when he says: “*if a pleasure-giving function predominates, the artifact is called art, if a practical function dominates, it is called craft.*” In Nepal traditional craftsmanship is closely related to the caste system. Traditionally various castes of the hill such as *Kami* "blacksmiths", *Damai* "the tailors and drum beaters", *Sunar* "the goldsmiths" all came from so-called untouchable castes. Whilst a law in the 1960s legally emancipated the so-called lower castes they remain important tradition bearers in the villages, serving people by making and repairing agricultural tools, ornaments and clothes for men and women.

The *Gandharvas* who make *sarangi* "the fiddles" and *Badis* who make the *madal* "the drum" for musical performances and dances are still active in their occupation. It is important to note that not all the occupational castes are socially ranked at the lower levels of caste hierarchy. The Newars of Kathmandu who are very skilled in metal works manifest a high level of craftsmanship and prepare images, artifacts, ornaments and jewellery. In doing so the highly skilled nature of their craftsmanship serves to elevate them in society. Similarly in the Terai, the Tharu women who prepare artistic *Dhakkis* "containers", and the Maithili women who prepare hand-made Mithila paintings (often for export), both enjoy some social kudos from their crafts. Indeed, craftsmanship and social status also come into play with the artisans who make brass works from Palpa and Chainpur, Khukuri from Salyan and Bhojpur.

Guthi

Guthi is regarded as one of the most important elements of *Newar* people, which controls most of their social interactions, religious and ritualistic activities; and with which they have to associate in different ways during their whole life periods (Gurung, 2000).

Meaning and its origin

The term “Guthi” was derived from the Sanskrit word “Gosthi”, and literally means gathering of people (Toffin, 2007). Basically, Guthi is a form of social organization and moreover, a traditional cultural practice. In basic sense, Guthi is a group of people united for a common

objective, created to enhance the standard of living of people due to realization of the need to live together and work together for a common purpose. Most importantly, Guthi was inspired by the religious spirit giving prominent importance to the religion. Guthi was initiated with the motive of maintaining the social structure among the Newar people. Many rituals are related to the life stages from prenatal, birth, rice feeding, childhood, puberty, marriage, seniority, and death. To follow up such rituals, maintain tradition, preserve culture, and conduct the religious festivals, Guthi is believed to be formed (Bajracharya, 2008).

Initially, *Guthi* systems were established by the Kings for certain common purposes like cleaning of certain areas and temples, conducting worshipping of those temples. Those kinds of *Guthi* were known as *Raj Guthi*. Later on, people started to form private *Guthi* organizations (called *Niji Guthi* or *Duniya Guthi*) in order to carry out the social and religious functions (Regmi, 1976). Those *Guthi* organizations were varied according to the purpose for which they were established. Whatever the objectives of the private-run *Guthi* system is, the main point is the tradition that is passed from generations to their successive generations helping in maintaining the social structure and uniting the people in the community, keeping “we feeling” alive along with the religious faiths and beliefs. Thus, due to its importance in the lives of the *Newar* people, it is regarded as one of the most important and significant element of the *Newari* culture.

Classification of guthi

The activities of *Guthi* solely depend upon the motive with which it has been established, however, the formation and fundamental working principle behind all types of *Guthi* are same. Mainly, there are two types of *Guthi*; one is *Raj Guthi* (state run) and the other is *Niji Guthi* (private run). The *Guthi* established by the King and Royal family specifying some lands is known as *Raj Guthi*; while the *Guthi* established and maintained by the ordinary public with their own collective sources is known as *Niji or Duniya Guthi*; not having government intervention at all (Regmi, 1976).

All state run (*Raj Guthi*) *Guthi* organizations are registered under the government organization called *Guthi Sansthan*, which is responsible for accounts of those *Guthi* organizations, including their income, expenditure and their activities as well. These types of *Guthi* organizations were basically formed by the Kings and royal family members for the maintenance and protection of socio-religious sites. Currently, there are 2080 registered state run *Guthi* organizations in total,

which includes various religious sites such as 717 temples, 647 resting places (*sattai, pati*etc), 192 gardens and 159 ponds (Gautam, 2008). Regarding private run (Niji) *Guthis*, they can be classified into numerous types depending upon their functionality and purpose of establishment, but main types of *Guthi* practiced, according to (Bajracharya, 2008) are as follows:

Religious Guthi: Though the existence of all types of *Guthi* organization is based on the Religion, there are some special types of *Guthi* which fall under this category having objectives of worshipping of deities. Most of the temples of Gods and Goddesses have their own *Guthi*, which are responsible for regular maintenance of the infrastructure of the temple and its surroundings. In addition, the worshipping rituals are conducted by the specified *Guthi*. Famous *Kumari Guthi* falls under this category, which is responsible for the caretaking of Goddess *Kumari* and her living place and temple as well. *Kumari Jatra* is also conducted by that *Guthi*. *Jatra* is the terminology used for the spiritual ritual performed as a festival, which is the way of worshipping the Gods and Goddesses, in which the idol of certain god or goddess is carried out in a chariot and paraded across the specified city or village for procession. Some other examples are *Busada*(consecration and recitation) *Guthi*, *Dhalan*(observation) *Guthi*, *Panchadan*(Donating five elements) *Guthi*, *Salun Guthi* (worshipping a particular deity and arranging feast on every first day of month) etc. To every famous temple, one *Guthi* is assigned for taking care and maintenance. Multi-caste membership is allowed in such *Guthi* and membership to this type of *Guthi* is absolutely voluntary and optional.

Service-oriented Guthi: This type of *Guthi* is created for providing service to the society and culture. *Si Guthi* (for death rituals), *Sana Guthi*, *Latwankegu*(serving water on festivals), *Sithi*(celebrating a particular occasion - *Sithi Nakha*;) etc fall under this category (Suwal, 1997: 6). This type of *Guthi* is also related with the *Newari* festivals having responsibility of conducting festivals and *Jatra* of Gods and Goddesses. It also organizes the feasts for the members of the *Guthi* ensuring for the social gathering and maintaining social harmony in the community. This type of *Guthi* is inherited, compulsory and also, it has the territorial boundaries. Some *Guthi* organizations that fall under this category are multi-caste, but most of them are based on mono-caste membership.

Communal Guthi: The *Guthi* run by people of a certain caste falls under this category. *Degu* (*Diwali*) *Guthi*; for example; is basically formed with the motive of worshipping the clan deity;

and conducts the religious activities such as installation of idol of god and construction of temples, *chaityas* and *Vihars* (Buddhist Monasteries). This type of *Guthi* relatively consists of smaller number of members, basically consisting of a single Kinship line, thus membership is strictly mono-caste. This type of *Guthi* holds strict rules and regulations. Membership to this *Guthi* is strictly inherited and compulsory.

Entertainment oriented Guthi: The *Guthi* giving prominence to entertainment along with the religious feeling fall under this category. It is mainly related with the promoting of traditional music, musical instruments, traditional and religious dance, and cultural dressings. *Nasa Guthi* and *Lasata Guthi* are the common examples. In this type of *Guthi*, *Nasa Dyah*, who is regarded as a *Newar* God of dance and music, is worshipped and people are trained for the religious dances and the traditional music. The main objective of this *Guthi* is to keep the traditional music and dance alive for the religious purpose. Membership to this type of *Guthi* is absolutely voluntary and optional. There is no limitation of membership on caste basis; a person can join this *Guthi* as long as he is a *Newar*. Additionally, this type of *Guthi* has no territorial boundaries. According to Toffin (2007), *Dyah Pyakha Guthi* (secret dance societies) is the only exception, which is strictly inherited and limited to certain families, and the worshipping rituals are kept secret in this *Guthi*. The members have to perform the dances of various Gods and Goddesses and membership is usually passed on from father to son. (Bajracharya, 2008)

Sana Guthi in focus

Sana Guthi is one of the most commonly practiced *Guthi* among the *Newars*. Though it falls under the category of service oriented *Guthi*; it is one unique *Guthi* that incorporates the functionalities of religious, service-oriented, communal as well as entertainment oriented *Guthi*. Religious in the sense that it performs the worshipping of deities; service-oriented as it incorporates the *Si Guthi* in practice which has involvement in the death rituals along with other services to the communities and also responsible for the religious *Jatra* rituals and festivals; communal as it is separately run by the certain caste and actively involves in the installation and maintenance of idols of gods in Temples and *Vihars* (Buddhist Monasteries); and entertainment oriented in the sense that it promotes *Newari* culture, traditional dance and dances of Gods and Goddesses, cultural dresses and the traditional customs in general. Most importantly, it focuses on social harmony and periodic traditional social gatherings offering feasts; regardless of the

social status of each individual *Guthiyaar* (member of *Guthi*); maintaining equality in individual society and creating the feeling of togetherness. “*Shree BhairabNath Ta: Guthi*”; one of the *Sana Guthi* practiced by the *Jyapu* castes located in Kirtipur; can be drawn as an example. Further, more details about this particular *Guthi* will be discussed in the following chapters, as the main discussion about the modernization impacts will be illustrated on the basis of the examples from this *Guthi*.

Among all types of *Guthi*, *Sana Guthi* holds a crucial and prime importance in the *Newar* community because of its basic function of funeral procession. In *Newar* Society, since the corpse must not be touched by any member of the bereaved family, it is the responsibility of *Guthiyaars* of *Sana Guthi* to follow the funeral rituals and cremate the dead body (Nepali, 1965). The word *Sana* in *Newari* language literally means condolence or sympathy to the bereaved family in which a member has died. Each caste is spatially divided into local groups owing commitment to their respective *Sana Guthi*. The membership to such *Guthi* is strictly mono-caste, compulsory and inherited by birth (Shrestha, 2003). A person can be affiliated to only one *Sana Guthi* at a time. Change of membership from one *Sana Guthi* to another one is very unlikely. But if a person, for instance, migrates far away from locality, his *Sana Guthi* cannot serve him as it has territorial boundaries. In such cases only, a person can change the affiliation from previous *Guthi* to the one which covers his current locality and which is based on the same caste. But it has to be done with mutual understanding between the working committees of both *Guthi* organizations, and a huge amount of charge has to be paid to both (Nepali, 1965).

The composition of *Sana Guthi* is also same as other types of *Guthi*, having *Thakalias* the leader and a working committee responsible for every activity and ritual. A male leader of the family is regarded as the *Guthiyaar* for the particular *Sana Guthi*. Among all the *Guthiyaars*, a working committee is formed and given the responsibilities for a certain period. Besides that, there are various positions in *Sana Guthi*. A messenger (*Pala*) is appointed whose task is to communicate the instructions of *Thakali* to the *Guthiyaars*, to announce the *Guthiyaar*'s death to the community, and also, he is regarded as the caretaker of the main God of *Guthi*. Similarly, 12 to 16 *Chirpa* are chosen whose main responsibility is to carry the chariots of Gods and Goddesses during the festivals (Furer- Haimendorf, 1956).

The main purpose of establishment of *Sana Guthi* is to follow the funeral rituals properly. Additionally, the conduction of various worshipping rituals and regulation of various religious festivals are also done by the *Sana Guthi*. Besides that, it also performs socio religious services like cleaning the communal areas, maintenance of religious sites, installation of idols of various Gods and Goddesses. Some are also involved in maintaining irrigation canals and roads in the area. In some cases, the financial co-operatives are also found incorporated in *Sana Guthi* with the motive of providing financial assistance to its members. It also conducts regular feasts for the *Guthiyaars* which helps peoples of the society to gather together periodically and share each other's ideas and allow them platform to discuss about the matters regarding *Guthi* works (Gurung, 2000). By performing these activities, *Sana Guthi* is being able to keep the traditions and culture alive along with maintaining social harmony. However, there are some opposing factors which are forcing such *Guthi* to change in terms of its functionality. There are several modernization factors which are playing lead roles for such changes; changes in the society and *Guthi* institutions as well. While taking a close look at those changes, some are found significant for the well-being of the society where as some are found negative leading into loss of culture and traditions.

Philosophy of death

Hinduism focuses on the theory of transmigration of soul and the law of *Karma*. According to Hinduism, soul is immortal.

It takes birth as a human; lives the destined period of life and quits the world after that period to take up another task assigned by the God (Gutschow and Michaels, 2005). But before that, it has to reach in front of the court of *Yama* for analysis of his *Karma* during the previous life period. On that basis, according to Law of *Karma*, either the soul is rewarded in heaven or punished in hell or assigned a re-birth. But, the path to court of *Yama* is considered very difficult for which the soul has to be helped by the living relatives by performing the rituals properly. In case of *Newars*, they believe that even the soul of the deceased needs the material comforts like food, clothes etc. while travelling through the path to the court of *Yama*. That's why the family of deceased offer such materialistic stuffs like clothes to wear, bed to sleep, stick to ease travel etc. to the priest (Nepali, 1965). Additionally, food is offered to the deceased in every ritual.

