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**When the shaking stops: an evaluation of post-
earthquake rehabilitation of the Kasthamandap
in Hanumandhoka Durbar Square**

Volume One: THESIS

Kai Ube Prasad Weise

000796417 GCRF CDT Doctoral Studentship

A Thesis presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy



Department of Archaeology

Durham University

2023

When the shaking stops: an evaluation of post-earthquake rehabilitation of the
Kasthamandap in Hanumandhoka Durbar Square



Sketch of the Kasthamandap from the east after reconstruction (Kai Weise 2022)

Abstract

The Kasthamandap, a historic timber pavilion, and eponym of Kathmandu, collapsed during the Gorkha Earthquake that struck central Nepal on 25th April 2015. The reconstruction was completed in 2021. The aim of the thesis is to map and evaluate the longitudinal success of heritage rehabilitation approaches focused on a single monument in Kathmandu, the Kasthamandap, and the extent to which each intervention altered and transformed linkages with its communities. The thesis investigates the communities involved with the Kasthamandap before, during and after the Gorkha Earthquake, under the five main categories of users, urban community, authorities, custodians and those providing a broader significance to the monument. The research was carried out through interviews and consulting secondary sources, accompanying the four-year reconstruction of the monument.

The relationship of a community to a specific monument, such as the Kasthamandap, is determined by its interaction and positioning with other associated and, often contesting, communities. With political and social change over time, the relationship between individuals and groups and the monument changes. Natural disasters, such as earthquakes which cause physical damage to the monument, can be catalysts for changes in the relationships of the various community groups with the monument.

Communities do not belong to a single homogeneous entity with clearly defined needs and aspirations; and, therefore, it is necessary for these communities to negotiate amongst themselves as to how best to address issues concerning their livelihood, collaboration and identity. The negotiations that went into the reconstruction of a historic monument, the Kasthamandap, have been presented in this study. By understanding and recognising these dynamics, it may be possible to improve community consultation and engagement in Nepal's rehabilitation procedures in the future.

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Volume II

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Dedication

To the victims of the 2015 Gorkha Earthquake and all those who subsequently
contributed to the rehabilitation of the Kasthamandap.

Declaration

The work in this thesis is based on research carried out at the Department of Archaeology, Durham University, United Kingdom. No part of this thesis has been submitted elsewhere for any other degree or qualification and it is all my own work unless referenced to the contrary in the text.

Statement of Copyright

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“The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotations from it should be published without the author’s prior written consent and information derived from it should be acknowledged”.

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List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BCE	Before Common Era
BS	Bikram Samvat (Began in April 57 BCE)
CACH	Chinese Academy of Cultural Heritage
CE	Common Era
CRK	Campaign to Rebuild Kasthamandap (in Nepali: Kasthamandap Punanirman Ka Lagi Abhiyan
CPN-UML	Communist Party of Nepal – Unified Marxist Leninist
DDC	District Development Committee
DOA	Department of Archaeology (Government of Nepal)
DRR	Disaster Risk Reduction
EERI	Earthquake Engineering Research Institute
ERCO	Earthquake Response Coordination Office
HDPM	Hanumandhoka Palace Museum
HDPMDC	Hanumandhoka Palace Museum Development Committee
HDPMO	Hanumandhoka Palace Maintenance Office
ICCROM	International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
ICOMOS Nepal	Nepal Chapter of the International Council on Monuments and Sites
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
ICORP	International Scientific Committee for Risk Preparedness of ICOMOS
IFRC	International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
KMC	Kathmandu Metropolitan City
KRC	Kasthamandap Reconstruction Committee
MBT	Main Boundary Trust
MFT	Main Central Trust
MMI:	Modified Mercalli Intensity scale which estimates the intensity of an earthquake, between I and XII, at a given location based on its effects on people, objects, and buildings.

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MOCTCA	Minister for Culture, Tourism and Civil Aviation, Government of Nepal
MP	Member of Parliament
MPa	megapascal
MSL	Mean Sea Level
M _w :	Moment Magnitude Scale, measurement of an earthquake based on its seismic moment, similar to the ML or Local Magnitude Scale, better known as the Richter Scale.
NBC	National Building Code (of Nepal)
NRA	National Reconstruction Authority
NS	Nepal Samvat (Began in October 879 CE)
OCHA	Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (United Nations)
OSL	Optically Stimulated Luminescence
PDNA	Post Disaster Needs Assessment
PDRF	Post Disaster Recovery Framework
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SDC	Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
TCN	Timber Corporation of Nepal
TNRICP	Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties (also called Tobunken)
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNDRR	United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction, formerly known as UNISDR (United Nations International Strategy for Disaster Reduction)
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNESCO Chair	An institute of higher education or research partnering with UNESCO
VOA	Voice of America
WHO	World Health Organisation

Glossary

Note: the Nepali or Newari terms have been used wherever they were found to best define the subject. Diacritical marks have not been used (except in names of persons), and the use of double letters to indicate long vowels has been avoided. The glossary provides an overview of most non-English words, which have, however, also been explained in the text.

achaju – a Karmacharya priest.

ajima or *aji* – mother goddess (*aji* = grandmother, *ma* = mother).

amalakha - the lotus that sits above the *ghantakar* of the *gajur* or pinnacle.

amanat – owner-built construction with daily wage artisans and labourers.

Avalokitesvara or Lokeshvar – *bodhisattva* of compassion.

avarana –structures consisting of stone columns covered with a single stone slab from the Ancient Period of Kathmandu.

bahal – monasteries for monks living with their families (Refer Table 3.8).

bahi - monasteries for celibate monks (Refer Table 3.8).

Bajracharya (or Vajracharya) - the highest sub-caste of Buddhist Newars, householder monks, along with the Bare or Shakyas, who are the only ones who can become family priests (Gellner 1989: 5)

bali – the payment of part of the harvest by the tiller.

bhai – younger brother, can also refer to younger man.

bhaini – younger sister, can also refer to younger woman.

Bhairav – a powerful and fierce manifestation of Lord Siva.

bhajans – hymns.

bhandara – distribution of food, usually linked to rituals such as the Jogichakra.

bhangi - the base of the *gajur* or pinnacle.

Bhatar or Tak – construction system involves timber lacing in the form of a ladder which is embedded into the loadbearing masonry of stone or brick in mud mortar at each floor level as well as at window lintel level.

bhoot or *bhut* - a ghost or spirit.

biseta – a temple servant (Slusser and Vajracharya 1994: 208 fn43).

bodhisattva – in Mahayana Buddhism, a person who has attained enlightenment but remains on earth to help others attain enlightenment.

buddha - a person who has attained enlightenment.

cautara – a platform built around a tree for people to rest.

chaityas - votive shrines composed of a drum, a dome and a finial, raised on a plinth, with various degree of intricate carvings.

charya – the Newar Vajrayana sacred musical tradition of songs and dance, as a spiritual discipline.

chema – forgiveness (*chema magnu* – to ask for forgiveness).

chwela baji – Traditional Newari meal, with buffalo meat and fried beaten rice.

chudamani - the egg-shaped jewel, of gilt copper, topmost part of the *gajur* or pinnacle.

chukul – timber peg used to hold rafters and joists in place.

dabu or dabali – raised platform in a public area.

dai – older brother, can also refer to older man, showing respect.

darshan – to greet, but can also refer to greet the gods at a shrine or temple.

Dhajji Dewari – construction system of a braced timber frame with stone or brick masonry infill found in the Kashmir area.

dhalin – timber joists.

dharmasala – a rest house which in Sanskrit means ‘charitable asylum’ (Slusser and Vajracharya 1974: 171).

doko – basket made of bamboo usually carried on back using a strap.

dhuri chang – special ceramic roof tiles that are stacked along the ridge of the roof.

didi - older sister, can also refer to older woman, showing respect.

dol - low alluvial land in the Kathmandu Valley where the rivers cut into the sediments creating channels of up to thirty metres deep, where agriculture flourished.

dyo khasi – the historic copper vessel used by the Ta Chatan Guthi for cooking rice during Panchadan.

dyochhen – house of a deity.

Ekra - construction of bamboo or timber framing with light panels of straw and plaster.

gajur – the pinnacle of a buildings, located over a shrine or sanctum, comprising of five parts, *bhangi*, *ghantakar*, *amalakha*, *kalasha* and *chudamani* which represents the *pancha tatva*, the five elements of water, earth, fire, air and space, usually of gilded copper fixed over a timber *gaju-si*, a king post.

gaju-si – a king post that holds together the rafters of the top tier and the *gajur* or pinnacle.

Ganesh – also known as Binayak, is the elephant-headed god, is revered as the remover of obstacles and brings good luck.

ghantakar - the main bell-shaped component of the *gajur* or pinnacle.

ghats – the steps along the banks of a river with different functions such as for cremations or washing.

Gorakhnath – a deified Hindu saint and founder of the Nath movement.

gurju – a Newar Vajrayana priest, short for *guru-ju*, or *gu-bhaju*.

guthi – a community association that deals with social and religious activities.

guthiyars – members of a *guthi*.

ghyampo – a large round clay pot, generally used for storing water and grains.

heruk – the void, a category of fierce Tantric Buddhist divinity

homa – rituals with votive offerings made to fire in a hearth-alter.

jana andolan – people's movement.

jatra – religious festival or procession.

jhingati – traditional ceramic roof tiles, usually laid over a thick layer of earth.

jirnoddhar – renovation and reconstruction, retaining foundations.

jogi – often used interchangeably with *yogi*, an ascetic.

Jogichakra – an annual food offering ritual of the Nath or *yogi* community.

Jyapu – term used for all farmer castes within the Newar society.

kalasha - the water vessel that sits above the *amalakha* of the *gajur* or pinnacle.

kalimati - porous bluish-grey clay, vivianite and diatoms.

Kalpabrikshya – the divine tree.

Kamdhenu – the divine cow, related to the Ne-muni cow from the legends of Pashupatinath.

kamero mato - a whitish diatomaceous clay.

Kanphatta Yogi – sect of Naths, a wandering Saivite sect of ascetics, *yogis* who give up the worldly and family life, and change their lineage or *gotra* to Niranjana Gotra.

Kapali – a caste of Newars who are descended from the ancient Kapalika yogins, known in Nepali as Kusle and in Newari as Jogi or Kapali..

Karunamaya – another name for Matsyendranath.

khadga – sword.

khasi - a large copper vessel.

kila – a nail, of wood, bamboo or metal.

kun-pa - ceramic corner pieces in the form of a bird placed on the corners of the roof and hooked onto the eaves board, which supports the stacked ridge tiles.

lakashe - timber tie beams.

lokarpan – a dedication programme.

mahapatras - local governors.

mahatmyas - Buddhist religious texts referring to the greatness of a *bodhisattva*.

mandala – sacred painting or diagram used for meditation or as basis for layout and planning.

mandap (or *mandu* in Newari) - open square or slightly rectangular pavilion, a *dharmasala*, which serves not only as a public shelter, but also as council hall and bourse.

mandir – a Hindu temple, though often used for any place of worship.

math - a Hindu monastery or religious place where rituals take place along with the teachings and accommodation of the Nath disciples.

Matsyendranath - a saint and yogi revered by various Buddhist and Hindu traditions, and the teacher or guru of Gorakhnath.

meth - timber brackets or capitals.

muchulka - an inventory, list of objects, for example of salvaged objects.

naga – sacred serpents.

naike – chief or head craftsperson.

Namasangiti – a specific Buddhist hymn in praise of Manjushri that is recited before Newar Buddhist shrines as part of the morning liturgy.

Narsingh (Narsimha / Narsing) - a avatar of Lord Vishnu, a common name.

Nasa-dyo - the god of music.