Hindu philosophy distinguishes the death as natural and unnatural. If a person has died of old age or due to long drawn sickness, then the death is considered natural; whereas death due to accident or certain epidemic is considered unnatural. Unnatural death is believed to be resulted from the fury of evil spirits or ghosts; or by witchcraft and black magic. People who have died unnaturally are bound to face the difficult transitional phase of turning into ghosts or spirits before going to the court of *Yama* whereas the ones with natural death have the easier pathway to Court of *Yama*.

Death rituals

The dead body of a *Newar* person is burnt in fire, and for that, numerous rituals has to be followed to ensure that the soul of the deceased rests in peace and the life after death is eased. In case of *Newars*, *Sana Guthi* plays vital role during the cremation of the dead body. The family of the deceased needs help during the cremation of the dead body and to follow the rituals properly, for which the members of *Guthi* are required.

According to *Newari* culture, when it is known that a person is in the last stage, he is shifted to the ground floor (*Chheli*). A special priest *Ghate Vaidya* is called upon for worshipping and the dying person is asked to cite and remember *Narayan* (Lord Bishnu) so that his death becomes easier. It is believed that the moment soul leaving the body is the most difficult part of life and during that period, if a person remembers god, then it will be easier for salvation. In the mean time, family members put water on dying person's mouth from a special vessel called *Karuwa*. From another vessel called *Kola*, a continuous stream of water is poured over the feet of dying man. This ritual is called *Bramhanaal*. In that vessel, three silver coins are kept, which has to be done by the chief mourner (*Mitaima*). A chief mourner is the one who offers fire to the person after death. If a male person has died, the eldest son will be the chief mourner and if the person is female, then the youngest son. If the person doesn't have any son, then brother will be the chief mourner, otherwise father. In some cases, if no male relatives are available, then the responsibility is conducted by one of the *Guthiyaars*. But no female relatives are allowed to be chief mourners. After death, the remaining water from *Kola* during *bramhanaal* ritual is spread around the house and those 3 silver coins are kept by the *GhateVaidya* and in return, he provides sandalwood and camphor required for the cremation. It is the duty of *GhateVaidya* to announce

the death of a person. These days, the ritual of *Bramhanaalis* not performed and the tradition of calling *Ghate Vaidya* is also not in practice.

After the declaration of death, the body is kept on the floor with head pointing towards north. Five lamps made of clay (*Diyo*) are placed around the body, one near to head, two on either sides of the body and two near to the knees. Those lamps are filled with *Ghee* (butter) and burnt. Then, the information about the death is conveyed to *Pala* of the deceased person's *Guthi* whose responsibility is to go to community and inform all the *Guthiyaars* about the death which is called *Sana HaaWanegu*. After getting the information, *Guthiyaars* arrive at the house of the deceased for necessary arrangements for cremation. They have to arrange nine bundles of wheat straw (*chhwali*), a fire pot made of clay (*Bhaaja*), cow dung cakes, a little paddy husk of rice, a pair of iron chains and a *Karuwa* filled with water. Most of the stuffs are pre-stored in the *Guthi* so that it becomes easily available when required.

Additionally, *Guthiyaars* have to arrange bamboos to make a bier to carry the dead body, which is prepared in a rectangular shape with four handles at the corners. It is called *Kota* and before putting the corpse on *Kota*, a ritual known as *thalay Kulay* is performed in which, the dead body is cleaned with water and vermilion powder (*Sinha*) is applied on the forehead. His horoscope (*Jaata*) is tied on the forehead. A person is born without clothes, thus it's a belief that he has to leave the world on the same state as he came. That's why all the clothes of dead body is taken off and covered with a white piece of cloth. If a person died is male, vermilion powder on forehead of his wife, which is the symbol of marriage, is wiped out and the bangles worn by her are taken out and placed on the dead body.

Then after, married daughters of the family have to bring a piece of cotton and place over the body. This ritual is known as *Phanga Tayekegu*. During this ritual, they have to cry loudly so that the soul can hear the condolence provided to him. However, the ritual of *PhangaTayekegu* was mentioned in earlier research of Gopal Singh Nepali (1965), these days, it is not performed by the *Newar* people; except in *Lalitpur*. Thus, it can be assumed that this ritual has vanished along with the time. Then, the corpse is tied with red loin cloth (which has to be provided by the *Guthi*) and stitched up, which is called *Dukayegu-Pikayegu*. A separate group of *Guthiyaars* are created namely *Gonta*, whose responsibility is to carry the corpse and place it on the *Kota*. But before that, corpse is wrapped with the special kind of umbrella made of dried leaves which is

used by the *Newars* during rice plantation. Then the corpse is shifted from *Chheli* to the courtyard of house. Before taking the body for funeral procession, food is offered to the corpse which is called *PindaBigu*.

Finally, the corpse is ready for funeral procession. But before that, an aged woman has to conduct a ritual called *chhwasawaawanegu*, in which she carries the mat and pillow of the deceased to the *chhwasu*(cross-road near house) and leaves those stuffs. After her return, the procession starts. During the procession, while taking the corpse to the cremation site (*Depa*), an order has to be maintained. The funeral follows on a queue, the frontline being the musicians playing a special kind of musical instrument sets called *KaaBaja* and *Nya Baja*.⁵⁴ It is followed by one *Guthiyaar* who carries the *Bhaajain* which wheat straw and dried cow dung cake is burnt along the way. The person is followed by the female members who walk bare-feet, crying loudly and spreading the mixture of paddy grains, rice and coins as an offering for the evil spirits on the way to make the path secure. This ritual is known as *Po HalaWanegu*. Only daughters and sisters are allowed to perform this ritual, while the daughter-in-laws are not even allowed to attend the funeral. Those female members are followed by four *Guthiyaars* carrying the *Kota* in which the corpse is placed. The corpse is followed by the male members of the family, which is led by the chief mourner. They have to walk bare-feet and wrap themselves with the white shawl to show the condolence to the deceased. Last in the queue are the remaining *Guthiyaars*, carrying wheat straw which is required to burn the corpse. The funeral follows a route fixed for such purpose and has to halt at the first cross road outside the settlement where three sun-dried bricks have to be placed with a belief that the soul has to make a house to live in another world.

In the mean time, the cremation site (*Depa*) is prepared by the *Guthiyaars*. The pyre has to be built up by 9 pieces of long wood and 9 pieces of short wood, thus making 3 layers. Usually for each *Guthi*, there is a predefined cremation site. The cremation site is usually based on the bank of river, but in some places, it is found near to the temple of local deity. When the funeral arrives on the site, the corpse is taken out from the bier and kept on the pyre. The corpse is placed in such a way that the head points towards north. Then the ritual of *La Twanegu* is followed, in which, first, all the female mourners drip water on the mouth of the corpse after revolving for 3 times, scattering the mixture of paddy grains, rice and coins. After that, the female mourners return back from the cremation site. Then this ritual is conducted by the male mourners, serially

from the youngest to the oldest and lastly, by the chief mourner. Finally the torch (*Mipula*) made of bamboo is handed to the chief mourner. He lights the torch on the flame burning on the *Bhaaja* carried by one of the *Guthiyaars* all the way from home. After revolving around the corpse for 3 times, the chief mourner, then sets fire on the corpse by placing the *Mipula* under the head of corpse. But before that, the corpse (except the head) must be covered with the wheat straw carried by the *Guthiyaars* during the procession. Then, all the mourners go to river for bath except the *Guthiyaars* who have to wait till the corpse is converted to ashes. While returning back, before entering the house, all the mourners; male and female both; need to be purified as it is a belief that the mourners are haunted by the evil spirits during funeral. For purification, a ritual named *Bali Piya Chhweguh* has to be conducted. In this ritual, the eldest lady from the family stands in front of the house carrying a tray containing ginger, mustard seeds, salt and beaten rice along with an iron key or an iron sickle. A fire-pot made of clay is also kept at the side with mustard seeds. As the mourners return back, they stand in a row. The lady gives a little amount of those materials to each of the mourners which they have to pretend to eat. Then the lady takes a handful of beaten rice and touches the mourner's head to feet, and then throws it in the name of the mourner. After that, the mourner sterilizes his face with the smoke of the mustard from the fire-pot and touches the iron key or sickle and passes it to the next mourner in the row. Then only he can enter the house. This applies for all of the mourners. After all mourners have entered the house, they are served with *Sisu-Palu* which includes beaten rice, pieces of ginger, butter and salt.⁵⁷ An exception applies to the chief mourner who is not allowed to take *Sisu-Palu*. After the *Sisu-Palurites*, all the mourners return back to their respective houses.

Death pollution is applicable to all the relative families (*Fukee*) for 12 days during which they are not allowed to eat meat items as well as any fried items. However, married daughters of the family have the pollution period for only 4 days. In the house of the deceased, cooking is prohibited for whole pollution period. Thus, food has to be served to the family by the *Fukee* members in turn. The food should contain boiled rice, pulses and pickles, other stuffs are strictly prohibited. But, these days, such a traditional practice is breaking down and cooking is resumed on the second day, however, cooking has to be done by *Fukee* members. On the day of cremation, all the *Fukee* members are not allowed to cook and eat until the messenger from *Guthi*, who has attended the funeral, conveys the information of completion of the funeral procession. The food

which is cooked before the death has to be thrown and only after getting the message from that *Guthi* member, they are allowed to cook and eat.

Rituals after death

The series of rituals doesn't end here. Next day, early in the morning before sunrise, few male mourners, along with the chief mourner, have to go to the cremation site again. They are accompanied by a group of *Guthiyaars*. From the remains (ashes and bones) of the deceased, they have to prepare one statue. Two small seeds of *Ritha*(*SapindusMukorossi*) are used in the statue to represent the eyes and a conch shell for the mouth. Five heaps of boiled rice and beaten rice are used to form the body – legs, hands and head. Three pots of clay containing liquor, milk and beer made of rice are also taken along, which are poured on each of those heaps. Then, all those heaps of beaten rice and boiled rice are collected in a basket (*Khamhuin Newari*, which is used by the *Newar* males in agriculture as well as daily use for carrying stuffs) separately. Along with these, the last remains of ashes and bones are also collected for the final disposal in the river. The responsibility of disposing those remains is given to a certain number of *Sana Guthimembers*. Usually, those remains have to be separately kept and should be disposed in different holy places of the valley. Remains of the scalp should be disposed in *Gokarna*, one shoulder joint to the *Sankhamool* and the other in *Tekdwan* and two knee caps in *LakhaTirtha* and *Bhacha-Khusi* respectively. But these days, as *Bagmati* River flows through all those places, all the ashes and remains are disposed at once in the *Bagmati* River. After disposal, the *Khamhu* is brought back and hung outside the house. On the same day, all the relatives, friends and *Sana Guthi* members visit the family of deceased to offer condolence, in which females and males have to sit separately in the house. It is also a kind of ritual and named as *BichaaPhayegu*.

On the fourth day after death, married daughters visit the house of deceased to perform a ritual called *Locha*. For conducting that ritual, they have to bring a basket of beaten rice, green vegetables, boiled beans, curd and liquor with them. Before entering the house, they need to wash their hands and face after which they enter the house crying loudly calling the deceased person with her relation to the deceased. The food brought by married daughters is taken by the female *Fukee* members in a feast named *Locha Bhwe*.

Next ritual follows on the seventh day, which is called *Nhyanma Tayegu*. In this ritual, the eldest married daughter has to offer food to a person from *Kusle* caste in the name of the deceased. This

offering occurs on the same place of the house where the deceased person was placed before death. On the same day's evening, food is offered to the deceased one by one, starting from the youngest to the oldest. After that, the chief mourner leaves for the cremation site again with a replica of wooden ladder, needle and a cooking furnace; which he leaves at the site and returns. After returning, then, he puts an iron nail on the main door. It's a belief that until this ritual, the soul of the deceased doesn't realize that he is dead and keeps returning back home from the cremation site. This ritual stops the spirit to enter the house.

On the tenth day, the ceremony of shaving heads occurs in which the chief mourner including other close relatives shave their heads. Only the chief mourner and other sons (if any) of the deceased have to shave their eye brows, mustache and beard as well. From that day, the sons are bound to wear only white clothes for whole year. If the deceased has a wife, then she also has to wear white clothes and also prohibited to use vermilion powder and any ornaments for the period of one year. But usually, a *Newar* widow is prohibited to wear red colored clothes for her entire lifetime.

On the twelfth day, the ritual of *Ghasu* takes place which symbolizes the complete purification for the family. Various worshipping rituals are conducted by a priest and are followed by a ceremonial feast. Formal invitation is not sent for the feast to anyone. But, all those relatives who have attended the funeral and the fourth day's ritual have to attend that feast. Along with other food, meat has to be served on this particular feast symbolizing the end of prohibition of eating meat. From the day of death, meat is prohibited for the family as well as *Fukee* members till the twelfth day. Next day is followed by the ritual of *Shraddha* in which various worshipping rituals are performed in the name of deceased. *Shraddha* has to be performed in regular intervals – on 45th day of death (*Latya*), after 6 months (*Khula*), after one year (*Dakila*) and two years (*Nirhatithi*). On all occasions a feast as to be served after conducting *Shraddha*. But after the second year, even if the *Shraddha*s conducted annually, feast is not served. It is to be noted that *Guthi* has to play important role only up to the second day of death. After that, each and every ritual has to be performed by the family and its *Fukee* members. As *Sana Guthi* doesn't play any part after that, the rituals are not dealt here in detail.

Importance of Sana Guthi in Death rituals

Sana Guthi has an important role to play during the death both in terms of social and religious perspectives. It is a belief that in order to ensure easy life after death for the deceased, each and every religious ritual has to be performed correctly. All the materials required for the cremation of the corpse has to be arranged by the *Guthi*. For instance, the bamboos required for making a bier for the corpse, the wood required for preparing the cremation site and the huge amount of wheat straw required to burn the corpse have to be arranged and provided by the *Guthi*. Human resources needed for carrying those stuffs to the cremation site is also mobilized by the *Guthi*. In addition, the objects required for ritual performances like clay pots, iron chains, musical instruments (Kaa: Baja and Nya Baja) have to be arranged by the *Guthi* itself.

Additionally, *Guthi* itself has to perform some rituals as well. As the family and *Fukee* members of the deceased are considered polluted, they are not allowed to touch the corpse. Hence, it's the responsibility of *Guthiyaars*; who don't have kinship by blood; to prepare the corpse by cleaning it, removing clothes, and covering with white cloth, applying vermilion powder and tying the corpse in umbrella. It is also up to the *Guthiyaars* to prepare bier for the corpse and place it on that bier. During the funeral procession, *Guthiyaars* are required to carry the corpse from the house to the cremation site. Most importantly, the preparation of cremation site has to be done by the *Guthiyaars*. Building of a pyre with three layers of wood on the site is conducted by the *Guthiyaars*. Even after the final burning of the corpse by the chief mourner, they have to stay there to ensure the completion of burning till it is reduced to ashes. Even the next day's ritual of disposing the last remains of ashes and bones to the defined holy places is also conducted by the *Guthiyaars* of the particular *Sana Guthi*.

Moreover, the financial and social support needed by the family of the deceased is also fulfilled by the *Guthi*. In some cases, provision of a special kind of *Guthi*; namely *Bichaa Guthi*; is found for the financial support to the family of deceased. But, in most of the cases, *Sana Guthi* takes up this responsibility. During the funeral procession, *Sana Guthi* has a system of attendance to ensure the participation of all the *Guthiyaars*. The *Guthiyaars* who are absent on the particular funeral are fined with some financial amount which goes to the fund of the *Guthi*.

Impacts of Modernization

In this ever changing world, the rituals also are not the exceptions. Death rituals are also changing its shape along with the duties and responsibilities of the *Sana Guthi*. Modernization can be regarded as one of the factors for such kind of changes. Whether the changes are negative or positive, it cannot be distinguished.

In the current context, due to the modern medical facilities and treatments, there is one hope that a person can be saved till his last breath. Thus, most of the people are taken to hospitals during the critical situation. That's why most of the people spend their last stage and leave this world in hospitals. In such cases, the corpse is not brought home. Rather, it is directly taken to the cremation site. So, the rituals that have to be conducted at home during the last stage are not done at all. However, the ritual of cleaning the corpse and other rituals of making bier are conducted. Similarly, the ritual of *PhangaTayekegu*, in which married daughters have to place a piece of cotton over the corpse, is nowadays vanished; however, some communities are still maintaining it. Likewise, the ritual of *BramhaNaal* and the tradition of calling *GhateVaidya* during the last stage is not in practice.

In *Newar* Society, the family members of the deceased have to visit various Hindu shrines and Buddhist monasteries during the whole year across the valley for *puja*; during which they have to offer 108 lights at each shrine in the name of the deceased. These rituals are performed in order to make sure that the deceased soul rests in peace. However, such rituals are diminishing in the current context. Thus, it seems that lack of time is the cause behind the degenerating trend of such performances.

Another change that can be observed is the lack of participation of the relatives as well as the *Guthiyaars* in the funeral procession. Migration of people to different places within the country as well as abroad is much higher these days, due to which the relatives become unable to attend the funeral procession. In case of the *Guthiyaars*, though they live in the same territory, it is not always possible for them to attend the funerals. And, the fine amount for not attending the funeral is much lower, which increases the tendency in people to pay fine instead of “wasting their time” in the funerals.

Additionally, there is a tradition of burning the corpse in the predefined cremation site located near to the territorial boundary of the *Guthi*. But these days, if a person dies in hospital, people are not even taking the corpse to the predefined cremation site of the locality. Instead, they are conducting funerals in the sites nearby the hospital or taking to the *Aryaghat* of *PashupatiNath*. Conducting funerals in other sites than the predefined ones reduces the necessity for conducting the second day death rituals as the cremation sites like *Aryaghat* are crowded and dead body has to be disposed soon after the completion of burning. Not only that, travelling to such places becomes lengthy and time consuming for the local *Guthiyaars*. Due to lack of participation, proper conduction of the ritualistic activities becomes difficult. There are few examples of females acting as the chief mourners. Unlike the male chief mourners, the females don't shave their heads and wear white clothes for the whole year, as wearing white clothes symbolize the death of their husbands. It can be symbolized as a change in tradition, as traditionally it was strictly prohibited for the females to do so and such ritual performed by females is not considered pure till now.

Introduction of young members to the working committee allowed such changes in tradition despite arguments with the older ones. According to the young working committee members, people are realizing the fact of gender equality and even the government is promoting it. There is a saying now a days, "*Chhora hos yachhori, dubai Barabari*" (son or daughter, both are equal). It seems *Newar* people are also changing their traditional way of thinking regarding the equality of male and female. In this sense, the changes brought by modernization can be regarded positive and beneficial for the well-being of society.

In this modern world, where fashion has its importance in the lives of people, the tradition of wearing white clothes for whole year and shaving of head, eyebrows, and mustache-beard is fading away. Some people, these days, even don't follow any of those rules. People; who have to go abroad or people who have such professions in which following those rules is not possible; they are not bound to follow such rules. Youngsters of this modern world, who are very much conscious about modern fashion, are not interested at all to follow such traditions. These days there is a growing trend of ending the pollution period (only for wearing white clothes) during the marking of 13th or 45th day. Even if the pollution period is not ended, it is very common these days to wear light colored clothes like off-white, cream and ash; instead of pure white.

Thus, it can be observed that the strict tradition is becoming flexible along with time. Rituals are also reshaping according to availability of resources and materials and also, lack of participation is forcing for such changes. Thoughts of the young generation, the way they think and do, are forcing the rituals to change. Additionally, Guthi system is also under the influence of modern thoughts of youngsters. Flexibility is provided to the Guthiyaars concerning their own individual daily lives which increased the tendency among them to remain absent during such funeral rituals and pay few amount of money instead. This tendency has resulted in less participation of the Guthiyaars due to which the human resources required for the rituals become inadequate.

Festivals and rituals conducted by Sana guthi

The *Newars* are well known across the country for their numerous religious festivals, feasts and rituals round the year. It is even commonly said that these *Newars* have more number of festivals and ceremonies than the days in a year. In spite of centralizing themselves in Kathmandu Valley only, not only in Kathmandu, but where ever these *Newars* have migrated and settled across the country, they have managed to observe those festivals and feasts regularly (Shrestha, 2002). Regarding the origins of such festivals, evidences show that those festivals had existed during the early periods of *Malla* dynasty and *Lichchhavi* Kingdom as well. Sharma (1997) has mentioned about the existence of some festivals during the reigns of *Jayasthiti Malla* (1382-95 AD) and *YakshyaMalla* (1428-82 AD).

Nepali (1965) has categorized *Newari* festivals into two broad categories. Festivals based on locality and territorial boundary fall into one category whereas the other category includes Hindu calendar festivals which are usually confined to the family members and kin groups. The festivals which fall into the former category are regarded as the community festivals, in which, usually the participation is inter-caste and various *Guthi* organizations have to participate actively on those ones. Even in some of those festivals, *Guthi* has to play leading role. But, in the latter categorized festivals, *Guthi*; except *Diwali Guthi* in some cases; has no role to play as they are limited to the family members and the kinship relatives.

Festivals

Rato Matsyendranath Rath Jatra

It is one of the most important festivals of Newar particularly by the residents of Patan celebrated annually as national festival. The festival lasts for around a month. Feasting takes place at the four different locations of the traditional route in Patan, with elaborated feasting in Lagankhel. The jatra ends in Jawalakhel by displaying the bejeweled “Voto” in the open field. The rath (Chariot) takes weeks to assemble and is done in Pulchowk, Patan. When the jatra ends, the chariot is dismantled and important parts of it is stored for the following year while in every twelfth year the chariot is assembled in Bungamati from where the jatra begins. The chariot is filled with the symbolic presence of the original Jyapu below the god’s seat, while Bandhudatta and Narendradeva are positioned one on each feet (Anderson, 1988).

The bathing ceremony takes place at the Lagankhel platform annually attended by thousands of spectators (Gurung, 2000). The peepal tree in Lagankhel where the bathing ceremony is performed, symbolizes the deity’s mother and thus plays a vital role in the annual festival (Anderson, 1988). In this way the birth rituals are performed, the tenfold initiation rites are performed. After these rituals are performed, the Matsyendranath is seated in the chariot bringing it from Bungamati to Pulchowk (Gurung, 2000). Besides, Patan Kumari is also brought in a procession to be present every day.

Moving the rath needs hundreds of people and is filled with physical labor and tension and also violence fueled by consumption of toxic drinks. The immense size of the chariot and the mass of people dancing and singing loudly with loud music and wild spirit accompanying it cause many mishaps. The latest twelfth year celebration reported death of two people as bricks from a half constructed building fell upon them while struggling among the crowd for a better position to view the festival (Gurung,2000). Others who do not involve in pulling the rath, provide water to the participants either volunteering or by splashing water from their houses.

Deducting from the present practice, the aspect of worshipping is associated with the provision of rain. The festival starts in Baishakh(April) a few weeks prior to the normal onset of the monsoon rains. The procession follows a ceremonially prescribed route with well-defined halting

places, receiving the constant homage of the Patan people (Gurung,2000). Finally, the chariots are brought to Jawlakhel.

The jatra conveys the belief that link the fate of the country to the jatra for it has the capacity to real what is previously unknown. The jatra is instrumental in that it brings rain; it does not merely symbolize the coming of the monsoon, but it actually brings rain (Gurung,2000).

Case Study

Relevance of Festivals/ Cultures in Urban context and its impact

Festivals as defined by Falassi (1987:2) goes by, "Periodically recurrent, social occasion in which, through multiplicity of forms and series of coordinates events, participate directly or indirectly and to various degrees, all members of a whole community, united by ethnic, linguistic, religious, historical bonds, and sharing a world view". The definition emphasizes the uniqueness of the event and the sense of community shared by the organizers, participants, and viewers.

The celebration of any festival not only brings people together but equally reflects upon the culture, the history and the growth of the civilization of a particular area. The identity of any community/ people is reflected by the culture which is further reflected through festivals. There are many intangibles in the background that support the system when it comes to any kind of public celebration. The festivals that are celebrated not only promote and conserve the culture, but also help the local markets foster. The better the local market, the more the opportunities for the people. This creates a healthy flow of communication, cohesiveness and betterment in the society.

Economic impacts

As a matter of fact, the existence of any festival in a community is the significance of the history or evolvement of the culture in that community. The other significance in today's context is that such happenings in the society is also a great way of economical circulation. The scale of festivals may vary from local to international. However the scale, there are economical investments in all and that gives an economical hope for the local people. The investments are done by the authorities of particular areas. For example, in the Turkish city, İzmir, the municipality is the main event organizer, thus they may tend to focus on community benefits over development of city tourism. A further explanation can be found in the theme and content of festivals. According to several studies, in order to establish the image and attractiveness of a destination, festivals and events should have themes that distinguish them from their competitors (Yeoman, Robertson, Ali-Knight, Drummond & McMahon-Beattie, 2004). Hence, the authority looking after the social events is responsible for the economical beneficial.

"The same place or festival can have different meanings for different consumers. For example, a city resident may attend a festival to interact with other city residents or just to enjoy his or her leisure time; a local or international firm may attend the same festival in order to sell or promote its products; and a tourist may attend for entertainment and to experience the local culture" (Ashworth & Voogt, 1990).

Tourism

Tourism for any country/ place is important as it aware people about a certain group of people and their way of living and how it is a different experience in all. Hence, cultural reflection through festivals can be a great way to let the visitors/tourists learn more on the same. This also creates more scope of development in terms of economy and diversity. This can also be seen as a way of exchange of culture where the people getting to interact with the new visitors can also learn about their cultures and hence would not remain just one way.