Nath – a Saiva sub-tradition. Linking Hindu, Buddhist and Yoga traditions.

navakunda – ‘nine ponds’, a mandala subdivided into nine squares

nepalbhasa – the Newari language

nina – timber beams.

Nitya Puja – daily workshop ritual.

paduka – footprint, such as of Gorakhnath used for worship.

pala – the person who's turn it is, referring to who will carry out a ritual or ceremony within a *guthi*.

panchadan – ritual of five offerings, or according to Gellner *pajadan* – offering of cooked rice (1992: 187).

paramita – perfection, practiced by the *bodhisattva*.

pata – a flag.

pauba – traditional paintings on cloth from the Kathmandu Valley.

peeths – the ‘seat of a god’.

Piganani – a neighbourhood located to the west of the Kasthamandap where the members of the Ta Chatan Guthi reside.

Pragyaparamita – a holy book containing important scriptures in Mahayana Buddhism.

prasad – offering to the gods.

pratisamskara - repair or restoration, to recreate near to perfection or as it was when created.

puja – worship ritual.

puranas – ancient religious texts written in Sanskrit.

Rajopadhyaya – a Newar Hindu priest and the highest Hindu sub-caste in the Newari caste hierarchy.

ropani – a measure of land, an area of $74 \times 74 = 5476$ square feet or about 508.74 square metres.

sadhana – daily spiritual rituals carried out by *yogis*.

sal – a hardwood tree, *shorea robusta*, found in the jungles of the Terai.

sampradaya – a religious school or tradition.

sathi-bhai-haru– literally meaning friends and brothers.

sattal (or *satta* in Newari) – like a *mandap* / *mandu*, open square or slightly rectangular pavilion, a *dharmasala*, which serves as a public shelter, council hall and bourse, often with the additional function of housing both gods and people, such as ascetics.

sau – businesspeople, shop keeper, the owner.

Sayami – the oil merchants from the Manandhar community.

Shakyas – the highest sub-caste of Buddhist Newars, the Bare, householder monks, along with the Bajracharyas, but only Bajracharyas can become family priests (Gellner 1989: 5).

shikhara – a style of temple architecture with a single tower of brick or stone masonry over the central sanctum, curving up to the *gajur* or pinnacle.

Shilakar – the stone mason clan.

siddhas – the 84 saints in the Buddhist tantric tradition.

Sikarmi – the carpenter clan.

sivalinga – a symbol of Lord Siva, a phallic image, which together with the *yonī* represents the union of male and female.

somavamsi - Lunar Dynasty.

sorekutte patis – a square rest house (*pati*) with sixteen timber posts or sixteen-footed (*sorekutte*).

sthapana - establishment or new construction.

stupa – Buddhist hemispherical structure containing relics.

surkhi – brick dust used for mortar when mixed with lime.

suryavamsi - solar dynasty.

ta chatan - large wooden ladle of the Ta Chatan Guthi, used for serving the rice during the Panchadan.

Tak or Bhatar – construction system involves timber lacing in the form of a ladder which is embedded into the loadbearing masonry of stone or brick in mud mortar at each floor level as well as at window lintel level.

tars - high ground or plateau of lacustrine sedimentation in the Kathmandu Valley

telia – traditional square terracotta floor tile.

thakali – head of a clan or guthi, usually the oldest member.

tham – timber post.

tiki-jhya – a traditional type of Newari window with carved elements and timber mesh.

tirtha – a ford, or sacred location on the banks of a river.

tole – a traditional neighbourhood within the city.

vamsavali – chronicles, historic genealogy.

Vajracharya - see Bajracharya.

Vajrayana – the ‘thunderbolt vehicle’, one of the three main spiritual paths or schools of Buddhism, mainly practiced in Nepal, Bhutan, Tibet and Mongolia.

yoga – traditional South Asian practices of disciplining the body, mind and spirit.

yogi – a practitioner of *yoga* or meditation in Hindu tradition, a mystic, or a member of the Nath community.

yoshi – a long pole, the timber pole that is raised during festivals such as Indra Jatra, or a timber post in the core of a stupa symbolically linking the earth to the heavens.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The Gorkha Earthquake that struck central Nepal on 25th April 2015, followed by several hundred aftershocks, was reported to have destroyed over half a million houses, with a further quarter million damaged, and led to the death of over 8000 people (Government of Nepal 2016a: 1). The earthquake also caused extensive damage to the historic centre of Kathmandu, particularly around the Hanumandhoka Durbar Square, one of the seven monument zones of the Kathmandu Valley World Heritage property (ICOMOS Nepal 2016a: 106). The earthquake also led to the collapse of the Kasthamandap, the timber structure that gave the city its name (Hutt 1994b: 81). The destruction of the Kasthamandap was tragic, not only because of its symbolic significance as a historic monument, but also since many perished under the wreckage (Forbes et al. 2015: 22). The traumatic event led to desperate response measures of bringing in heavy machinery to clear the site which impeded the search for survivors while further destroying what remained of the monument (Coningham et al. 2015: 17).

The trauma and chaos of the response phase set the tone for the following rehabilitation process that was dispersed and uncoordinated (Weise 2017: 104-107). The extensive destruction of settlements and monuments throughout central Nepal overwhelmed the responsible authorities such as the Department of Archaeology (DOA). The National Reconstruction Authority (NRA) was established and began functioning a year after the disaster. In the meantime, the rehabilitation of the monuments in the Hanumandhoka Durbar Square, were addressed through different processes. Some were tendered out to contractors, others implemented bilaterally through international organisations and some conducted by local community-based committees (Forbes et al. 2015: 31-32).

After the earthquake, it seemed that rehabilitation, particularly in a historical urban context, depended on the resilience of the communities and their active interaction with authorities and technical experts. However, local knowledge bearers, including artisans, priests and caretakers of the monuments were often side-lined or excluded from scientific designs (Weise 2018: 125). The rehabilitation of monuments in Kathmandu can now be framed as a struggle between government authorities and local community groups, particularly in respect to procedures and approach to restoration. Some observers have commented that activism

from local community groups have forced the government to hand over the responsibilities to local community-based committees, such as in the case of the Kasthamandap (Neupane 2017).

The significance of historical monuments lies not only in their material structure but also in their intangible value, that which links these structures to the communities (UNESCO 2007: 72). Communities have worked together to safeguard monuments but, in certain cases, conflicts have also arisen. Various religious groups have laid claim to the structures as well as those who found economic gain through its use and reconstruction. The structures themselves may have also changed over time, as those restoring the structure have used varying technology and materials or made additions (Coningham et al. 2017: 7, 9, 47).

At this unique time in the history of the Kasthamandap, this study will undertake the mapping of communities or stakeholders related to this monument over time. The categories of communities are those who have used the Kasthamandap over the centuries, those that have created the urban context for the Kasthamandap, those that have taken decisions and funded the Kasthamandap, those that have maintained and restored the Kasthamandap, and those that have given the Kasthamandap its broader significance at national and international level. With political and social change over time, the relationship between individuals and groups and the monument has changed. Natural disasters, such as earthquakes which cause physical damage to the monument, can be catalysts for changes in the relationships of the various community groups to the monument. By understanding and recognising these dynamics, it may be possible to improve community consultation and engagement in Nepal's rehabilitation procedures in the future.

This chapter will provide an overview of the aim and objectives of this thesis as well as how these are addressed through the thesis outline. Furthermore, the chapter includes an explanation of the significance of the research as well as its contribution to the broader dialogue on sustainable post-disaster rehabilitation based on community resilience.

1.2 Aim and objectives

The aim of the thesis is to map and evaluate the success of heritage rehabilitation approaches focused on a single monument in Kathmandu, the Kasthamandap, and the extent to which each intervention altered and transformed linkages with its communities.

The first three objectives present the contextual background for the thesis and develop the methodology to attain the overall aim of the thesis. The first is to review heritage rehabilitation and community engagement in recent disasters in the region, particularly

focusing on earthquake along the Himalayan arc, as well as large earthquakes affecting Kathmandu in the past. The second objective is to define the geophysical, political, legal and historic context of Kathmandu Valley, with focus on the Kasthamandap and related communities. The third objective is to define the methodology considering historic chronology and changing community involvement. These three objectives will be addressed in Chapters 2, 3 and 4 respectively.

The next three objectives address the need to research and better understand the monument over time with changing circumstances before, during and after the disaster. The fourth objective is thus to document and assess the changing historical and political circumstances before the earthquake and the impact on community involvement on the Kasthamandap. The fifth objective is to research and document the impact of the 2015 Gorkha Earthquake on the Kasthamandap and related stakeholders and communities. The sixth objective is to document and assess the post-disaster rehabilitation of the Kasthamandap after the 2015 Gorkha Earthquake, focusing on the struggle of the communities to find appropriate procedures. These three objectives will be addressed in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 respectively.

The seventh, and final, objective addresses issues related to communities and their involvement in post-earthquake rehabilitation, resilience and sustainable development based on the lessons learned from the assessment of the case study of the Kasthamandap. This objective will be addressed in Chapter 8.

1.3 Thesis outline

This thesis is divided into nine chapters which, apart from the introduction and conclusion, respectively address one of the objectives each. The introduction provides the aim and objectives, the thesis outline, as well as the significance and contribution of the thesis to the sustainable post-disaster rehabilitation based on community resilience. The conclusion provides a review of the thesis, accomplishment of objectives, contribution to research, strengths and limitations, significance of the research, as well as future prospects for research.

Chapters 2, 3 and 4 provide an overview of the Himalayan context and disasters as well as the research methodology for the thesis. 'Chapter 2: Heritage rehabilitation and community engagement in recent disasters in Asia' provides the standard definitions of terms used in disaster risk management of cultural heritage along with an overview on geology, history and

habitation along the Himalayas. Three case studies have been chosen to better understand community engagement with disasters: The Great Nepal Bihar Earthquake of 1934, the Kashmir Earthquake of 2005 and the Sikkim Earthquake of 2011. 'Chapter 3: Defining the context of Kathmandu Valley' provides information on the legends and geology that created the physical context as well as the two millennia history of the valley. The chapter also introduces the local communities of Kathmandu along with the economic, legal and political change particularly focusing on the past three centuries and how this links to the significance and management of the Kasthamandap. Chapter 4 provides the methodology used to achieve the aim and objectives of the research and the rationale for the case study within its particular context. This chapter also explains the approach and methodology and examines the strengths and limitations of the research.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 provide detailed research of the communities and their involvement with the Kasthamandap before, during and after the 2015 Gorkha Earthquake. 'Chapter 5: Before the earthquake' examines the relationship between communities and the Kasthamandap in the decades before the earthquake. The chapter also reviews the maintenance history of the monument linked to traditional knowledge along with growing vulnerability due to the changing urban context. 'Chapter 6: The Gorkha Earthquake and its impact' provides information on the specific circumstance during and immediately following the disaster on 25th April 2015. The chapter will review response activities and the impact on various stakeholders and community groups. 'Chapter 7: Post-disaster Rehabilitation' provides a detailed account of the phases of rehabilitation from government authority to community response to finding a practical balance between all stakeholders. This chapter will also present the final rehabilitation process of the Kasthamandap particularly focusing on the related communities.

Chapter 8, with the title 'Discussion', presents the lessons to be learned from the study on the rehabilitation of the Kasthamandap and the related dialogue between the communities. This changing involvement of the various communities will be discussed. The chapter will further examine the resilience of the communities and the relationship between the protection of cultural heritage and sustainable development in respect to the Kasthamandap.