Research finds that "the growth of festivals and special events in numbers, diversity and popularity has been enormous in recent years" (Gursoy, Kim & Uysal, 2004, p. 171). One reason for the growth in festivals might be the important role that events play in tourism related marketing (Kim & Chalip, 2004)

Market

The urban presence in any kind of festivals is seen through the crowd movement and also through the markets. This is a way how the "Architecture" of the place is reflected. Along with architecture, the urban spread and planning comes to play. Other than the physical aspects of the market, it is also a hub of opportunities for the people. It is also a positive way to show creativity during festivals that can best reflect the culture. Hence, markets during these times can be a significant aspect that lead to a better economy, communal growth and preservation of the culture.

To summarize, the relevance of the festivals in context to urban planning grounds when the placement of all the tangibles and intangibles are aligned in a good way. The significance of urban planning in the scene is, if the prominent festivals that truly define the cultures of different societies are thought of while planning a city/community, then, it is even more beneficial. For example, if all the services and landmarks are thoughtfully planned it can be a great way to make the participants more involved. This would create an image through *architecture, culture and sense of welcome* to the visitors. Furthermore, the responsible authorities can also be more accepting of urban planners in terms of infrastructure development, road network, and open public spaces. This would give a wholesome look to the preservation of culture through urban planning.

Field Observation and Analysis

Overview of Study Area

Case of Sana Guthi and Machhindranath Jatra festival has been taken to understand the reality in this research.

Under Sana Guthi, study area is focused inside Kathmandu valley. Since there is varied rituals in different areas of the valley, for convenience of understanding three cases has been selected. Two Sana Guthi based on Patan and a case of Bhaktapur is taken into consideration. From Patan, Guthi of Pradhan caste group and Maharjan cast group is taken into consideration while Guthi of Manandhars' is taken from Bhaktapur. Observation and Interview has been done in case of Pradhans' Guthi function while the rest of the two were done with key informants interviews

Case 1 Dhallachhen, Patan Sana Guthi

Method followed:

This case study is based on involvement and observation of the rituals in this specific Guthi. In depth observation is done to get the understanding of the ritual. Besides, an interview with one of the member of the Guthi was conducted to unearth the underlying issues in the Guthi.

Overview

This Guthi was established around B.S. 1960-70s with the people residing at DhallachhenTole of Patan. Caste group of Pradhan, Raghubansi, Joshi and Shrestha are present in the group. It consists of 33 members at present with a Thakali and 7 consecutive thakalis making 8 members of Chyama Thakali. As described in the literature above, this Sana Guthi performs Sii Guthi as an important service of the community during death of the guthiyaar members meanwhile also organize various religious activities and entertainment activities.

In this Guthi, a member from the group is selected for the organization of rituals throughout the year. During the year the member "Pala" leads the events assisted by other members of the Guthi. After the end of the year, this is passed on to following members "Wala". There is chronological transference of the Guthi responsibility to its members. Although it doesn't seem to have been transference by age of the member, it is because the list of transference is set with respect to the members from the past. Since older generation has passed away, there seems to be chronological breakage.

Death Ritual in Sii Guthi

The responsibility of Guthiyaars in Si Guthi has been reformed according as the transformation of the context felt. After the death of Guthiyaar, Pala is contacted by the family member of the dead Guthiyaar. Pala transmits the information to other Guthiyaars. Pala also instructs the Guthiyaars to pay their visit at Pashupatinath where the dead body is cremated. Time is also estimated. At Pashupatinath when the Guthiyaars all arrive, the rituals are assisted for the family members. Necessary guidance and assistance for the rituals and necessary materials are managed. Along with this assistance, a sum of Rs. 10,000 is given to the family of the deceased. This is given at the cremation place or after according as the necessity shown by the family of the deceased. Then the corpse is taken to the place of cremation from the place where Brahmanaal ritual is done. Here the corpse is usually carried by the specified Guthiyaars whose responsibility is determined. Then after the fire is set to the dead body, Guthiyaars can leave the event. Before that, attendance is taken if all the members are present or absent. Absentees are fined with specified fine. Death ritual is not much elaborated as past. The twelfth day event of the feast is no longer attended by the Guthiyaars.

Shree Panchami Guthi

The events of this Guthi ends in Shree Panchami or Saraswoti Puja for Pala and marks the start of the responsibility for Wala from the month of Magh/Falgun every year. Thus at this time of the Nepali year, there is the transference of the Guthi to its new member or leader. On this day, members of the Guthi meet in Ganesthan located in Dhallechhen tole at the given time according as the law of the Guthi established. The members who could not be present at the Guthi due to unexpected reasons are punished under the penalty by paying the specific fine called “Ba:n”. This is done by taking the attendance of the group. The fine is collected during the annual meeting done on FalgunPurnima. On this day, the Pala member organizes the Puja in Ganesthan. Pala is responsible for the management of all the necessary things for the Puja and the feast organized later in the evening. Pala prepares for the Puja and appear at the temple at the given time and starts the ritual of the Puja. Pala performs the Puja with usual way of praying. In this Puja, goat is sacrificed to God. In eastern culture, sacrifice is done to offer life element to the god. In this case, goat is used for the sacrifice of life. The temple is lit with diyos, fire candles. After the completion of rituals of the puja, breakfast prepared is done by the Guthiyaars. This is also managed by the Pala. Traditional food Jerry Swari is prepared for the breakfast. Guthi has

their main deity. The deity is also worshipped during the puja in the Ganesthan. The deity is brought back to the home of Pala where they take vermilion tika as Prasad of the Puja. This is done before the breakfast. Guthiyaars put tika in their forehead. There are three kinds of tikas. Orange, Yellow and the Black. Black is made out of fire burning on the clay tile. These tikas have different meanings. Also additionally Guthiyaars also use the blood from the head of the Goat as Tika. So technically there are four Tikas used during this. Besides “Mala” is used to tie around the neck made of red fabric. This is the prominent Newari style of taking Tika in any rituals. After this ritual of taking Tika, every Guthiyaars take their breakfast. Meanwhile Samay is being prepared as Lunch for the Guthiyaars. Samay is the important and peculiar meal that consists of beaten rice or Chiura, Garlic slices, soyabeans, ginger slices, lettuce, and buffalo meat or Choila. Lunch is done by the Guthiyaars then some Guthiyaars relax, meet and gossip while some other goes back home for their personal works. Everyone meets in the evening. Pala informs for the feast in the evening, time and venue. Usually the venue is at Pala’s home, unless there is space for conducting the feast. In case of unavailability, Pala or Guthiyaars looks for a temporary place for the feast which will be in the convenient distance of the members. Guthiyaars meet at the fixed time as explained in the rule of Guthi. Pala manages the preparation of the feast. There is written document for all of these requirements for the feast. The document consists of ingredient needed for the feast and the quantity needed for preparation of the meal. This is well documented which is fruitful for every annual Puja in fore coming cycle of the Guthi. At around 6pm, Guthiyaars meet at the feast. There is peculiar way of seating in the feast. The Guthiyaars are seated according to age. Usually the *ChyamaThakali* strictly follows the rule while the lower ones do not necessarily follow the pattern. In this feast, no female and the people outside the members are not allowed. The deity is not supposed to be seen by the outsiders that is why this is strictly performed. The deity is kept at the top of the seating then the *Thakalis* seat and finally other members, some do not seat for the feast in order to perform the management of the feast. The way of the feast is peculiar but common in Newari tradition. It is called *LapteVwey*. All the members seat on the floor in crossed legged position for the feast. Feast is eaten in special plate made out of sewed leaf. All the members seat in the place, then the food is served by the ones who are meant to organize for the feast. There is peculiar way of putting different variety of food. First heavy diet foods such as *Chiura*, meat, *Achar* (Pickle), lettuce etc. are served which is followed by digestive foods such as *Dahi* (Curd), green beans, *Paun* (sweet

and sour juice), radish and peas. Besides, during the feast, there is tradition of distributing Prasad. *Sa: Duru* or Cow milk and *GanapatiBhog* that contains Khuwa (pasteurized product of milk) is given at the end of the feast which the Guthiyaars bow down and eat. This way the feast is over. There is the rule that unless Thakali stands up and ends his feast no one is allowed to stand up and end their feast. Then the remaining members of the Guthi seat and eat. During the feast Guthiyaars are given Rotis, various peculiar Rotis used in Newari tradition. This is given for the family members of Guthiyaars. Finally after the feast, there is the ritual of transference of Guthi responsibility to the consecutive *Wala*. There is special process of this ritual. In this ritual, *Wala* and *Pala* face each other. *Wala* faces east while *Pala* faces west. The meaning for this seating is that, *Wala* who is the carrier faces the east where the sun rises while *Pala* faces west where the sun sets such that his responsibility is over as the sun setting. Between them is the deity, and a plate containing numerous food. They are given a bowl of alcohol and some food. *Pala* then pushes the plate of foods gently towards *Wala* that symbolizes that the responsibility is sent to *Wala*. The ritual is ended here. Then the deity is taken to the *Wala's* home. With special chanting "*Ganapati Baba ki Jai*" the deity is strolled to *Wala's* home. Guthiyaars help *Wala* to take the deity to his home. The deity is put in their designated place specially puja room. Then the ritual is over and the Guthiyaar return their respective home.

Shree Panchami Guthi is conducted at Ganesthan, the community temple. Mr. Bijendra Lal Pradhan asserts that the space has been getting crunched every following year to conduct the rite. During the rite a lot of materials are necessary which is hampered by the lack of Space. The road and the traffic increment in the recent year has been making more space push and making difficulty in the ritual process. Addition to it, the extension of rental shops and the disposal of the constructional materials make it difficult to work in the temple. Gathering of Guthiyaar makes the place filled and any additional activity runs in the place would bring congestion.

Since this ritual falls in the winter, people around the place gather for sun bathing that makes this space share to many functions at a time.

According to Dr. Narayan Hari Joshi, in past times, the Bhoj were done in the community courtyard. But now due to increase in activity in courtyards and transformation of the space Guthi conducts Bhoj in Chapas, the party venues. Extra economic burden has been put by this while due to availability of Chapas, the management of the Bhoj is easy. Dr. Joshi also reflects

that due to increasing use of the courtyards and transformation of the courtyards, the possibility of the courtyards for Bhoj conduction has been affected. Due to increase in population, the courtyards are being used more and there is less privacy in conducting Bhoj. Since the Bhoj is supposed to be privately done, the rented Chapas are favourable than the courtyards. Also the urban form has added more to this. Due to tall buildings and increasing rentals, the privacy is lesser.

Fagu Purnima Guthi

Fagu Purnima lies in the month of Falgun in Falgun Sukla Purnima according to Nepali Calander. On this day the Guthi performs puja at Balkumari Temple where the diety of Saraswoti is consecrated. All the members of the Guthi are compulsive to attend the Puja otherwise the penalty of fine is given. All the members are distributed necessary task to help the Pala who takes the responsibility of the organization of Puja. The Puja is done in the morning. Guthiyaar take Tika and Mala once the Puja is performed in the temple. After the rituals are done they organize Bhoj in the nearby Chapa/ Venue. Samaya is eaten. Guthiyaar used to cook themselves in the past but these days catering do the purpose. Guthiyaars hang out in the day and in the evening they organize another round of Bhoj as dinner.

Balkumari Temple serves as the host of this Guthi. Due to the massive Gorkha earthquake of 2015 the temple has gone through damages. Cracks on the walls can be seen while the people have been using the place daily and habituated without any fear of damage of the temple. Although after the earthquake, Guthi has been conducting the rituals, there seems to be less impact by the earthquake. Still to preserve the existence of this heritage and Guthi functions, this heritage has to have maintenance and repairmen.

Mr. Kabindra Lal Pradhan, the member of Guthi explains the premise of the Balkumari Temple has problems related to sanitation. Under management of surface water and littering has been one of the problems in the premise. This has impacted in gathering the people in the temple during rituals. In addition to that due to lack of designated space for gathering, Guthiyaars have to stand for a longer period of time during the ritual. He points out its management in the premises.

About the Chapa, (the venue for Bhoj) the space is apt for the purpose. There is good management service of drinking water; water needed for cooking purpose and proper solid waste management. There is no bathroom in the building but situated in the next block of the premise which is not big of a problem, Mr. Pradhan asserts. The management is currently working on the maintenance of the bathroom. However the sanitation in the building is the problem. Not so good cleanliness of the space in the kitchen and dish washing area is the problem.

Mr. Pradhan demonstrates that the design of the building obstructs the rituals. The place where the Bhoj is conducted is newly built; one floor is added where the bhoj is conducted these days. The rituals during the Bhoj is such that it is not preferred the outsiders watch the situation going on during the Bhoj. But due to growing locality and the large opening fenestration, this is hard to maintain.