1.4 Significance and contributions

The Kasthamandap is one of the most significant monuments in Nepal. It is part of the Kathmandu Valley World Heritage property and is therefore of outstanding universal value (Government of Nepal 1979). The timber pavilion from the Lichhavi Period, with foundations dated to the seventh century CE (Coningham et al. 2017: 3), is testimony to one of the

earliest known styles of architectural monuments in the Kathmandu Valley. After the earthquake, in recognition of its significance, the monument has been illustrated on the Nepalese five rupee note since 2017 (Figure 4.1).

The destruction of the Kasthamandap was a major disaster, not only for those directly affected by the collapse and the local communities living around the monument, but for all Nepalis. The disaster was regularly featured in the media. Some commentators have suggested that this was the reason that, when the government wanted to rebuild the monument using modern technology and by tendering out the project to commercial contractors with little knowledge of conservation, the community reacted vehemently and stopped the project (Risal 2016). This, however, raised the question of how such a monument should be reconstructed. After three years of negotiations, a committee was established under the Member of the Provincial Parliament Mr Rajesh Shakya that took responsibility to implement the project in an appropriate manner (*The Himalayan Times* 15 May 2018).

Research on this thesis ran parallel with the actual physical reconstruction of the Kasthamandap, including direct input in the decision-making process of the project. This unique circumstance allowed the assessment of decisions that were being taken in the process of planning and implementing the rehabilitation of the Kasthamandap. During the research, particular focus was placed on the dialogue between the existing stakeholder committee, artisans, community, experts and authorities. This allowed clear recommendations to be formulated on how the participation of various stakeholders are critical to the rehabilitation process and how dialogue and coordination can be facilitated to ensure an appropriate and sustainable approach.

Community and heritage management

Over many centuries, monuments in Kathmandu have been owned, cared for, used and monitored by alternate communities that still lay claim to them in one form or another. There has, however, been a lack of importance given to the wide spectrum of stakeholders or communities that are linked to monuments (Tiwari 2015: 192-193). Little research has been focused on the dynamics between heritage, community engagement and post-earthquake rehabilitation. This study will carry out comparative mapping of the dialogue and relationships between local communities, policy makers, government authorities, experts and the bearers of traditional knowledge.

Successful post-earthquake rehabilitation depends on the resilience of the communities (Wijesuriya and Court 2020: 267). The relationship between these communities and the monument can be at various levels. The communities might be decision-makers, funders, those who maintain and care for the structure, use the structure or monitor to ensure it is safeguarded. Sharma and Shrestha in their study on community-based conservation in the Kathmandu Valley have identified that when the government takes over all responsibilities and side-line the communities, many aspects of intangible heritage as well as cultural continuity are threatened (2007: 20-21).

In contrast, this research has explored the means of establishing communications between the various communities to facilitate their participation in managing the heritage. The research also investigates the need to support traditional craftspeople who are the bearers of traditional knowledge, ensuring that their role in safeguarding heritage and resilience is respected. Furthermore, the significance of monuments is closely linked to intangible aspects such as beliefs and rituals carried out by specific community groups. Ensuring the revival of these practices is thus part of the overall rehabilitation process of the monument, and its stakeholders.

Traditional knowledge and scientific research

Instead of acknowledging traditional knowledge, there seems to be a growing tendency for scientific analysis and the use of modern materials and technology to be promoted and, in many cases, enforced by law (Weise 2018: 125). This lack of understanding of the traditional structures seems to have led to inappropriate interventions and, in some cases, the reconstruction of the entire monument using altered materials. Murty has suggested that the structural calculations of traditional buildings are complex and requires computation capacities that are not available in most countries. In many cases, this has led to simplified approaches based on erroneous assumptions (2010: 17).

Furthermore, legislation requires that official tendering procedures are carried out that prioritize commercial contractors, even though they might not have any knowledge or experience in rebuilding or restoring monuments. Some consultants have voiced their concern that this has resulted in interventions of an unacceptable quality (Forbes et al. 2015: 32). Numerous damaged monuments have been further destroyed in the process of reconstruction. There are also concerns that artisans with the required traditional knowledge and skills are side-lined and remain unemployed. In this context, there is a need to map and compare current approaches to the restoration of historic monuments in Kathmandu. These concerns have also been recognised by the World Heritage Committee as indicated in the

decision of their 2016 annual session that requests for coordinated planned and appropriate rehabilitation methods. (World Heritage Committee 2016: 109)

Dialogue between traditional artisans and experts utilising scientific methods is possibly essential for establishing appropriate rehabilitation approaches. The challenge has been to find a means of communication, a language that could be understood by both parties. This is possibly an issue of mind-set as well as vocabulary (Weise 2018: 125). This dialogue between the traditional methods and expertise and modern engineering seems to be critical and is one of the subjects of research of this thesis.

Supporting the UN's Sustainable Development Goals (SDG)

Cultural heritage makes an important consideration to fulfilling the SDGs. 'Sustainable Development' was initially defined by the Brundtland Commission in 1987 as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own need" (Brundtland Commission 1987: 41). Cultural heritage can be defined as that which we inherit from the past, is considered to be of value, and worthy of conservation for future generations (Weise 2015d: 4). The parallels in these definitions show how closely the conservation and rehabilitation of heritage is related to sustainable development.

In the context of Kathmandu, cultural heritage is closely linked to Goal 11: "making cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable" and Target 11.4 "to strengthen efforts to protect and safeguard the world's cultural and natural heritage". This thesis will focus specifically on Target 11.4, but will also contribute to Target 4.7, which addresses appreciation of cultural heritage. There are also clear links to sustainable tourism within the cultural heritage property addressing Target 8.9, which is about creating jobs and promoting local culture and products and Target 12.b, which links to creating jobs and promotes local culture and products (United Nations 2015a).

An important outcome of the research is the better understanding of the resilience of the local population, particularly in historic urban settings, a goal that has been formulated as part of the SDGs. This link to the SDGs also ensures that the research is embedded in the broader framework of development needs. The *Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015 – 2030* further states that "Disaster risk reduction is essential to achieve sustainable development." (United Nations 2015b: 13).

This research on the communities linked to the Kasthamandap has investigated the situation of post-disaster rehabilitation in Nepal, a Least Developed Country. International donor agencies as well as national governments promote the mantra of 'Build Back Better' (ibid.: 14). Poorer communities have been left grappling to maintain their traditions while working towards adopting new technologies that are often difficult to access (Weise et al. 2017: 77). The research will be testing sustainability in post-disaster rehabilitation particularly on the Kasthamandap reconstruction project.

Legacy

The legacy of this research will be the understanding of the complexity of communities related to a single monument, the Kasthamandap, particularly when tested by the events of a major earthquake. When contemporary needs have to be fulfilled while respecting traditional knowledge, the related communities are required to collaborate and communicate. The research will further investigate this in respect to resilience of a community and its means to ensure cultural continuity.

The research examines the means of improving community consultation and engagement in Nepal's rehabilitation procedures, as well as evidencing positive and negative examples for dissemination amongst other disaster-prone regions. These discussions can be extrapolated to rehabilitation after disasters and conflicts throughout the world.

1.5 Conclusion

This section has introduced the research on the rehabilitation of the Kasthamandap, an iconic monument that collapsed during to the 2015 Gorkha Earthquake. The research focuses particularly on improving the rehabilitation process which is defined by the need for interaction and dialogue between the numerous stakeholders and community groups related to the monument. The researcher has been personally involved in the preparatory activities leading up to the Gorkha Earthquake, as well as in planning response and rehabilitation for the culture sector after the earthquake. While carrying out these activities, it has become clear that the roles and responsibilities of the various community groups related to monuments keep changing over time, causing confusion and conflicts. This research contributes to better understanding communities and related intangible heritage in the process of post-disaster recovery and reconstruction of monuments.

The aim and objectives have been formulated to link directly to the relevant chapters of the thesis. The following three chapters provide the contextual background for the thesis and methodology to ensure that the aim and objectives are attained. Firstly, the heritage

rehabilitation and community engagement in recent earthquake along the Himalayan arc are presented. Then the geophysical, political, legal and historic context of Kathmandu Valley and its relevance to the Kasthamandap is explained. The following three chapters provide research on the Kasthamandap and related communities over time before, during and after the 2015 Gorkha Earthquake respectively. This is followed by a chapter discussing issues related to communities and their involvement in post-earthquake rehabilitation, resilience and sustainable development.

The significance and contribution of the research has been introduced. The research has provided a means for establishing communications between the various communities allowing for their participation in managing their heritage. This dialogue between traditional knowledge and skills and modern engineering is critical. An important outcome of the research is the better understanding of resilience of the local population, particularly in historic urban settings, a goal that has been formulated as part of the Sustainable Development Goals. This research will evaluate community engagement patterns and provide procedures for the post-disaster rehabilitation of cultural heritage sites, particularly where traditional knowledge is still available. The legacy of the research will be the understanding that traditional knowledge can be used parallel to scientific approaches and in many cases will provide answers where modern approaches might not be appropriate. The resilience of a community lies in their ability and means to ensure cultural continuity. The next chapter will provide an overview of the impact of recent earthquakes along the Himalayas and the response of the communities.



Figure 1.1: View of the Kasthamandap from the east after reconstruction in 2021 (Image Kai Weise).



Figure 1.2: View of the Kasthamandap from the southeast after reconstruction in 2021 (Image Kai Weise).

When the shaking stops: an evaluation of post-earthquake rehabilitation of the
Kasthamandap in Hanumandhoka Durbar Square



Figure 1.3: View of the ground floor of the Kasthamandap after reconstruction in 2021 (Image Kai Weise)



Figure 1.4: View of the upper floor of the Kasthamandap after reconstruction in 2021 (Image Kai Weise).

Chapter 2: Heritage rehabilitation and community engagement in recent disasters along the Himalayas

2.1 Introduction

The Himalayan range is a seismically active zone due to plate-tectonics and the ongoing collisions between the Indian Plate and the Eurasian Plate (Bilham 2019: 424). Some research has been carried out on historical earthquakes along the Himalayas and these have been mapped based on accounts found in historic texts. Particularly interesting has been the work of Roger Bilham in studying previous earthquakes and their locations (Bilham 1995, 2004, 2019, Bilham and Wallace 2005). Even though little scientific data is available on these events, it allows for a rough understanding of seismic movement patterns in the area. This information is important to assess where there might be sufficient energy collected, which through its release leads to the slip movement causing an earthquake (Bilham 2004: 841).

There is only scanty data of earthquakes in the first millennium CE. Geological evidence has been found to assume an earthquake around 1100 CE in the Central Himalayas (Lavé et al. 2005: 1302). It is only the larger earthquakes that have been recorded starting with an earthquake that damaged Kathmandu in 1244 CE followed by several more at somewhat regular intervals, including the particularly destructive one in 1505 CE (Bilham and Wallace 2005: 7). Records become more detailed beginning in the nineteenth century with the earthquake in 1833 that damaged large parts of Kathmandu (Bilham 1995: 156).

Following the 2005 Kashmir Earthquake, the discussions again arose on where the next big earthquake might occur, and Roger Bilham provided a map showing high slip potential for western Nepal (Bilham and Wallace 2005: 13). Correlating this to the understanding that earthquakes have affected the Kathmandu Valley every 80 to 100 years, there was clear evidence that the 2015 Gorkha Earthquake was on its way (Weise 2015e: 38).

Communities living along the Himalayas have had to adapt to a natural setting that is harsh and unstable. Using their limited resources, they have managed to build their settlements, integrated into this landscape (Toffin 1981: 7-9). Traditional communities understood the high risk of natural disasters and developed customary preparedness and response mechanisms as part of their traditional knowledge repository. Traditional knowledge has been used since ancient times and documented in ritual texts such as the *Vastu Sastras* and the *Manasara Shilpa* and *Mayamata* texts of South Indian origin (Slusser 1982: 129-130). In

the Kathmandu Valley, the architecture has adapted over time to counter the seismic hazard, including building scale, materials and detailing. For example, residential buildings and palaces were built to a maximum of three floors with an attic and only the freestanding tiered temples and some *shikhara* style temples with stable square plan were built as taller towers. Particularly interesting has been the development of timber joinery and details of using timber pegs to hold together structures (Maskey 2015: 289). Along with resilient construction rituals, community activities were introduced to ensure regular maintenance (Tiwari 2015: 193).

This chapter introduces disaster risk management and the definition of terms used in the field. This chapter will meet objective one, which is to review heritage rehabilitation and community engagement in recent disasters in the region. As comparative studies, the Great Nepal Bihar Earthquake of 1934, the more recent Kashmir Earthquake of 2005, as well as the Sikkim Earthquake of 2011 are examined. Focus is placed on the community engagement associated with the aftermath of these disasters.

2.2 Definitions of terms: disaster risk management of cultural heritage

The contemporary terms used in conservation of monuments are based on global standards but are not always sufficiently specific. The related terminology and approaches usually seem unclear. It is necessary to come to a general agreement on the definitions of terms used. To allow for consistency the following definitions have been taken from a single source, Historic England, previously called English Heritage. Repair is defined as “Work beyond the scope of maintenance, to remedy defects caused by decay, damage or use, including minor adaptation to achieve a sustainable outcome, but not involving restoration or alteration” (English Heritage 2008: 72). Renewal is defined as “Comprehensive dismantling and replacement of an element of a place, in the case of structures normally reincorporating sound units” (ibid.: 72). Restoration is defined as “To return a place to a known earlier state, on the basis of compelling evidence, without conjecture” (ibid.: 72).

This is pertinent as a discussion arose after the 2015 Gorkha Earthquake within the Kathmandu Valley World Heritage property as to the differences between the terms ‘reconstruction’ and ‘rehabilitation’. In 2017, the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) prepared a document entitled *ICOMOS Guidance on Post Trauma Recovery and Reconstruction for World Heritage Cultural Properties* (ICOMOS 2017: 3). The focus of the World Heritage Convention on immovable tangible heritage unfortunately limits its scope by reducing the significance of communities and intangible heritage. In preparing

draft policies, response strategies and guidelines after the Gorkha Earthquake, ICOMOS Nepal preferred the use of 'rehabilitation' which incorporated the broader understanding of not only addressing the physical structures of the monuments, but also considering the relationships to the use of the structure and related intangible values, or living heritage, as well as being repositories of traditional knowledge (ICOMOS Nepal 2016a: 7).

The specific focus on disaster risk management for cultural heritage was first dealt with in publications by Pierre Pichard on the response to the 1975 Earthquake in Bagan (1984) and the publication *Between two earthquakes* by Bernard Fielden (1987). There have now been a series of publications by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), ICOMOS and the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) which include *Risk preparedness: a management manual for World Cultural Heritage* (Stovel 1998), *Managing Disaster Risks for World Heritage* (UNESCO 2010) and *First Aid to Cultural Heritage in Times of Crisis* (Tandon 2018). All these documents build on the need for preparedness, response and recovery that are appropriate for cultural heritage, requiring the need to balance between the possible need to improve safety while safeguarding the heritage attributes and their value.

ICCROM has taken steps in defining terms related to disaster risk management and the following have been taken from the document prepared by Herb Stovel. A hazard is "a particular threat or source of potential damage (fire, floods, earthquakes are types of threats)" (Stovel 1998: vii). Vulnerability can be defined as "estimation of the level of loss associated with particular hazards" (ibid.: vii). Risk is "hazard x vulnerability, i.e., the degree to which loss is likely to occur, as a function of the nature of particular threats in relations to particular physical circumstances and time" (ibid.: vii). Disaster is "an event whose impact exceeds the normal capacity of property managers or a community to control its consequences" (ibid.: vii).

The traditional maintenance approaches used on monuments in the Kathmandu Valley have been studied based on ancient inscriptions. As discussed by Sudarshan Raj Tiwari (2015: 194), during the second half of the first millennium CE Licchavi (fourth to eighth century CE) inscriptions explain the principle of maintaining buildings based on the *pratisamskara* which can be defined as near to perfection or as it was when created. Licchavi inscriptions clearly distinguish *sthapana*, meaning establishment or construction, from repair or restoration *pratisamskara* (ibid.: 194). The approach changed during the Malla Period (thirteenth to eighteenth century CE), when construction materials for buildings and public utilities, as well as images of deities changed from stone to bricks/terracotta and wood. These materials

were more susceptible to climate conditions, fires and earthquakes. By the fifteenth century, a new term came to be used for conservation, maintenance, repair and renovation, *jirnoddhar* (ibid.: 195). Due to the faster deterioration of construction materials, more drastic measures of reconstruction were employed. Renovations, however, retained the foundations, which were usually well preserved, and only dealt with the superstructure. The term for new construction, *sthapana*, however remained the same (ibid.: 195). (For the chronological history of the Kathmandu Valley refer Tables 3.3 to 3.6)

2.3 Recent disasters along the Himalayas

Along the Himalayas between Kashmir and Arunachal Pradesh, the mean convergence rate is approximately 18 mm/year (Ader et al. 2012: 10). This relates to the need for an earthquake of moment magnitude (M_w) 7.8 along every 100 kilometre stretch every 100 years. This is, however, not the case which means energy might have in the past been released through less regular earthquakes larger than M_w 8.5 (Bilham 2014: 12). Furthermore, the threat of higher fatality rates is increasing through the growing urban areas along the Himalayas. This is particularly the case in Kathmandu where the probability of being struck by an earthquake is high, the soil conditions of the valley is susceptible to seismic wave amplification, as well as liquefaction, while uncontrolled urbanization increases vulnerability and disaster risk. The following section will study three earthquakes along the Himalayas to better understand the regional and chronological context for the 2015 Gorkha Earthquake.

2.3.1 The Great Nepal Bihar Earthquake 1934

The Great Nepal Bihar Earthquake struck at 2:24 pm on Monday 25th January 1934 (Rana 1935: 3). About 8000 people were killed in Nepal and a further 7000 in India, however, these numbers would need to be understood as estimates since information from the villages in rural Nepal would not have been reliable (Sapkota et al. 2016: 3). Depending on estimates, the earthquake had a moment magnitude (M_w) of 8.2 (ibid.: 1) with a surface magnitude (M_s) of 8.1 (Bilham 2004: 848). The epicentre which was initially considered to be in Bihar was later corrected to be along the main fault just west of Dhankuta with the rupture line extending along the Terai to the south (Sapkota et al. 2016: 2). Major damage was noted in Northern Bihar and the Kathmandu Valley due the localized soil consistencies and the resulting amplification of seismic waves (ibid.:3).

The recurrence of earthquakes affecting Kathmandu Valley

The last earthquake before 1934 to have a major effect on Kathmandu valley was in 1833 and came in three shocks, with the main shock of $M_w 7.7$ coming last (Bilham 2004: 848). The epicentre of these earthquakes along the main Fault just northeast of the Kathmandu Valley, possibly to the western end of the 1934 earthquake rupture (ibid.: 848). There were further aftershocks in 1834, which often confuse the dates for the 1933 earthquake (Martin et al. 2015: 1530). The initial destruction of the two towers built by Bhimsen Thapa, known as Dharahara, is attributed to these aftershocks. The 500 fatalities recorded for this earthquake were relatively low because most people were able to get to a safe place before the final and most devastating shockwaves hit (Bilham 2004: 848).

A pattern can be observed of the recurrence of earthquakes that have impacted the Kathmandu Valley. Historical earthquakes of magnitude seven or more have been recorded for the following years: 1255, 1260, 1344, 1408, 1505, 1681, 1767, 1833, 1934 and 2015 (Bollinger et al. 2016: 5). Furthermore, there have been more recent earthquakes of lesser magnitude that had local impact and were felt in Kathmandu with limited destruction. These are the 1966 $M_w 6.3$ earthquake in far western Nepal, the 1988 $M_w 6.6$ earthquake in eastern Nepal and the 2011 $M_w 6.9$ Sikkim earthquake.

Fatalities, destruction and response

The destruction caused by the 1934 Earthquake covered an area from northern Bihar to Darjeeling in the west and Kathmandu to the east. The destruction was particularly strong within the Kathmandu Valley, which was documented in detail by Brahma Shamsheer Rana:

At exactly 2:24:22 PM, there was a sudden clattering sound inside the ground and the earth started shaking. The ground shook like water waves. It was presumed that in the first stage the earthquake shook the earth from east to west. In the second stage, the ground swivelled with a twisting motion; and it is when most of the buildings started to fall
(Rana 1935: 7).

Photographs from the period show large fissures as well as settlement had taken place caused by the force of the seismic waves. A very graphic description of the chaotic response of the people to the earthquake was provided by Rana:

Though blinded by dust, people ran everywhere in panic. Panic-stricken, people started calling names of gods with loud voices; the clamour of people came from all over the place – just imagine what a terrible sound it was when the clamour of people

mingled with the sound of buildings falling. Presuming that in such a moment it would be virtuous to fill [the pots with] water or to touch the ground with their fingers, instead of running away, got engaged in such acts. But even those who tried to escape were not lucky enough. Narrow lanes and alleys of the town turned out to be death-traps. Thousands of people met their untimely death by being crushed underneath buildings; thousands were injured
(Rana 1935: 8).

People were mobilized to assist in hospitals, provide first aid to injured people and when required bring them to the hospitals. Volunteers also helped remove dead bodies from the rubble. The sanitary condition was also inspected, and water sources were cleaned and disinfected with potash (potassium permanganate) (ibid.: 26). Assistance was given to the police to compile reports as well as record the names of the poor and needy. It was found important to ensure that the telephone and post office continued functioning. While clothes, rice and milk were distributed to the victims, market prices were monitored (ibid.: 89). Furthermore, the destruction to settlements were inspected along with listing of destroyed monuments. Charts were prepared with data on houses with total collapse, major damage and slight damage as well as the effected temples, shrines and rest houses in and around the three main cities of the Kathmandu Valley (ibid.: 63) (Tables 2.1 to 2.4).

Various comparative studies have been done on calculating the fatality rate of the 1934 Earthquake. The population data is limited to census data from 1921 and 1942 for areas outside the Kathmandu Valley and the 1953 census for the Kathmandu Valley allowing rough estimations for 1934 (Sapkota et al 2016: 4). Furthermore, data on fatality numbers as well as the number of buildings that were damaged were based on the report by Brahma Shamsheer Rana (1935), who provided statistics by districts. The correlation between damaged buildings and fatalities has been clearly presented.

According to the study by Sapkota et al. (2016: 4), the fatality rate within the Kathmandu Valley with an average of 1.4% was much higher than the surrounding districts. Eastern mountain districts had an average fatality rate of 0.31% while the western mountain districts and eastern Terai districts averaged 0.01%. Within the Kathmandu Valley, Bhaktapur showed the highest rate of 4.7% (Figure 2.4) followed by the area surrounding Lalitpur comprising of numerous settlements on the southern side of the valley with a rate of 2.5%. These figures also correlate with the number of houses that were damaged in comparison to the population.

The statistics on number of monuments that were damaged within the Kathmandu Valley indicates a total of 492. Of these, 229 were inside Lalitpur with a further 30 around the city. There were 177 monuments affected inside Bhaktapur (Figure 2.3) with none recorded around the city. There were 40 monuments within Kathmandu with a further 16 around the city. This indicates that the monuments located towards the southern side of the valley were most affected (Rana 1935: 5). Photographs provide evidence that many of the neo-classical palaces of the Ranas were badly damaged, which includes Narayanhiti, where King Tribhuvan lost two daughters. However, we also see that the Nyatapola Temple in Bhaktapur, as well as the Kasthamandap in Kathmandu were still standing.