Yo Sin Guthi

This ritual falls on October and November starting from the Ashoj Shukla Ekadashi (Dashain ends) to Kartik Krishna Ekadashi (Tihar starts). This falls between the time of the Dashain festival end and the ends when the Tihar festival starts. Manandhar(2020), this rite is believed to be done for the betterment of community; prosperity and to protect the community from negative energy.

This is the Guthi when on the first day a pole of wood called Yo Sin about 15 feet in height is erected in Ganesthan, Sundhara by this Guthi. In this Guthi, Guthiyaar meet in the Ganesthan temple in the morning to erect the Yo Sin. Few processes like painting the wood with white and red colors are done to Yo Sin and a wooden light holder is placed on the Yo Sin. This is done by the Guthiyaar. In a designated place, the pole is erected. After the pole is erected, every following day, each Guthiyaar torch light on the Yo Sin till the last day, Ekadashi. On the following day, the Yo Sin is again reposed and kept for the next year.

Dr. Narayan Hari Joshi points out that the condition of the place where this rite is done is becoming unsuitable for organization. People come to take sun bathe in the same place the rite is done. Bikes and mobility is also triggered when the Yo sin is erected. The space is crunching down. The space is getting lesser every following day. Due to ongoing constructional works, the place is sometimes congested. Constructional materials are being deposited at this place which

makes it difficult to erect the Yo Sin. Besides, the rental shops extend their space to crunch the space further that hampers the need of the space to conduct the rite. This also has impacted in sharing the space during the rite. During the erection day and reposing day, Guthiyaar gather in the space but unavailability of the space would congest the space.

Also due to lack of maintenance, the space is littered and getting dirtier every following year. Dr. Joshi asserts due to dense population, the space is dirtier. The space is supposed to be neat and clean, but neither Guthi is able to conduct the sanitation nor other stakeholders seem to be concerned about the space.

In addition to it, Mr. Pradhan points out that every following year electric lines are increasing which makes the erection process more difficult to conduct. He clears that there is no instances till date that the wires were broken but it is making the process complicated. Earlier the process was simple, easy to install but these years it's getting more complicated. To manage to not cutting the cables and wires the erection path has to be changed and the post has to be taken round the adjacent street that increases the possibility of accident. Till date there has no instances of accident but he asserts it to be complicated process.

Case II : Sana Guthi of Maharjans in Patan

Hakh Tole in Patan, where majority of Maharjan ethnicity belong to has one Sana Guthi for two of its locality, termed as *tole*. The guthi system in this community is being practiced since a long period of time that dates to the times when our fore fathers lived.

In this particular community, the number of guthiaars are around 200 in number which is more as compared to other guthis. Hence, the group is divided into three sub-groups, each of which has a team member. When anyone in the tole dies, Sana guthi is responsible to pass on the message to all the guthiaars. The deceased body is carried in a bamboo made bier till *Balkumari Ghat*, crematoria ground in the nearest proximity. A sacred box made out of wood, that later was made out of metal due to damage, has all the necessary materials for the ritual to be carried out. This is passed on through generations and has major importance for the doings of a death ceremony. This is circulated amongst the head guthiaars and each one is responsible of it during the period. From carrying the deceased body till the burning ceremony of the deceased, the ceremony is carried by the guthi. Then after, the personal family carries the rest of the function that is food distribution in 12 days' time termed as "*bhoj*". When the body is carried till the cremation ground termed as "*ghat*", traditional musical instruments like *panchai baja* are also played to mark the ceremony. After the ritual of burning of the dead body is done, immediate family members (the son/s) stay in for "*kriya*" where they mourn the death for 12 days. On the 13th day, bhoj is done where all the guthiaars, non-guthiaars, relatives are invited and feast is done. The delicacy includes simple food materials, unlike any other newari bhoj, which basically means the end of the death ritual also kriya. In this ritual, the other guests are to have bhoj in the early hour of the day as the last bite of food is to be fed to the ones who were directly involved and that should be done before sunset of the day. In any case, if any guthiaar is not able to come for the function, because of extreme reason, then his portion of bhoj is separated and sent through their sons or someone. The rituals of bhoj and other ceremony done by the Sana guthi is done on a land of any of the guthiaar and if that is not available, then it is carried out in the homes of the core members.

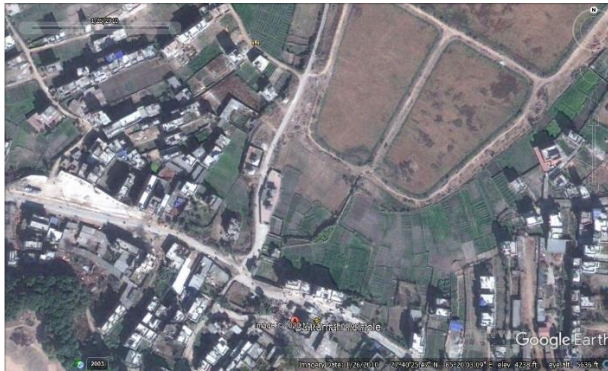
Rituals then and now

- Back in time, only the guthiaar who was officially in the guthi list would attend the ceremony but in present time, the following junior male member of the family can participate in case the senior guthiaar is not able to attend due to extreme reasons.
- Previously, there used to be only four members who would carry the burning ceremony of the deceased body but now the number has increased to eight members. These members are treated specially with a lot of offerings like food, gold, etc. Hence, considered important during the function and even after.
- *Bhoj* was previously done by the guthi itself, but in today's time, it is not handled by Sana Guthi. This is because while the bhoj was organized not much people showed up that ended up in wastage of food and resources. So after then, it is rather done by the family members of the deceased and was eliminated by Sana guthi.
- There were no involvement of female members, other than close family members in the ritual, but now, female members are also allowed to participate.
- Previously, the presence of father or son would not matter unless there is a member from the family, but it got stricter now as the ones whose name is written shall be present for the ritual. The shift in the rule happened because the members started taking it leniently and the responsible member started sending the younger ones for no good reason.

Considering the harmony amongst the people during these hard times/ sensitive times of someone's death, there are fewer problems in the Sana guthi. The economic condition is also quite stable as the collection of money is done through fine payment of people who do not attend or address the major event. Sometimes when the land of the guthi is used by any other member/s, for agricultural purpose or some other purpose, the payment as rent is done for that particular piece of land. This amount again accounts to the guthi. So, there is not much issue regarding the economic condition.

Sankhamul Ghat

Sankhamul ghat has been busiest in use for cremation purpose. According to Mr. Prakash Maharjan, there were very less settlement in the past around the Ghat area but due to increasing population and increasing housing demand the settlement has grown around this area.



The chronological time line of the map from 2003AD to 2019AD shows the increase in the settlement around the ghat area.

Considering the problem of the Guthi, there is one particular that is being dealt with. Due to urbanization , the smoke coming out during cremation has been polluting air of the surrounding which has affected the residents. Mr. Maharjan explains that there has been instances when residents has issued complaint on cremation. They have asked to stopping the creamting process in Ghat. However Mr.Maharjan asserts that Ghat has been there since very long time from past while the new resident are the claiming the place. Mr. Maharjan asserts that the claim is invalid as Sankhamul ghat is particular place where they take the dead body for cremation.

Maintenance of Ghat

Ghat has been maintained lately. The ghat has been constantly upgraded. Modern RCC building materials are used for the upgradation. There is proper fencing system around boundary of this premise. Local contributors and municipality has contributed to upgradation of this ghat. The ghat is in functional condition as explained by Mr. Maharjan. He asserts however due to improper construction, cracks and ditches are on the ground; cracks on the structure are seen which are not maintained.



Case III: Sana Guthi of Manadhars in Bhaktapur

Sana Guthi in Bhaktapur where the community includes Manandhar ethnicity takes the responsibility of carrying festivals in *Rishi Panchami* and *Pasasarey (Ghode Jatra)*. The *Sana Guthi* in Bhaktapur had 15 to 20 members during the time of establishment. In the present time, there are 40 members as *guthiaar*. As a part of many activities, collection of wood (to burn the dead body) is done and stored in *gusipu*. There is a distribution of Rs.500 from every *guthiaar*, to carry on the functions by the deceased family members. Location of the functions to be held is *Thimi*-outside the core area, which are basically agricultural lands.

The Death Ceremony

Like in any other Newar communities, the deceased body is burnt. The ceremony is carried out in an outskirt area, Pakaandol, the place where the body is burnt in *ghaat* in Chankul tirtha. This place is considered sacred and the death ceremony is carried out here since the ancient times. The reason the place is considered sacred is because it is the junction where two rivers meet each other.

When a death in the community occurs, every member of the *guthi* is informed via an informant who himself is a *guthiaar*. As the word spreads, the members of the *guthi* assemble necessary materials for the ritual. The materials include *dhaan*, *jaun*(rice seeds), thread, cloth pieces, *haandi (soma)*, bamboo carrier for the dead body, *chilakh*, etc. The deceased body is taken to the *ghaat* immediately once the news is received. Only if some important members of the family are waited for (if they have to travel long distance and arrive), the ceremony is at halt until they arrive. Once taken to *ghaat*, the ceremony is then taken further with the beautifying of the deceased body and then, burning it. "*Mahningna*" is a ceremony where the deceased body is properly groomed and according to history they were taken with a lot of musical instruments and people around like a *jatra* (festival).

After the burning ritual and the son of the deceased or the closest member of the family stay for *kriya*. This ends with another ceremony where the close relatives and the *guthiaars* are invited for a feast termed as "*bhoj*". It happens on the *Panchami day* and the *bhoj* is organized by the

Sana *guthi*. The venue varies with every death as it circulates through the houses of the *guthiaars*, in turns. No out members than the *guthiaars* are invited as there is *deuta* (God) in human form present during the function and outside people aren't allowed to meet/see him. This is believed and carried out since a very long time and is considered as a part of the ritual until date.

Rituals then and now

- The number of people as *guthiaars* (members) are decreasing in numbers in *guthis* other than *Si Guthi* as the rules in *Si Guthi* is stricter and people are made to pay fine if they fail to attend any functions/ceremonies.
- "*Mahningna*" the ceremony of making the deceased body look beautiful right before burning it, this ritual is seen to be losing its importance as it is not carried out in today's day.
- Previously, there were volunteers to carry the body or be the first person to be the helping hand. But in today's time, people are losing the importance and do not want to be in direct contact of the body, cause if they do, on the 12th day, s/he has to come for a ritual and they might or might not have time for it. Hence, they avoid touching the body itself.

Spatial Importance in *Guthi*

If the *guthi* is *Raj Guthi* (linked to any royal personnel or governmental head), then the government provides land or space for the activities to be carried out. This is not very much practiced in today's time. In some cases, the *guthiaars* also gift their personal land to the *guthi*, where it becomes easier for every kind of rituals to be carried out. In some cases, the *guthi* does not have a designated land for the conduction of rituals. There becomes a need of space for the *guthi* as on the 13th day, all the *guthiaars* collect in one place for *bhoj*, termed as "*gubhyuae*" to break the fast of the people living in *kriya*.

Problems in the *Guthi*

The members of the *guthi* do participate in the ceremonies being held, but there is a gap of understanding between the practical doings and the historical and/or cultural importance. The young members do participate in the rituals but do not know the importance behind the conduction of the ritual. If there is a *guthi* program few people make sure they are present no matter their office schedule, whereas few people prefer not to be there.

In today's time, there is a lack of space for the collection of people of *guthi* and carry on the rituals because of urbanization.

Finance Management

The *guthi* collects the money from the *guthiaars*, as a joint collection, that is used for the rituals. There are no hard and fast rules but a communal collection is done if required. During the time of *bhoj*, the head members of the *guthi* do the required calculation and present it to the *guthiaars* and the collection and distribution of money is done too. The next person to organize the *bhoj* in his/her house is also elected/decided during this ceremony.

Case of Rato Macchindranath Jatra: Street from Mangalbazar to Patan Sundhara

Rato Machhindranath Jatra is a month-long chariot pulling festival in Patan that takes place during the month of April-May. Rato Machhindranath, the god of rain resides for six months in the temple located near Patan Durbar Square (Shrestha R.). The god of rain is brought to the chariot that is assembled in Pulchowk. The chariot is drawn through various parts of the town; the route begins from Pulchowk-Gabahal-Hakha- Sundhara-Lagankhel, and finally ends in Jawalakhel. On the last day of the Rato Machhindranath Jatra, Bhoto Jatra (Vest festival) takes place in Jawalakhel, Lalitpur. During Bhoto Jatra, the jewel-studded vest is displayed by the officials from each corner of the chariot so that the entire public will be able to have a glimpse of the sacred Bhoto. After this festival, Rato Machhindranath is then taken to Bungamati temple, where the Rato Machhindranath resides for the rest of the year. During this month-long festival, many devotees come to visit the chariot and worship *Rato Machhindranath*. Also, the atmosphere around the chariot is exciting and fun. People buzz around the streets and mostly, many into street-shopping.