Lessons learned from traditional building construction

Reconstruction was begun shortly after the earthquake, although focus was given on shelter for the people. It was noted that government offices throughout the country were damaged, and it would take many years to rebuild. Furthermore, monuments and religious structures would be built later, particularly considering that many did not have *guthis*, community associations that deal with social and religious activities, to take care of them. There was also the statement that many such monuments that were fully destroyed would be lost forever since they could not all be rebuilt (ibid.: 102). Many temples, instead of being reconstructed to their original state were replaced with small cubical structures often with white domed roofs to protect the main shrine. It is only after the 2015 Earthquake that some of these temples such as Bhaidega in Patan and Silu-Mahadev in Bhaktapur were rebuilt to their original form based on old photographs and some original elements of the structures.

Rana included an appendix in the second edition to his book on the works accomplished since the publication of the first edition (ibid.: 153). The list of works accomplished within two years is impressive considering the limited available resources at the time. In Kathmandu, the Bhimsen Tower or Dharahara was rebuilt from the base up. The Hanumandhoka Palace as well as buildings around Rani Pokhari were reconstructed. In Bhaktapur, the Fifty-five-window Palace, as well as the adjacent Krishna Temple, were reconstructed. Moreover, the Rana aristocrats who belonged to the family of the Prime Minister, the de facto rulers of Nepal between 1846 and 1951, prioritized the reconstruction of their own palaces. Many were damaged or had collapsed. They were demolished to the plinth and rebuilt (ibid.: 154).

The opportunity was used by the Rana rulers to implement urban renewal in Kathmandu by inserting a new street through the historic fabric between Tundikhel, the parade ground outside the city walls, and Hanumandhoka Palace, the ceremonial seat of political power. Although formally named Juddha Saddak, after the ruling Prime Minister, the road is still

known as New Road, as it was brand new and lined with white stucco facades inspired by European cities (Figure 2.2) (Shaha 1996: 94; Hollé 1995: 58). Subsurface drains were also installed and Brahma Rana in his report remarks that the construction of this road was carried out with great pride (Rana 1935: 153). Various roads outside the old city were also widened even providing pavements for pedestrians. In Bhaktapur, roads were widened by removal of extensions in front of houses (ibid.: 153-154).

The supply of construction materials, as well as skilled artisans, were bottlenecks for reconstruction works to move forward at a sufficient rate (ibid.: 157). The supply of timber from surrounding forests was organized by the government with fixed pricing (ibid.: 37). To make sure that the craftspeople such as carpenters, masons and metalworkers were systematically employed, one third was employed by the government and the remainder worked for the public based on fixed rates. It is interesting to note that the artisans from Bhaktapur had started raising their wages. The fixed wages categorised each trade into first, second and third grade. For government works, higher wages were given between Baisakh (mid-April) to Aswin (mid-October) which was when most worked on their farms. Here the carpenters were given the highest wage, followed by the masons and then the painters (ibid.: 157).

The repair of temples and community structures was carried out by respective *guthiyars* using the revenue collected through their *guthis* (ibid.: 153). It was also noted that during the construction of certain temples, older artefacts from previous construction were found, providing added knowledge of the monument. Certain lost crafts were also revived in the process of reconstruction such as for the Mahabauddha Temple in Lalitpur where old moulds for decorative bricks were found along with instructions on how to manufacture them (ibid.: 153).

The construction of private buildings in the old part of Lalitpur that were taller than original was seen as a negative trend, particularly when the roads were not being widened. Further lessons learned through observations were documented by Rana (ibid.: 111). He lists the characteristics which make buildings more vulnerable: use of sun-dried bricks, over-burned bricks or brick bats, use of mud mortar, brick pillars, with heavy roofs, domes, narrow tall buildings, with too many windows and doors, inadequate width of foundations, built on weak soils, with inappropriate additions and extensions, connections without proper toothed masonry and buildings with higher corners than central section.

The observations made after the 1934 earthquake foreshadowed the challenges that would need to be faced after large earthquakes in the future. As Fielden explains, in seismic zones, we are always “between two earthquakes” (1987) and the lessons that are learned from one earthquake can be applied, at least in principle, to the next earthquake. Various observations made after the 1934 earthquake will reappear when examining the aftermath of the 2015 Gorkha Earthquake in Chapter 6.

2.3.2 Kashmir Earthquake 2005

On 8th October 2005 at 8:50 am, an earthquake of $M_w 7.6$ struck Kashmir. The epicentre was 10 kilometres northeast of Muzaffarabad in the territory of Azad Jammu and Kashmir in Pakistan (Peiris et al. 2008: 3). The Balakot Bagh Fault is the likely source of the earthquake “within the Hazara-Kashmir Syntaxis of the Himalayan fold belt” (Hussain et al. 2006: 2). The earthquake caused surface rupture along the Muzaffarabad Fault aligned just west of Muzaffarabad and stretching up the Kunhar River past Balakot (Figure 2.5) (Zaré and Karimi-Paridari 2008: 3). This was the first such case along the Himalayas where an earthquake caused a rupture, which in this case was 75 kilometres long (Naranjo 2008: 4). When visiting the site in 2008, this was clearly visible along the hillside where major landslides had been triggered.

Fatalities, destruction and response

The 2005 Kashmir Earthquake was one of the most destructive earthquakes with 75,000 fatalities and over 5.28 million people being impacted (Guha-Sapir and Vos 2011: 23). The official figure was 87,350, though estimates propose over 100,000 deaths (Hussain et al. 2006: 1). The earthquake affected mainly the areas along the Fault. The earthquake affected an area spanning from Islamabad to Srinagar across the Line of Control demarcating territories administered by Pakistan and India. The earthquake destruction took place in parts of Azad Jammu and Kashmir, particularly its capital Muzaffarabad, as well as towns in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province, such as Balakot (ibid.: 1). The main damage was concentrated along the rupture zone mainly around Muzaffarabad which suffered great damage (IX-X on the MMI scale) and Balakot which was heavily destroyed (X on the MMI scale) (ibid.: 2). The effects were also felt towards the northwest of this area where there were continued aftershocks as well as towards the southeast across the Line of Control in Uri in the Indian-controlled territory (Jayangondaperumal and Thakur 2007: 62). In Indian administered Jammu and Kashmir, some damage was noted particularly in the towns of Tangdhar and Uri though, due to distance and lower population density, less damage was registered (Bhat et al. 2005: 3).

The number of fatalities caused by the Kashmir Earthquake is staggering, whether one takes the official government figure of 87,350 or the considerably larger estimate of over 100,000. Furthermore, studies show that there were approximately 138,000 injured who needed to be treated and cared for, however, most major hospitals near the epicentre were damaged. Over 3.5 million people were made homeless due to the estimated destruction of 780,000 buildings. The collapse of some 17,000 government owned school buildings led to the death of 19,000 children as per official statistics (Hussain et al. 2006: 1). The cause for the fatalities can be correlated with the number of buildings that were destroyed. Casualties were also recorded due to the large number of landslides that were triggered off by the earthquake. Many roads were blocked or became unstable due to the landslides making access for emergency services and supply trucks difficult (ibid.: 5).

The area of Azad Jammu and Kashmir, as well as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province, have some of the poorest communities in the country. Poverty, unemployment and lack of services made these communities further vulnerable (Peiris et al. 2008: 5). Considering that 97 percent of the building stock that was damaged was residential, the difficulty for the recovery process was that much more difficult (ibid.: 5). Initially, there was a chaotic influx of international agencies with no coordination and often with inadequate funds due to the “donor-fatigue” caused by the exuberant international contributions towards prior disasters: the Indian Ocean Tsunami and Hurricane Katrina (*The Independent* 10 November 2005). Rehabilitation was slow, with response and support coming in often after the local communities had already begun to rebuild themselves. Forced resettlement away from the fault lines such as in Balakot was not successful and the communities returned to their damaged properties which were strategically located on the highway.

Lessons learned from traditional building construction

There are numerous traditional structural systems used in Kashmir, however, two of these systems stand out: the Tak or Bhatar and the Dhajji Dewari systems. The Tak system involves timber lacing in the form of a ladder which is embedded into the loadbearing masonry of stone or brick in mud mortar at each floor level as well as at window lintel level. The Dhajji Dewari system is constructed of a braced timber frame with stone or brick masonry infill (Dar and Ahmed 2015: 87-88). These systems seem to have been particularly employed in the Srinagar Valley where the ground consists of soft lake sediment (Langenbach 2009: 38). Comparisons can be made between Srinagar, the main city that lies within the Indian administered Kashmir, and Kathmandu, both being in an area with similar geological settings (Bilham 2019: 7). As in Kathmandu, during an earthquake there can be

amplification of ground movement which can further lead to liquefaction and settlement, requiring the building structures to have added stability (Langenbach 2009: 122-124).

After the Kashmir Earthquake, as per surveys carried out by the Earthquake Engineering Research Institute (EERI), most of the buildings that were badly damaged or collapsed were non-engineered loadbearing structures of stone or cement block masonry with concrete floor slabs and corrugated metal sheet roofs. Many of the concrete frame structures were badly built (Hussain et al. 2006: 4-5). A World Bank report attributes the collapse to two main factors; that there were no relevant building codes and that workmanship with modern materials was shoddy (Arshad and Athar 2013: 1).

Furthermore, the UNESCO offices in New Delhi and Islamabad, with support from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), carried out post-earthquake assessments of rural buildings in Kashmir. The study illustrated the vulnerabilities of the prevalent building technologies using modern materials without sufficient earthquake detailing. A manual was prepared which provided simple remedies for fixing and retrofitting (UNESCO and UNDP 2007), however, without considering traditional knowledge of vernacular buildings. Similarly, the reconstruction of important facilities, supported by international agencies and organisations did not consider traditional building technology. An example of such a project is the reconstruction of local schools by the Swiss Government, which were carried out using massive reinforced cement concrete frame structures with brick infill (Figure 2.6) (SDC 2006).

Recognising that such projects were not sustainable, particularly in the housing sector, there were numerous efforts by individual experts to promote traditional building technology (Dar and Ahmed 2015, Hicyilmaz et al 2011, Langenbach 2009, Schacher 2008, Shah and Tayyibji 2008). A relevant case was a project spearheaded by the Swiss Development Cooperation (SDC) which promoted the Bhatar construction system (Schacher 2007). Simplified instructions were provided which allowed local artisans to revive their traditional building typology using local materials and resources. Among other more engineered systems of construction the Dhajji Dewari system was also included in the World Bank funded Manual for Post-Disaster Housing Program Managers (Arshad and Athar 2013: 49-50). Similar responses by experts and activists were observed after the Gorkha Earthquake, which will be examined in Chapter 6.

2.3.3 Sikkim Earthquake 2011

The M_w 6.9 Sikkim Earthquake occurred on Sunday 18th September 2011 at 18:10 local time. The epicentre was in the sparsely populated border area between Kanchenjunga Conservation Area in Taplejung District of Nepal and Khangchendzonga National Park in the State of Sikkim in India (Murty et al. 2011: 6). This is a highly seismic area characterized by the Main Boundary Thrust (MBT) and the Main Central Thrust (MCT). This occurrence took place north of the MBT (ibid.: 2).

The earthquake affected the Indian State of Sikkim with intensities of up to VIII on the MMI scale, being experienced in Northern Sikkim up to Chungthang and Lachung. Due to heavy Monsoon rains and several larger aftershocks of over M_w 5, numerous landslides were triggered (Martha et al. 2015: 793).

Fatalities, destruction and response

In Sikkim, the earthquake triggered numerous landslides destroying infrastructure. Many road connections were blocked cutting off access to affected areas (Anbazhagan and Murali Krishna 2016: 202). There were reportedly over 110 persons killed in Sikkim mainly due to collapse of buildings and landslides (IFRC2011) and 201 schools and 23 hospitals were totally damaged (Malladi 2012: 5). The Buddhist monasteries were particularly vulnerable to the earthquake, a topic which will be discussed more in detail.

In Darjeeling District of West Bengal, the media reported a death toll of seven persons (*The Hindu* 19 September 2011). Over 37,000 houses were damaged (Chourasia et al. 2011: 3). The towns of Darjeeling and Kalimpong were affected with reports of historic building having been affected. For example, in Kalimpong the bell tower of Macfarlane Memorial Church built in 1891 was damaged and two spires were knocked down. Many buildings of Dr Graham's Homes built in the early twentieth century were damaged, including the old Chapel (Willis 2011: 4).

Reviewing the impact of earthquakes, and related multi-hazards, on heritage along the Himalayas, the Darjeeling Himalayan Railway World Heritage property was also affected by a landslide at Tindharia, which threatened the Tindharia Workshop built in 1881 that served to keep the steam engines running (Figure 2.7) (Weise 2011: 6-7). The railway line along with National Highway NH55 had already been disrupted with an earlier landslide at Pagla Jhora (Chourasia et al. 2011: 15).

The 2011 Sikkim Earthquake caused damage across a wide area with reports from Kathmandu to Western Bhutan, and from Tibet to Bangladesh. Information on the destruction of the earthquake in eastern Nepal only trickled in slowly, particularly due to the remoteness of the location. According to International Federation of the Red Cross (IFRC) there were over 8,000 houses destroyed and 13,000 damaged including schools and health-posts while seven people were killed, 88 injured and 47,000 displaced particularly in the northeastern most districts of the Nepal (IFRC 2012).

Similarly, in Bhutan there were over 4,200 people displaced when major damage was caused to 845 houses, 110 schools and 36 related structures. Furthermore, there were many religious structures that were also damaged (United Nations OCHA 2011). The official Chinese media reported damage of 13,000 houses and 4500 destroyed with seven people killed and 136 injured in Tibet (Xinhua 2011).

Lessons learned from traditional building construction

Observations showed that many of the damaged buildings were reinforced cement concrete frame structures with brick or stone infill walls. For example, the structurally well-designed Sikkim secretariat building in Gangtok was badly damaged mainly due to the uneven condition of rock and soil fill around the foundation that led to ground motion (Anbazhagan and Murali Krishna 2016: 205-206). However, Murty from IIT Madras and his team observed that the traditional buildings built in Ekra construction, of bamboo or timber framing with light panels of straw and plaster, “behaved exceptionally well” (Murty et al. 2011: 6).

As seen above, the reports from all earthquake-affected areas in India, Nepal and Bhutan show large numbers of schools and health-posts having been damaged. One would imagine that such important buildings would be built with additional measures to ensure safety. Schools and hospitals often require a different scale of structure with larger rooms. These are often constructed based on standardized designs not properly adapted to the specific site. Many of these can be seen to have been built of inadequate structures in reinforced cement concrete, such as a school in Chungthang, a five-storey building, where the second floor was sandwiched when the columns gave way (Mahajan et al. 2012: 596). Though many light traditional buildings survived, the larger and heavier engineered structures were damaged, generally due to bad quality and lack of maintenance.

The earthquake impacted numerous Buddhist monasteries throughout Sikkim. Some of these were original stone masonry structures from as early as the 17th century though many had already been partially or entirely rebuilt with reinforced cement concrete. After the 2011

earthquake various studies were undertaken comparing the damage and assessing the structural stability of these monuments.

The design and layout of Buddhist monasteries originated in Tibet but was adapted to the hilly terrain and wet climate, while the ornamentation such as carved timber elements, as well as the mural paintings integrated local motives (Shrestha 2011: 41). The monastic ensemble usually has a two or three-storey central temple structure, surrounded by auxiliary buildings which also house the monks (Rai et al. 2016: 1947). The monasteries were initially built using the traditional Ekra construction system. The main temple was soon upgraded and enlarged using random rubble stone masonry in mud mortar exterior walls along with timber framing in the interior (ibid.: 1948). Considering the importance of these structures, they were often the first to be rebuilt or extended and in recent times this would have been done using reinforced cement concrete. Presently the monasteries are found to be built of a combination of the three construction technologies: Ekra, stone masonry and reinforced cement concrete (Shrestha 2011: 41).

Many monastic buildings were damaged by the 2011 earthquake. Many of the traditional structures were affected mainly with cracking or partial collapse of the massive external random rubble stone masonry in mud mortar. This was mainly due to lateral forces working on the heavy masonry with additional forces from the deflection of the inner timber structure such as in the Labrang Monastery and the Ringhem Choling Monastery (Rai et al. 2016: 1949). Damage was also found on monasteries built of reinforced cement concrete where shear failure in columns were observed such as the Phodong Monastery, which was due to inadequate seismic detailing (ibid.: 1951).

The oldest monasteries in Sikkim performed relatively well. Bulging of walls in the semi-dressed stone masonry was observed at the Dubdi monastery in Yuksom which was established in 1701 CE (Figure 2.8). The section of the façade along the entrance that was built in traditional Ekra style however performed well (Menon and Murty 2013: 545). Similar observations were made at the Pemayangtse monastery in Pelling, which was built a few years later in 1705 CE. Minor damage of semi-dressed stone masonry walls was noted along with plaster damage around connections between timber beams and stone walls (Menon et al. 2012: 3568). A monastic building that however was not affected at all was the Tsuklakhang, the royal chapel in Gangtok. The main difference of this two-storey structure with a similar square plan is reportedly the quality of workmanship and the use of dressed stone masonry (Rai et al. 2016: 1950).

Impact on the Hanumandhoka Palace in Nepal

The 2011 Sikkim Earthquake was also felt in Kathmandu and impacted a few buildings. When cracks appeared on the Hanumandhoka Palace in Kathmandu, an assessment was commissioned by the Hanumandhoka Palace Museum Development Committee (HDPDC). The study was carried out by a joint venture team consisting of Integrated Development and Research Services and Design and Build Solution (IDRS and DBS 2013). The study, however, only focused on parts of the Hanumandhoka Palace and no accurate detailed drawings were provided (ibid. [5]: 12-41).

The study concluded that the damage that was observed could have been exacerbated by the 2011 Sikkim Earthquake, but that there were numerous other factors for its vulnerability. These included lack of maintenance, inappropriate interventions in the past as well as material being dumped particularly in the attic floor and not being cleared after previous restoration works (ibid. [1]: 2). Observations showed that there were cracks, rotten timber elements, lack of timber ties and tilting of brick masonry. Suggested remedies, beyond recommendations for maintenance, replacement of rotten timber elements and clearing the attic, included the introduction of ties, closure of certain openings as well as in certain cases the introduction of diagonal bracing. The only project that this report initiated was in 2014, the restoration of Panchamukhi Hanuman temple which survived the following earthquake in 2015 after which the project was completed (Government of Nepal 2017: 12).

2.4 Community engagement with disaster

As defined by the United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction (UNDRR) resilience is “the ability of a system, community or society exposed to hazards to resist, absorb, accommodate to and recover from the effects of a hazard in a timely and efficient manner, including through the preservation and restoration of its essential basic structures and functions” (UNDRR 2009: 24).

The *Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015-2030* in Article 4 states that the risks particularly at local and community levels are increasing as exposure to hazards is growing faster than the reduction of vulnerability, which is leading to rising loss with economic, social, health, cultural and environmental impact (United Nations 2015b: 10). Furthermore Article 7 of the Sendai Framework states that the response to disaster risk must consist of “a broader and a more people-centred preventive approach” (ibid.: 10). Here the Sendai Framework document provides a short description of a generic list of those who need to be considered to make disaster risk reduction “multi-hazard and multisectoral, inclusive

and accessible” (ibid.: 10). The affected communities and those involved in response and recovery vary from case to case as can be seen in the examples reviewed above. This will be further assessed in this section, to review heritage rehabilitation and community engagement in recent disasters in the region, as per the first objective of the research.

Discussion on multi-hazards and traditional knowledge

Assessments of natural hazards can be complex since several hazards can be interlinked. The approach of addressing multi-hazards has become essential. For examples, earthquakes often trigger secondary hazards such as tsunamis, landslides and fires. Multi-hazard risk analysis is a complex process since it is not the sum of single hazards (Kappes et al. 2012). Though a basic understanding of such cascades or domino effects has been developed and tools for multi-hazard assessment have been developed, the required research and methodology for response or multi-hazard governance is lacking (Scolobig et al. 2017: 2).

Traditional knowledge systems have dealt with multiple hazards (Shaw et al. 2009: 1). Some research on traditional practices have been conducted, however these focus on single hazards and question their validity. A study done in Northern Ghana states that the local communities were sceptical about the use of their traditional knowledge to predict and manage disasters, however, they had no other options due to lack of science-based tools and systems. The study concludes “Although modern scientific knowledge is invaluable for disaster risk reduction, it is essential to recognize the role of traditional and local knowledge in enhancing the resilience of local communities” (Ngwese et al. 2018: 15).

Over the past two decades, there have been numerous major natural disasters caused by multi-hazards that have affected communities in Asia. Particularly devastating have been the two major earthquake related tsunamis, the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami and the 2011 Tohoku, or Japan, Tsunami. Natural disasters can be traumatic, devastating natural environments as well as communities. In the devastation, there have also been positive outcomes such as the peace agreement signed between the Indonesian government and the Free Aceh Movement in Helsinki the following year (Feith 2007: 1). After the Tsunami, billions of dollars were spent in post-disaster rehabilitation in the previous conflict-ridden areas (Barron et al. 2013: XV).

In reference to reviewing community engagement in recent disasters in the region, there have been numerous lessons to be learned from the experiences, where communities that

followed traditional knowledge survived. When the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami occurred, the inhabitants of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands could read the signs and moved to safety on higher ground. A British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) news report described how the aboriginal tribes survived due to traditional knowledge that had been passed down from generation to generation (Bhumika 2005). The report notes that both the Onge Tribe living on Little Andaman as well as the Jarawa Tribe from the South and Middle Andamans moved out of their coastal settlements to higher ground. However, the inhabitants who were migrants to the islands over the past few centuries, collectively known as the Nicobarese, fared less well with many getting killed or going missing. According to reports from India's Ministry of Tribal Affairs in New Delhi, of the five tribal communities on the Andaman archipelago, the Sentinelese, Onges, Jarawas and Great Andamanese were believed to have escaped unscathed, though the Shompen were affected (VOA 2009).

The disaster caused by the 2011 Mw9 Tohoku Earthquake was further amplified by a tsunami that followed and reached the north-eastern shores of Japan about half an hour later. In Minamisanriku, the tsunami warning was that a three-metre-high wave was expected. The fishing town was protected by seawalls and tsunami gates that were 4.6 metres higher than the mean sea level (MSL), a measure that was put in place after the 1960 Chile tsunami. The 2011 tsunami, however, created water levels to rise over 10 metres causing maximum destruction of the town (Suppasri et al. 2012: 1001). An important observation was made that most Shinto shrines located in natural settings survived the tsunami in comparison to Buddhist temples that were built within settlement areas. The earliest Shinto shrines were built on high ridges however this changed particularly after the twelfth century when the shrines became increasingly used for community rituals (Osaki 2016: 241). Since large tsunamis do not occur very regularly, they were forgotten and people began settling in the flat coastal areas, particularly since fishing was one of the main trades. The location of the shrines also moved closer to the settlements but keeping just above the level of the last big tsunami (ibid.: 241). Though most shrines survived there were some that were found to be damaged by the tsunami, and Shin Osaki in his study warns that closer studies of these locations need to be carried out before they are considered safe havens, however the alignment of shrines could be used to keep alive the traditional knowledge about tsunamis (ibid.: 242).