History

Among many, one of the popular legend states that once ‘Guru Gorakhnath’ came to the city of Patan and no one knew his true identity. Since the commoners didn’t know who he was, no one offered him any food. In order to punish the people, he captured the Nags (serpents) who were responsible for the rain in the valley and went on to meditate. With the Nags in captivity, a severe drought hit the valley. The advisors to the then king Narendra Dev advised him to bring the teacher of Goraknath from Assam in India. By doing so, they hoped would stop the drought. As advised, Rato Machhindranath was brought from Assam to the valley. When Goraknath heard that his teacher was in Patan, he immediately freed the serpents and went to meet him. The serpents created rain as soon as they were free and the valley was saved from a severe drought. Being grateful to Rato Machhindranath, the locals started to worship him and King Narendra Dev started the festival in 897 A.D.

Before the auspicious chariot pulling begins, the committee that organizes the festival offers a cow to a priest, perhaps the first act that kick starts the festival of Rato Machhindranath Jatra. On this day, there is another smaller chariot that is pulled by little boys; it is the chariot of ‘Minanath’ who is the embodiment of Lord Shiva. The bigger chariot which holds Rato Machhindranath is pulled by strong men who shout ‘haste haiste’ as they slowly pull the chariot forward. It is accompanied by music played by traditional instruments such as ‘dhime’ (traditional drums) and ‘bhushya’ (brass cymbals). People even throw water from their verandah to cool off the chariot pullers. On the first day the chariot is pulled towards Ganabahal, on the second day towards Sundhara and on the third day to Lagankhel. Every time the chariot pulling affair comes to an end for the day, it is signaled by firing three rounds of bullet in the air.

Wherever the chariot stops for the day, street vendors take advantage of the pristine location and set up shop for the next day. There are thousands of devotees who line up offering prayers and hope to get a glimpse of the beautiful God inside the chariot.

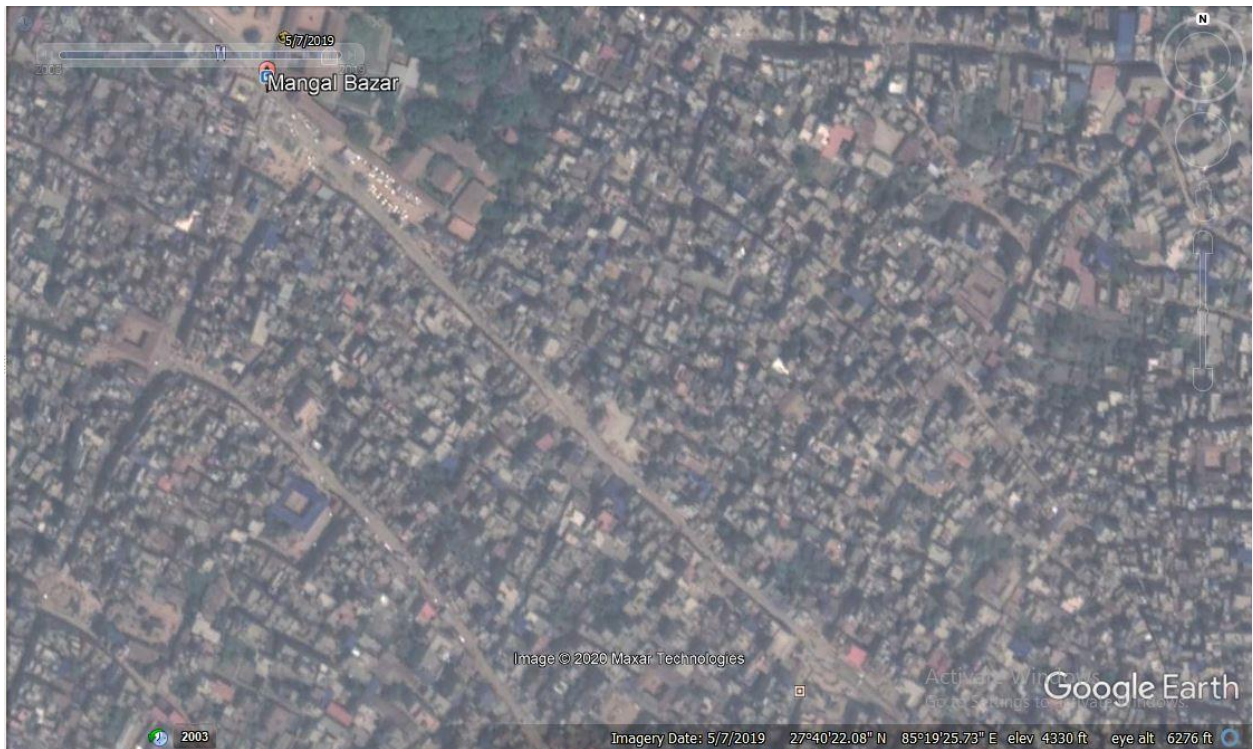
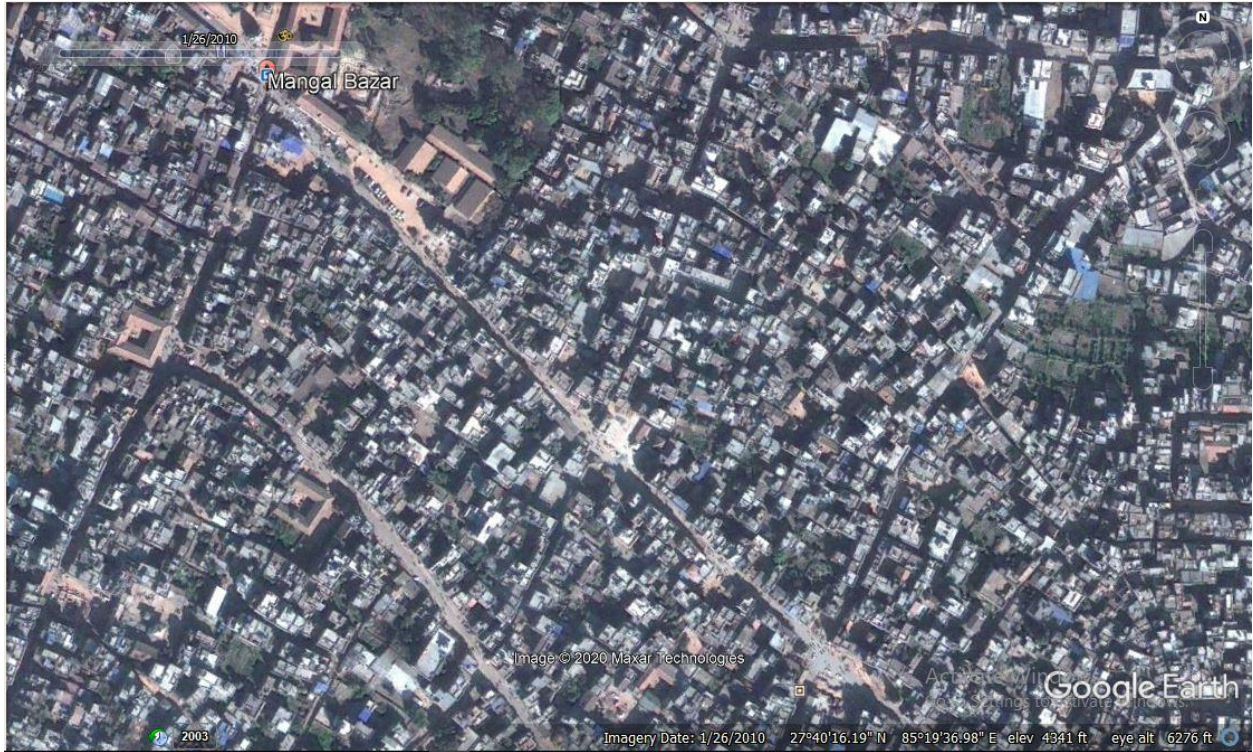
Case study Route: Mangalbazar to Sundhara

To unearth the impacts of urbanization on the street of festival route, a section of the route has been taken from Mangalbazar to Sundhara. Physical observation of the route and the key informant interviews were conducted in the process.



Increasing building density along the street





Above three images are the chronological maps of the street from 2003-2019AD. From this map we can observe urbanizing form of the street. In 2003AD green spaces were more than in the

year of 2010AD and almost nothing in 2019AD. The space got denser with the newly constructed buildings.

Road Condition and Traffic

During observation of the street, for the upcoming festival in coming 2 month, the road is in the bad condition. The road is usually pitched for the festival. The local resident, Mr. Rovich Maharjan explains during month of Chaitra of Nepali Calendar the government pitches road for the festival.

This street connects Pulchowk to Ringroad which is the reason why this street is very busy throughout day and all year. During festival time, the street is almost closed and traffic is diverted away from the place where chariot is placed.

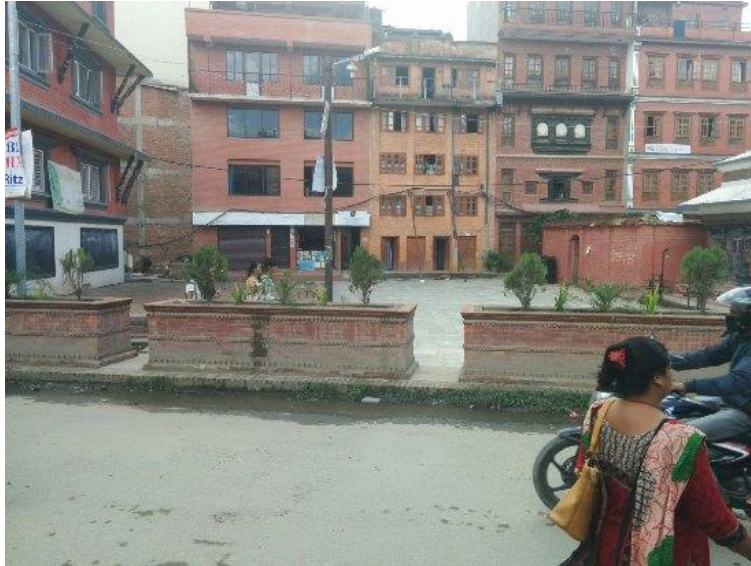


Conversion of free space into parking area

In Mangalbazar, space that used to be open is now barred with the railings and transformed into parking spot. This has impacted on festival. This has decreased the space for the chariot pulling purpose, the chariot pullers have to manage to pull from constricted space.

Barring railings along the street line of Mangalbazar and Saugal

Local resident Ms. Shrestha claims that new construction of railings along the streets of Mangalbazar and at the junction of Saugal chowk has constricted the space for the festival. This has direct impact on the festival. Due to the railing bars, there is less flexibility during the pulling of the chariot. In the past, the area was without any boundary railings or any demarcating hindrances which helped chariot pullers to flexibly pull the chariot.



Damaged Buildings and the risk

After the earthquake of 2015 AD, a lot of buildings along this street are under severe damaged condition with rakers support. Due to these rakers the street is further narrowed and damaged buildings are threat during festival.



Increase in Business of Formal and Informal Sector

Festivals are good event for people who has retail business. Mr. Mohan Shrestha, a retailer claims that his business is thrice more as normal day sales. He prepares all necessary goods

specially targeted to people coming to festival. The festival increases the business in the route. Retailers take advantage of the time of festival to create more transaction. As Mr. Shrestha claims, even if his shop lies in 100 meter distance from Sundhara, his business is hyped during the festival. Festival has created upsurge in the business in and around the peripheral region of the street.

Also the business of informal sector is also impacted. Wherever the chariot stops for the day, street vendors take advantage of the location and set up shop for the next day. Fabrics, Foods, Electric goods, kids' toys etc. heavily transacted informal sector business. Usually these informal vendors bring cheap goods which are attractive deal for the buyers as explained by Mrs. Bobby Amatya, a local resident of Sundhara. Streets are highly congested during this. A lot of informal vendors and people who come to visit the chariot at the same time make the area congested but at the same time this is the purpose of festival and create joyful atmosphere, claims Mrs. Amatya.



Discussion and Conclusion

Discussion

Negative sides of Urbanization on Intangible Heritage

Space Crunch

Due to increase in population, the daily activity done by the mass of people; the retailers claiming spaces in adjacent open space; and open spaces being used to deposit constructional materials has crunched the space for the functions of Intangible Heritage. Widened road are sure the aspect of development which brings numerous positive impacts on intangible heritage, but due to unplanned non-conservative stance of planning has put intangible heritage at verge of damage. Traffic density might not directly impact the intangible heritage, but the coverage of spatial impact is placed upon the heritage.

Displacement of Indigenous people and consequences

Gentrification has major effect on migration of people from the core area due to increased land value (Bajracharya, 2017). Owners claim they would give their house on rent if they are provided with price they cannot decline and they would themselves stay at cheaper alternatives. Meanwhile, the people of the core claim that displaced indigenous people has been slowly dropping out the social traditions like Guthi. Contrastingly the displacement of people has not much impacted the presence of people during festivals.