Community vulnerability to recent earthquakes along the Himalayans

Yasumichi Murakami explains, based on his experience gathered after the 2005 Kobe earthquake, that local community members are generally the first responders when large disasters take place (2009: 42). They are on site and know the local circumstances best.

Priority is given to save human lives, which means rescue from collapsed structures and providing first aid (Ibid.: 42). The technical hazard sheet for earthquakes prepared by the World Health Organization (WHO) provides information on public health impact (WHO 2019). Immediate impact is through trauma-related deaths caused by collapse of structures or through secondary effects such as fire, landslides, tsunamis, etc. Medium-term impact could be communicable diseases, psychosocial needs, as well as complications due to lack of proper treatment, particularly for vulnerable groups such as the wounded, pregnant women, as well as those with chronic diseases (ibid.).

Murakami observed that during the first week after the earthquake people were unstable and had to deal with their immediate requirements. It was only in the second week that they started worrying about their future and the memories of their environment and heritage (2009: 42). This shows that the immediate response to earthquakes focused on human safety and people had to first deal with their own personal losses.

Tiwari explains that in Nepal, traditionally, people used to run out of their houses repeating 'Narsingh', at the top of their voices, invoking the protection of an avatar of Vishnu (Tiwari 2009: 44). By praying loudly while moving through the maze of stairs and courtyards, it would warn others and informed them where the person was for possible rescue operations (ibid.: 44).

The vulnerability of the communities to earthquakes is largely based on the safety of the built environment which includes density of buildings and population, structural considerations and standards as well as public awareness and preparedness (WHO 2019). This means that risks to humans as well as cultural assets can potentially be higher in settlements and urban areas than in sparsely populated and open areas. There is added risk caused by secondary hazards such as fires in such densely built-up areas. (Toki and Okubo 2009: 37).

Referring back to the 1934 Great Nepal Bihar Earthquake, Brahma Shamsheer Rana provided insight on the response not only from the government, but also from the local communities. The total number of deaths in Nepal was registered to be 8519 made up of 3850 men and 4669 women. The total number of registered structures including monuments and residential buildings added up to 207,740 (Rana 1935: 1). The Rana regime that governed Nepal at the time was well organized, but quite distant from the local population. The government dealt with recovery of overall infrastructure and services, as well as facilitated the local population to obtain materials to rebuild their houses (ibid.: 35). Reconstruction work depended on the artisans and material supply which were restricted.

People rebuilt their houses using their own resources or borrowed within their community (ibid.: 98). The government had in many places already taken over the responsibility for the restoration of monuments. There was a clear understanding that restoration of these historic monuments would not be possible, and many masterpieces would be lost. The government was not going to prioritize the restoration and reconstruction of temples, as well traditional rest-houses, *patis* and *sattals*, leaving these to the *guthis*, the community organizations, where they still existed (ibid.: 102).

The 2011 Kashmir Earthquake caused extensive damage mainly in Azad Kashmir in Pakistan, but also in some parts of Indian administered Jammu and Kashmir. With 73,000 deaths and an economic loss of 2.9 billion dollars, we can see that this would have had a major impact on Pakistan. It also shows that the communities in these areas are highly vulnerable (Peiris et al. 2008: 5). Communities living in areas considered to be hazardous were shifted to safer location, such as in Bakryal, however without considering accessibility and livelihood opportunities. Many of these people kept their new homes but moved back to their original towns along the main highway where they could continue their businesses (Ali 2007: 177-178, Ali et al. 2013: 34).

In Sikkim, the government took over the responsibility for maintaining monastic buildings, but this side-lined the local community (Shrestha 2011: 45). The government departments had little understanding of traditional technology and materials and preferred cement concrete for which costs could be easily calculated and for which a supply-line was already in place (ibid.: 45-46).

The response and rehabilitation after a major disaster requires various community groups which include local inhabitants, craftspeople, politicians and bureaucracy to collaborate. Even though the first responders, the community groups take charge right after a disaster, this changes over time as the government sets regulations, norms and procedures, and the communities cannot function. Each of the disasters show this changing relationship between the various community groups, including stakeholders and authorities towards the disaster and their respective contributions towards rehabilitation.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced disaster risk management and the definition of terms used in the field. The chapter has also provided an overview of the Himalayan context in reference to geology, history and habitation. As comparative studies, the Great Nepal Bihar Earthquake of 1934, the more recent Kashmir Earthquake of 2005, as well as the Sikkim Earthquake of

2011 have been introduced. Focus has been given to the impact of these disaster on community and how the various communities including stakeholders, authorities and experts have been involved in response and rehabilitation after the disasters. Hereby the first objective has been achieved, to review heritage rehabilitation and community engagement in recent disasters in the region.

In all these examples, we can note that governments are dependent on the communities for response and rehabilitation in post-disaster circumstances. Many of the concepts that are introduced such as to “build back better” can only be accomplished through community awareness and involvement. This will be discussed further in detail when assessing the implications of the 2015 Gorkha Earthquake on Kathmandu Valley. The next chapter will address the second objective of defining the geophysical, political and historic context of Kathmandu Valley, and introducing the Kasthamandap.

Table 2.1: Damage inflicted on buildings and properties within the Kathmandu Valley during the 1934 Great Nepal Bihar Earthquake.

Locations	Houses totally ruined	Houses with high degree of rupture	House with less degree of rupture	Total	Temple, Shrines and Rest houses	Remarks
Capital valley						
Inside the city of Kathmandu	725	3735	4146	8606	40	
Outside the city of Kathmandu	2892	4062	4267	11221	16	
Inside the city of Patan	1000	4170	3860	9030	229	
Outside the city of Patan	3977	9442	1598	15017	30	
Inside the city of Bhadgaon	2359	2263	1425	6047	177	
Outside the city of Bhadgaon	1444	1986	2388	5818	x	
Total	12397	25658	17684	55739	492	

Sources: Rana 1936: 63.

Table 2.2: Details of important temples and palaces within Kathmandu affected by the 1934 Great Nepal Bihar Earthquake.

Name		Year of Construction		Remarks
1	Temple of Taleju	1621 BS (King Mahendra Malla)		Only finial was tilted
2	Stone pillar in front of Degutale	1727 BS (King Pratap Malla)		Totally ruined
3	Temple of Kathmandu Mahadev (east of Mul Kot)	1621 BS (King Mahendra Malla)		Totally ruined
4	Temple of Mahavishnu (south of Mul Kot)	In between 1694 BS & 1724 BS		Totally ruined
5	Basantapur [Palace]	1727 BS (King Prithvi Narayan Shah)		Extensively damaged
6	Stone statue of King Pratap Malla on elephant back to the south of Ranipokhari	1727 BS (King Pratap Malla)		Totally ruined

Sources: Rana 1936: 72.

Table 2.3: Details of important temples and palaces within Patan (Lalitpur) affected by the 1934 Great Nepal Bihar Earthquake.

	Name	Year of Construction	Remarks
1	Degutale	1692 BS (King Shiva Singh Malla); renovated in 1721 BS after it caught fire	Totally ruined
2	Chyasim Temple	1780 BS (King Nagendra Malla)	Extensively damaged
3	Mahabauddha Temple (Built by taking example from Buddha-Gaya)	1609 BS	Only the bottom portion remained
4	Temple of Vishweshwor Mahadev (Bhaideval)	1735 BS	Totally ruined
5	Temple of Kumbheshwor	1794 BS	Totally ruined
6	Temple of Machhindranath	1678 BS (renovated after it was destroyed in 1890 earthquake)	Totally ruined

Sources: Rana 1936: 73.

Table 2.4: Details of important temples and palaces within Bhadgaon (Bhaktapur) affected by the 1934 Great Nepal Bihar Earthquake.

	Name	Year of Construction	Remarks
1	Old palace of Bhadgaon	1510 BS (King Yakshya Malla); renovated in 1734 BS	Extensively damaged
2	55 Windowed Palace	1756 BS (King Bhupendra Malla)	Extensively damaged
3	Krishna Temple	1732 BS (King Bhupendra Malla)	Extensively damaged
4	Vishnu Temple	1714 BS (King Jagat Prakash Malla)	Totally ruined
5	Shiva Temple	1517 BS (King Yakshya Malla)	Totally ruined

Sources: Rana 1936: 73.

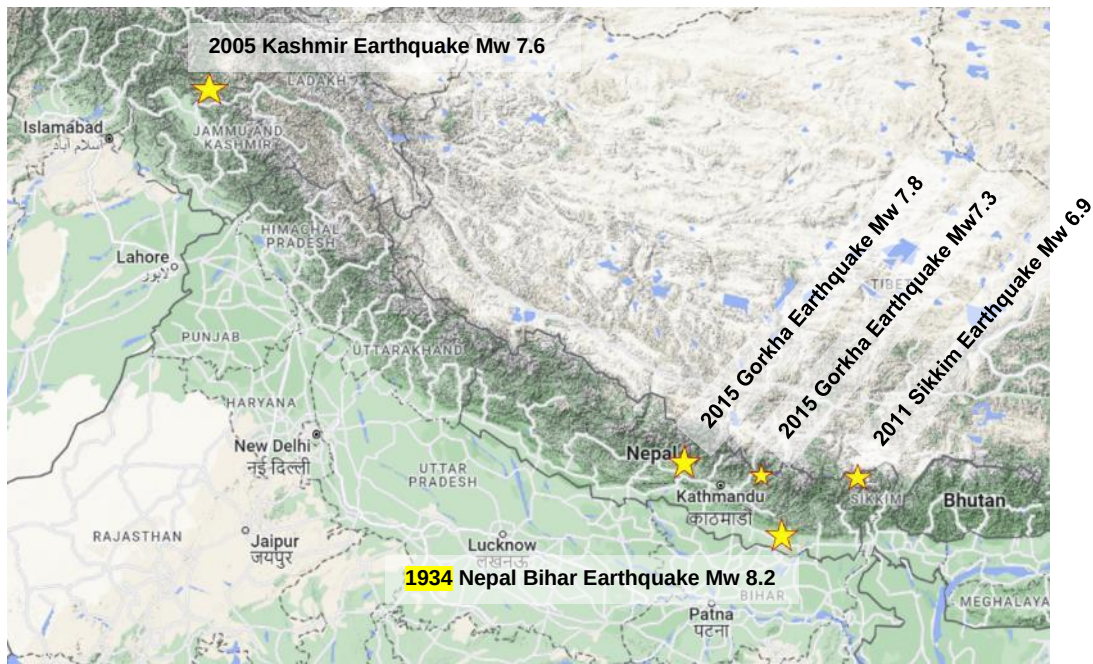


Figure 2.1: Map of the Himalayan Region indicating recent earthquakes (Google Map with overlaid annotations, Kai Weise).