Haphazard development and consequences

Due to haphazard development intangible heritage has been the victim. Electric and communication poles and wires has accounted its space disturbing the space for conducting functions of Guthi and festivals. Unplanned development has led difficulty in conducting these functions.

Similarly unplanned upsurge of settlements haphazardly has impacted social harmony. The newly settled population claim that the Ghats are producing smoke making the place inhabitable while local people who use Ghats claim their right of the crematorium ground. This has created social imbalance.

Securing boundaries in chowks like in Mangalbazar and Saugal has impacted the space necessary for chariot to be run. This unthoughtful development strategy has brought difficulty in festivals.

Lack of conservation and development of heritage

Due to lack of maintenance, tangible heritage are in dilapidated condition that effects the functioning of intangible heritage. After earthquake the slow pace maintenance of the heritage has degraded the condition of temples. Also severe condition of buildings along the streets where the festival occurs has hampered the functioning of festivals.

Sanitation

Increasing problem of sanitation has been another problem for intangible heritage brought by the urbanization. Lack of proper management of solid waste and the attitude of people has been creating this pollution. Littering behavior of people; unmanaged drainage system; conversion of soft landscapes to hard are creating pollution in immediate surroundings. Immediate response to sanitation behavior by the municipality and attitude of people are the problems we identify.

Young Generation

The shift in modern economy and modern lifestyle, the youth are more inclined to modern trends than traditions. The older generation in Guthi complaints youth of having lack of interest in Guthi tradition, rites and rituals. However the presence of young generation in festivals are huge.

Positive sides of Urbanization on Intangible Heritage

Upgrade Economic Activities

Festivals are good events where both formal and informal sectors of business flourish. People coming from various part of city involve in economic activities during the festival time. Retailers are found to have increased their economy by many folds compared to normal business days. Meanwhile, informal business activities also seem to flourish during the festival. This on the other hand, increase the job volume. Also with the increase in the business an employment the tax revenue is also increased for municipal body. With the increased revenue of the municipal corporation, it provides the opportunity to invest in local development of disadvantaged groups in Patan.

Modern Media and Technology

With the urbanization, modern technology has been continuing and progressing. Electrical cremation has become more efficient means. Automobiles has eased the transportation of dead body. Transportation has made the processes easier.

Similarly due to presence of media and communication, the information of festivals are wide spread which has brought tourists to festivals and events by intangible heritage. This has contributed to economy.

Multicultural mix

Due to urbanization, influx of in-migrants are taking place. This has mixed the people of different backgrounds. During festival times, the informal sectors are flourished economically and the people who involve in this business are mostly in-migrants. There seems to be cultural harmony between people from different background.

Conclusions and Recommendation

The importance of culture of any place, in order to reflect the way of living (present or past) of any group of people, is exemplary. One of the major ways to reflect the same is the festivals celebrated in that particular community. So, this not only highlights the history of the place but also, gives ample opportunities to different kinds of investors/consumers. Since, the regulation of such kind of activities are decided by authorized people in the society, the proper layout of such a celebration can be followed. This allows mainly the culture to be preserved and also the urban presence of the community remains intact. There are many intangibles in play when it comes to this, such as preservation/ reflection of culture, attraction for tourism, that is followed by the economical growth of the society, which then is followed by various opportunities created for the locals. In an urban context, all these matters can be systemized by properly conducting any kind of social events that helps maintain the flow.

By giving a designated public space for public celebration, by planning the roads and built in the area in such a way that it is not an hindrance during such events. The respective organizations should remain active to maintain such spaces and surroundings so that the people joining in festivals can grasp the culture of the place. This way, the importance of any place is reflected and also obtained by the visitors in an effortless manner. Moreover, on a broader perspective, the economy of the place will also foster as the opportunities can be systemized accordingly. There might be various consumers like locals, national, internationals, hence the income can be in different levels which also includes the identity of the city/ town/ place, around the globe.

Intangible heritage has deeply rooted value in Newar community. The negative impacts brought by urbanization would certainly revert the urban community. Unplanned spread of urbanization seems to affect intangible heritage greatly. Proper management of electric poles and wires, planning beforehand should be the priority when necessary. This shows the development seems to neglect the stance of conservation during development planning process. Similarly, sanitation shall be properly managed and maintained in the urban area. Before, during and after the festival the sanitation is huge issue in such communities who host the festival. Related stakeholders like Guthi and Municipality has to be actively involved in such cases.

On the other hand, proper planning strategy are to be planned in order to keep social harmony among the urban populace. Proper plans that can incorporate both conservation and the development in the strategy shall be made. The current haphazard growth of settlement has created dispute among the people. Proper zoning of the area shall be designated in order to stop encroachment of heritage space. Lack of it can bring social problems as in case of Ghats. Local government has to be proactive to stop the social misbalance.

From the positive point of view, the complex between urbanization and intangible heritage bring economic activity within the city. The sudden upsurge of economy is noted during festivals which is beneficial to business person, creates job volume and add revenue to government and local bodies. Having many festivals around the year, government can intervene so as to cover maximum economic gain from it.

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Annex

Annex 1

Questionnaire for Guthi member for case I

1. Introduction of Guthi
 - a. Ownership
 - b. Number of Members
 - c. History of formation
 - d. History of continuity
 - e. Type of guthi
 - f. Category of Guthi
2. How are rituals been carried out in Sii guthi?
3. What are the problems brought by urbanization in Sii Guthi?
4. How are rituals been carried out in Shree Panchami guthi; Saraswoti Puja and Yonsi Guthi?
5. What are the impacts of urbanization on aforementioned guthi?

Annex 2

Questionnaire for Guthi member for case II

1. Introduction of Guthi
 - a. Ownership
 - b. Number of Members
 - c. History of formation
 - d. History of continuity
 - e. Type of guthi
 - f. Category of Guthi
 - g. Location of Death Cremation
2. How are rituals been carried out in Sii guthi?
3. How was rituals been conducted in the past?
4. What are the problems brought by urbanization in Sii Guthi?
5. How are rituals been carried out in Ghode Jatra Guthi?
6. What are the impacts of urbanization on aforementioned guthi?
7. What is the current situation of Sankhamul ghat?
8. What are the impacts of urbanization on ghat?

Annex 3

Questionnaire for Guthi member for case III

1. Introduction of Guthi
 - a. Ownership
 - b. Number of Members
 - c. History of formation
 - d. History of continuity
 - e. Type of guthi
 - f. Category of Guthi
 - g. Location of Death Cremation
2. How are rituals been carried out in Sii guthi?
3. How were rituals in the past been conducted? What is the difference compared to present?
4. What are the problems brought by urbanization in Sii Guthi?

Annex 4

Questionnaire for Public in Jatra

1. What is the difference in celebration of Jatras in the past and present?
2. How has urbanization impacted Jatras?
3. How has Jatras contributing to economic changes in the area?
4. What are the problems created by urbanization on Jatras?

Annex 5

Final Presentation Comments

Super visor	Comments	Addressed Comments
Dr. Bharat Sharma	Verbal Statement in Methodology is not to the standard of academy. Explanation of phenomenology is not explained properly.	Pg. 8 Addressed.
Mr. Suresh Prakash Acharya		
Dr. Kriti Kusum Joshi	Some important observations are missing like impact of urbanization on traffic and its impact on Jatra. Its perceptual difference withing various cultural groups.	Addressed in conclusion and recommendation.

Annex 6

Impacts of Urbanization on Intangible Cultural Heritage: A case of Rato Matsyendranath Rath Jatra

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Abstract

Nepal with diverse ethnicity and culture has rich inherited heritage. Newari culture is one of the richest ethnic societies with invaluable heritage passed on by past generation. Like tangible heritages, the society is filled with immense culture of intangible heritages. From the culture of music, dance, arts, architecture, cuisine, to composite intangible heritage like festivals; it is abundant. Amongst the festivals, Rato Matsyendranath Jatra in Patan takes an invaluable place in Newar people. It has a long dated history and still the charm of this festival is immense. Urbanization of the valley on the other hand has greater impact on every sector of human lives including heritage. Due to rapid and haphazard urbanization the Jatra is exposed to its vulnerabilities and also reinforcing qualities. This research is based on field observation and interview with related key informants. Thus this research lies within pragmatic paradigm. Field observation was conducted, required photographs were taken meanwhile questionnaire were developed, interview with key informants were conducted to extract views of people about impact urbanization has on the festival. Analysis of collected information was done. Road condition on which the Jatra is taking place is in damaged condition; open spaces were being converted into spaces like parking and extension of retail stores; Chowks were barred with railing that squeezed the Jatra route; state of buildings was poor while there was increase in business of both formal and informal sector. Primarily space crunch can be seen as the factor that was impacting negatively on the festival. Besides, consequences of haphazard development are putting Jatra under threat. Similarly, we can find that the Jatra is a good resource of economic activities.

Keywords

Intangible Cultural Heritage – Urbanization – Rato Matsyendranath Rath Jatra

1. Introduction

Nepal is country rich in terms of cultural diversity, with more than one hundred ethnic and caste groups where more than 92 languages and dialects are spoken [1]. Grimes claims even more, 126 spoken languages [2]. Dahal classified the people of Nepal into five major categories: Castes originating from Hindu groups; Newars; the ethnic groups or janajati; Musliims and Others [3]. Tulsi and Chura Mani claims that the indigenous people of the Kathmandu valley are Newars who follow Hinduism and/or Buddhism who are classified into 40 distinct cultural groups all of which speaking common language Nepal Bhasha [4]. Tulsi and Chura Mani has distinguished Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) into Oral Folklore; Performing Folk Arts; Customary Folklore and Material Folklore [4]. Languages have been the

carrier for the Intangible Cultural Heritage. Out of 92 spoken languages, 14 are spoken by more than one lakh people in Nepal and categorized as major languages of Nepal, out of which Newari language falls under the category [1]. In Nepal, rituals are life-cycle related activity of people while festivals relate to annual lunar cycle and agricultural calendar. (Tulsi and Chuda Mani, 2007). Bel Bibaha is the symbolic marriage of young girls to nature. Various songs and dances are performed for the rain and agricultural prosperity, such as Bhoto Jatra and Indra Jatra; for the well-being of the children, Ghode Jatra is conducted in Kathmandu Valley. Traditional arts and crafts are unique examples of material folklore, as distinguished by Glassie who explains when pleasure giving functions predominates, the artifact is called art while if practical function dominates, it is called craft [5]. Nepal traditional craftsmanship is closely related

to the caste system [4]. Traditionally various castes of the hill such as Kami “blacksmiths”, Damai “the tailors and drum beaters”, Sunar “the gold smiths” all came from the untouchable castes whilst a law in 1960s legally emancipated the lower castes they remain important tradition bearers in the villages, serving people by making and repairing agricultural tools, ornaments and clothes for men and women. In Newari culture, one of the most important elements in fostering the idea of shared community identity is the Jatras (festivals) conducted according to ritual calendar. There are a large number of jatra tours where godly images are carried on a chariot on a ritually prescribed route [5]. Some jatras are specific for certain communities; others may be performed in several Newar communities. Newar communities of Kathmandu Valley have maintained traditional ecological practices for millennia despite various ups and downs [6]. Pandey claims Kathmandu being the capital city of Nepal, has experienced rapid urbanization of over 6 percent population growth per year which is putting pressure causing the loss of 31 percent of agricultural land [7]. Global climate change has also seriously impacted the weather pattern of valley so farmers are facing problems adjusting the crop calendar [6].

2. Rato Matsyendranath Rath Jatra

It is one of the most important festivals of Newar particularly by the residents of Patan celebrated annually as national festival. The festival lasts for around a month. Feasting takes place at the four different locations of the traditional route in Patan, with elaborated feasting in Lagankhel. The jatra ends in Jawalakhel by displaying the bejeweled “Voto” in the open field. The rath (Chariot) takes weeks to assemble and is done in Pulchowk, Patan. When the jatra ends, the chariot is dismantled and important parts of it is stored for the following year while in every twelfth year the chariot is assembled in Bungamati from where the jatra begins. Anderson claims the chariot is filled with the symbolic presence of the original Jyapu below the god’s seat, while Bandhudatta and Narendradeva are positioned one on each feet [5]. The bathing ceremony takes place at the Lagankhel platform annually attended by thousands of spectators [5]. The peepal tree in Lagankhel where the bathing ceremony is performed, symbolizes the deity’s mother and thus plays a vital role in the annual festival [5]. In this way the birth

rituals are performed, the tenfold initiation rites are performed. After these rituals are performed, the Matsyendranath is seated in the chariot bringing it from Bungamati to Pulchowk [5]. Besides, Patan Kumari is also brought in a procession to be present every day. Moving the rath needs hundreds of people and is filled with physical labor and tension and also violence fueled by consumption of toxic drinks. The immense size of the chariot and the mass of people dancing and singing loudly with loud music and wild spirit accompanying it cause many mishaps. The latest twelfth year celebration reported death of two people as bricks from a half constructed building fell upon them while struggling among the crowd for a better position to view the festival [5]. Others who do not involve in pulling the rath, provide water to the participants either volunteering or by splashing water from their houses. Deducing from the present practice, the aspect of worshipping is associated with the provision of rain. The festival starts in Baishakh(April) a few weeks prior to the normal onset of the monsoon rains. The procession follows a ceremonially prescribed route with well-defined halting places, receiving the constant homage of the Patan people [5]. Finally, the chariots are brought to Jawlakhel. The jatra conveys the belief that link the fate of the country to the jatra for it has the capacity to real what is previously unknown. The jatra is instrumental in that it brings rain; it does not merely symbolize the coming of the monsoon, but it actually brings rain [5].

3. Urbanization

Nepal is one of the ten least urbanized countries in the world and is also one of the top ten fastest urbanizing countries [8]. UN DESA in 2014 revealed that the level of urbanization was 18.2 percent and a rate of urbanization at 3 percent with 1.9 percent of urbanization rate projected for the period of 2014-2050 [9]. Kathmandu valley, Pokhara valley, the inner terai valleys account for the high urban growth in Nepal while urban growth centers are also emerging close to the border with India [10]. 33.5 percent of the urban population is concentrated in 16 urban centers with disproportionate distribution [11]. Kathmandu Valley is the most densely populated urban area and one of the fastest growing urban agglomerations in South Asia [10]. According to Muzzini and Aparicio, in 2011, annual population growth was high in the peripheral municipalities of

kirtipur (5percent) and Madhyapur Thimi (5.7percent), a substantial land use change in Kathmandu valley. With 3.94 percent urban growth rate between 2010- 2014, the valley is having significant transformation of land use and heritage. Population growth in peri urban areas in 2011 was also high at 4.8 percent per year. In 2011 census, the population of Kathmandu Metropolitan City was 1,003,285; updates to 1,142,000 and projects a population of 2030 to be 1,855,000 [1] [9] . Kathmandu valley has 29 percent of the country's total urban population, with Metropolitan city alone accounting for 22.2 percent [11] . However, the addition of 133 municipalities by 2014 drops it to 24 percent with metropolitan city alone accounting for 9.7 percent. The percentage of the total population residing in Kathmandu Metropolitan City in 2015 will be 4.2 percent, rising to 5.6 percent in 2030 [9] . With the change in structure of government, the creation of new municipalities occurred; decentralization of urban governance trend appears as evidenced by the formation of the Kathmandu Valley Development Authority (KDVA) and the implementation of the Local Governance and community Development Program [8] . It has responsibility for planning, development, enforcement of regulations and coordination of over five urban local bodies and 99 VDCs in Kathmandu Valley.

4. Methodology

The research will be located in the paradigm in which the research purpose can be fully achieved and will be considered as the appropriate paradigm that is the best fit to explain the research. Positivists aim to test a theory or describe an experience "through observation and measurement in order to predict and control forces that surround us." [12] Post positivists' work from the assumption that research is influenced by number of well-developed theories apart from, and as well as, the one which is being tested [13] . Transformative researchers believe that inquiry needs to be intertwined with politics and political agenda and contain an action agenda for reform that may change the lives of the participants, the institutions in which individuals work or live and the researcher's life [14] . Pragmatism is not committed to any one system of philosophy or reality. Pragmatist researchers focus on the what and how of the research problem [14] . Interpretivist approaches to research have the intention of understanding the world of

human experience [15] , suggesting that reality is socially constructed. The Interpretivist researcher tends to rely upon the participants' views of the situation being studied [14] and recognizes the impact on the research of their own background and experiences. The ontological perspective of this research is based on relativism that includes local and specific constructed realities. The epistemological perspective is transactional and subjectivist. The methodology is hermeneutical and dialectical. The constructivist researcher is most likely to rely on qualitative data collection methods and analysis or a combination of both qualitative and quantitative methods. Quantitative data may be utilized in a way which supports or expands upon qualitative data and effectively deepens the description. The research is designed through Ethnography and Phenomenology. The emphasis in ethnography is on studying an entire culture. It provides rich, complete insights into people's views and actions, as well as the nature of the location they inhabit, through the collection of detailed observation and interviews. Phenomenology research will be done to describe the lived experience of the people under investigation. This is necessary to study as it is the phenomenon happening in their live setting.

5. Study Area

The study area to explore the intangible heritage is taken from Mangalbazar to Sundhara. On the second day of the chariot pulling, the chariot reaches at Managalbazar. Usually the chariot is not rested in Mangalbazar in past times, but due to long route from Ganabahal to Sundhara. There were instances that the chariot reached the destination very late. Various kinds of difficulties like the problem of light, injuries and fights took place. Due to this reason, the chariot is seated at Mangalbazar and the next day again the chariot is pulled to Sundhara. Sundhara is a peculiar node of the route as from the myth it is told that the people from Bhaktapur tried to take the deity to their place but the farmer who participated in bringing the deity with ill intention out smarted the king of Bhaktapur and turned the chariot again inside Patan. Thus every year the chariot is rotated a half circle to divert from Bhaktapur. Several groups of people from Bhaktapur come to Sundhara to worship the god. The people of Bhaktapur celebrate and make feast on this day as they accept the deity reach Bhaktapur when Sundhara is reached. The study area covers both core

settlement and settlement that is transforming into modern streets. Partly the peripheral region is under the Preserved Monument zone designated by the bye laws of Nepal 2075 and the peripheral areas like Saugal to Sundhara lie in Old Settlement zone.



Figure 1: Figure showing the study street section (yellow) of the route (red).



Figure 3: Figure showing the urban fabric in 2010.

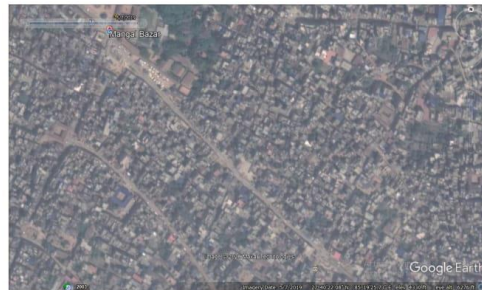


Figure 4: Figure showing the urban fabric in 2019 .

5.1 Urbanization scenario of the study area

Google maps of 2003 A.D. shows the sparse population with few open spaces inside the areas adjacent to the street and distinct green image reflects the greenery landscape in the city. Image of 2010A.D. shows increasing households and decreasing open spaces and greeneries. While the image of 2019A.D. more densified housing while the open spaces and green spaces are squeezed.



Figure 2: Figure showing the urban fabric in 2003.

6. Observation and Data Analysis

6.1 Conversion of Open space to Parking Spaces

In Mangalbazar, space that used to be open is now barred with the railings and transformed into parking spot. This has impacted on festival. This has decreased the space for the chariot pulling purpose, the chariot pullers have to manage to pull from constricted space.

6.2 Road Condition and Traffic

During observation of the street, for the upcoming festival in coming 2 months, the road is in the bad condition. The road is usually pitched for the festival. The local resident, Mr. Rovich Maharjan explains during month of Chaitra of Nepali Calendar the government pitches road for the festival. This street connects Pulchowk to Ring road which is the reason why this street is very busy throughout day and all year. During festival time, the street is almost closed and traffic is diverted away from the place where chariot is placed.



Figure 5: Figure showing the damaged road condition in Saugal road.

6.3 Barring railings along the street line of Managalbazar and Saugal

Local resident Ms. Shrestha claims that new construction of railings along the streets of Managalbazar and at the junction of Saugal chowk has constricted the space for the festival. This has direct impact on the festival. Due to the railing bars, there is less flexibility during the pulling of the chariot. In the past, the area was without any boundary railings or any demarcating hindrances which helped chariot pullers to flexibly pull the chariot.



Figure 6: Figure showing the divider in Saugal.

6.4 Damaged buildings and the risks

After the earthquake of 2015 AD, a lot of buildings along this street are under severe damaged condition with rakers support. Due to these rakers the street is further narrowed and damaged buildings are threat during festival.



Figure 7: Figure showing the condition of damaged houses.

6.5 Increase in business of both formal and informal sectors

Festivals are good event for people who has retail business. Mr. Mohan Shrestha, a retailer claims that his business is thrice more as normal day sales. He prepares all necessary goods specially targeted to people coming to festival. The festival increases the business in the route. Retailers take advantage of the time of festival to create more transaction. As Mr. Shrestha claims, even if his shop lies in 100-meter distance from Sundhara, his business is hyped during the festival. Festival has created upsurge in the business in and around the peripheral region of the street. Also the business of informal sector is also impacted. Wherever the chariot stops for the day, street vendors take advantage of the location and set up shop for the next day. Fabrics, Foods, Electric goods, kids' toys etc. heavily transacted informal sector business. Usually these informal vendors bring cheap goods which are attractive deal for the buyers as explained by Mrs. Bobby Amatya, a local resident of Sundhara. Streets are highly congested during this. A lot of informal vendors and people who come to visit the chariot at the same time make the area congested but at the same time this is the purpose of festival and create joyful atmosphere, claims Mrs. Amatya.



Figure 8: Figure showing the informal vendors on the street.

7. Discussion

7.1 Negative side of Urbanization

7.1.1 Space Crunch

Due to increase in population, the daily activity done by the mass of people; the retailers claiming spaces in adjacent open space; and open spaces being used to deposit constructional materials has crunched the space for the functions of Jatra. Widened road are sure the aspect of development which brings numerous positive impacts on intangible heritage, but due to unplanned non-conservative stance of planning has put intangible heritage at verge of unprecedented pressure.

7.1.2 Displacement of Indigenous people and consequences

Gentrification has major effect on migration of people from the core area due to increased land value [16]. Owners claim they would give their house on rent if they are provided with price they cannot decline and they would themselves stay at cheaper alternatives. Meanwhile, the people of the core claim that displaced indigenous people has been slowly dropping out the social traditions like Guthi. Contrastingly the displacement of people has not much impacted the presence of people during festivals.

7.1.3 Haphazard Development and consequences

Due to haphazard development intangible heritage has been the victim. Electric and communication poles and wires has accounted its space disturbing the space for conducting functions of festivals. Unplanned development has led difficulty in conducting these functions. Securing boundaries in chowks like in

Mangalbazar and Saugal has impacted the space necessary for chariot to be run. This unthoughtful development strategy has brought difficulty in festivals.

7.1.4 Sanitation

Increasing problem of sanitation has been another problem for intangible heritage brought by the urbanization. Lack of proper management of solid waste and the attitude of people has been creating this pollution. Littering behavior of people; unmanaged drainage system; conversion of soft landscapes to hard are creating pollution in immediate surroundings. Immediate response to sanitation behavior by the municipality and attitude of people are the problems that are identified.

7.2 Positive sides of Urbanization

7.2.1 Upgrade Economic Activities

Festivals are good events where both formal and informal sectors of business flourish. People coming from various part of city involve in economic activities during the festival time. Retailers are found to have increased their economy by many folds compared to normal business days. Meanwhile, informal business activities also seem to flourish during the festival. This on the other hand, increase the job volume. Also with the increase in the business an employment the tax revenue is also increased for municipal body. With the increased revenue of the municipal corporation, it provides the opportunity to invest in local development of disadvantaged groups in Patan.

7.2.2 Social Harmony

Due to urbanization, influx of in-migrants is taking place. This has mixed the people of different backgrounds. During festival times, the informal sectors are flourished economically and the people who involve in this business are mostly in-migrants. There seems to be cultural harmony between people from different background.

8. Conclusion and Recommendations

Urbanization has both positive and negative sides over the intangible heritage. Since Newari culture have huge collection of heritage, and the urbanization that went rapidly over the past few decades; the tension

between urbanization and heritage is inevitable. Intangible heritage has deeply rooted value in Newar community. The negative impacts brought by urbanization would certainly revert the urban community. Unplanned spread of urbanization seems to affect intangible heritage greatly. Proper management of electric poles and wires, planning beforehand should be the priority when necessary. This shows the development seems to neglect the stance of conservation during development planning process. Similarly, sanitation shall be properly managed and maintained in the urban area. Before, during and after the festival the sanitation is huge issue in such communities who host the festival. Related stakeholders like Guthi and Municipality has to be actively involved in such cases. On the other hand, proper planning strategy are to be planned in order to keep social harmony among the urban populace. Proper plans that can incorporate both conservation and the development in the strategy shall be made. The current haphazard growth of settlement has created dispute among the people. Proper zoning of the area shall be designated in order to stop encroachment of heritage space. Local government has to be proactive to stop the social misbalance. From the positive point of view, the complex between urbanization and intangible heritage bring economic activity within the city. The sudden upsurge of economy is noted during festivals which is beneficial to business person, creates job volume and add revenue to government and local bodies. Having many festivals around the year, government can intervene so as to cover maximum economic gain from it.

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