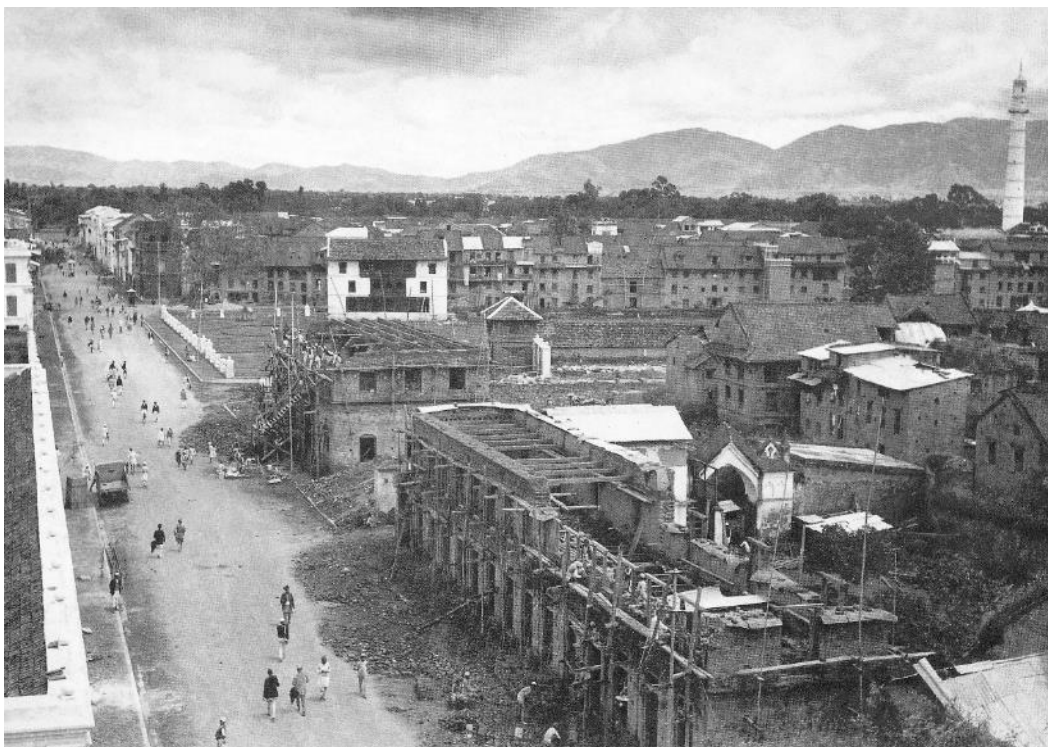


Figure 2.2: The construction of buildings along Juddha Saddak that cut through the old town to link Hanumandhoka to the Tundikhel (Proksche 1995: 70)

Note: By 1936 the Dharahara tower to the right had already been rebuilt

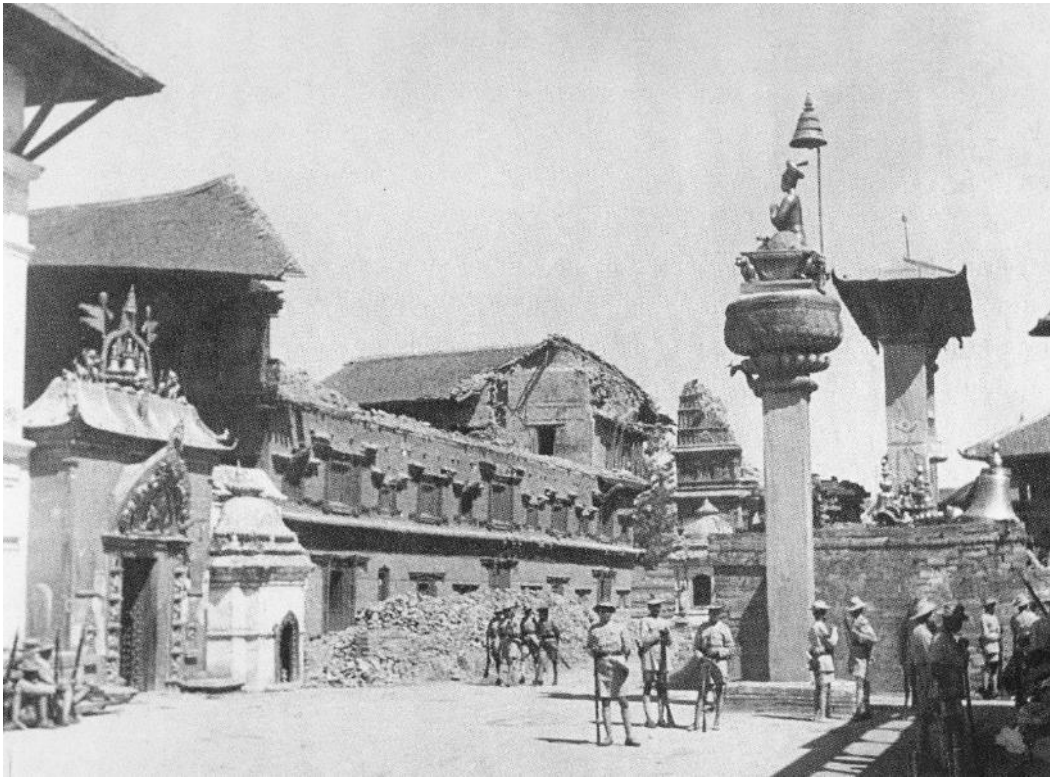


Figure 2.3: The destruction of the Fifty-five-window Palace in Bhaktapur by the Great Nepal Bihar Earthquake of 1934 (Proksche 1995: 103)



Figure 2.4: Residential areas of Bhaktapur damaged by the Great Nepal Bihar Earthquake of 1934 (Proksche 1995: 105).



Figure 2.5: Rupture across the hillside clearly visible near Balakot, Pakistan, caused by the 2005 Kashmir Earthquake (Image Kai Weise).



Figure 2.6: Back in a school that was rebuilt three years after the 2005 Kashmir Earthquake by the Swiss Government in Shohal Najaf Khan, Pakistan (Image Kai Weise).



Figure 2.7: Suspended tracks of the Darjeeling Himalayan Railway, a World Heritage property, due to landslides caused by earthquake and heavy rains (Image Kai Weise).



Figure 2.8: Mural paintings within the Dubdi Monastery in Yuksom, West Sikkim, damaged by the 2011 Sikkim Earthquake (Image Kai Weise).

Chapter 3: Kathmandu: defining the context

3.1 Introduction

The Kathmandu Valley lies in the foothills of the Himalayas and was, until some 25,000 years ago, largely covered by a lake. As the lake dried up, communities settled, building cities and monumental ensembles. These became associated with beliefs, rituals and festivals (Government of Nepal 2007a: 4).

The early period of human settlement is shrouded in the legends of *buddhas*, *bodhisattvas* and gods visiting the Kathmandu Valley and creating both the physical and the cultural setting for a civilization (Wright 1877: 77-117). The Gopalas and the Mahisapalas, legendary communities described in the chronicles, first established themselves in the Kathmandu Valley (Regmi 1965a: 52). They were followed by the Kiratas, of whom there is more substantial evidence of their existence, particularly in names of sites, and their language, which is considered to be the basis for the present language spoken by the Newar community (Slusser 1982: 10). The Licchavis brought with them the culture of the Vedas, documenting their feats on stone inscriptions in Sanskrit, often associations to social and philanthropic activities (Gellner 1992: 231). By the time the Mallas gained power in the thirteenth century CE, the communities had amalgamated various aspects of the previous periods of history, and this cultural continuation allowing a highly sophisticated civilization to develop (Slusser 1982: 4).

This cultural continuation can also be observed in the Kasthamandap that has withstood numerous centuries of political, cultural and natural impact. The resilience of this monument is astonishing, for it managed to adapt and change as required, possibly being the only structure from its period to survive (Tiwari 2009: 104). To fully understand this monument, the natural, social and cultural context needs to be studied, which can then be linked to the various attributes of the structure and the traces of time can be deciphered. The Kasthamandap still exists because various communities have had the resources and the motivation to regularly maintain and restore the monument over time.

This chapter begins by introducing the Kasthamandap and provides an examination of the overall context within which the monument is located. This chapter will meet objective two, which is to define the geophysical, social and historic context of the Kathmandu Valley, with focus on the Kasthamandap and in the maintenance and utilization of the monument by related communities. The unique setting of the Kathmandu Valley is described along with its

two millennia long history. The chapter concludes with an overview of the Newari community, a socio-linguistic group that is the local inhabitants of the Kathmandu Valley.

3.2 The Kasthamandap through the centuries

In this section, the Kasthamandap, the monument that is the centrepiece of the research is introduced. The Kasthamandap is a historic structure of great importance for Kathmandu, particularly since it gave the city, and later the entire valley, their names (Banerjee 1980: 70). The structure is also called Marusatta by the local Newars, Maru being the local neighbourhood. As Slusser and Vajracharya explain, the various terms in Sanskrit, Nepali and Newari, such as *mandap*, *mandu* and *satta*, though having nuanced differences, can be clubbed under the common category of *dharmasala*, which in Sanskrit means ‘charitable asylum’ (Slusser and Vajracharya 1974: 171). The Sanskrit term *mandap* and the Newari term *mandu* refer to an open square or slightly rectangular pavilion, which serves not only as a public shelter, but also as council hall and bourse. The term *satta* in Newari is derived from the Sanskrit *sattal*, refers to a similar structure, but often with the additional function of housing both gods and people, such as ascetics, who might settle in for indefinite stay (ibid.: 4).

3.2.1 General description and establishment of the Kasthamandap

The Kasthamandap, or Marusatta, is a unique structure that managed to withstand natural disasters and political turmoil for over a millennium, adapting and changing as required (Tiwari 2009: 104). The square structure is just under twenty-by-twenty meters rising over three floors of decreasing size (Figures 3.5-3.8). The open pavilion on the ground floor consists of four concentric squares of a total of a hundred timber posts. There are four main timber posts in the centre, about 6.2 metres tall. The second concentric structural layer consists of brick-in-mud-mortar quoins in the corners with a central opening supported by four sets of double posts on each side, in total 36 posts. The third and fourth concentric structural layers are made up of timber posts, with twenty-eight and thirty-two posts respectively, which hold up a large sloping roof with large overhangs. This will be further discussed in Chapter 7.

There are various legends linked to the construction of the Kasthamandap. The most widespread story, which is included in the *Gopalarajavamsavali*, (refer Table 3.2) relates how Kalpabrikshya, the celestial tree, came to watch the Matsyendranath festival. He was recognized and caught and made to provide a tree for wood to build a rest house or *satta*

(Wright 1877: 211). Depending on the version of this story, the power to capture Kalpabrikshya was assigned in one version to a certain Vajracharya priest and in another to a Nath practitioner. The wood from this tree was sufficient to build the Kasthamandap and with the remaining wood an additional rest house and a monastery were built: the Silengu Satta (Singha Sattal) and the Sikhamu Baha (Slusser and Vajracharya 1974: 208). The story further relates that Kalpabrikshya was made to promise to remain in the Maru area and could only depart when the price of salt and oil was the same (Risal 2015a: 1). This tradition continues even today with the price of oil and salt being announced every year in front of the Kasthamandap. In the Hindu version, probably introduced after the Nath culture became associated with Kasthamandap in the late fourteenth century, Lopipada, a *siddha* or saint of the Naths, a sect of wandering Saiva ascetics, brings the tree from Mount Kailash, the abode of Lord Siva (Slusser and Vajracharya 1994: 208).

Locke records an oral tradition that a *vihara* or monastery was demolished to make way for the construction of the Kasthamandap (1985: 417). At a nearby Lakshmi-Narayan temple, various artefacts of Buddhist deities can still be found, which are supposed to be from the original *vihara*. Such legends are still passed on through oral transmission and lend value to the monument. The intricacies of these legends and the related communities will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

3.2.2 The Kasthamandap through the centuries

Archaeological research was carried out on the foundations and salvaged elements of the Kasthamandap for the first time by a team lead by Durham University's UNESCO Chair on Archaeological Ethics and Practice in Cultural Heritage. The detailed outcome of the research will be provided in Section 6.5.3; however, it must be noted here that the central foundations were dated to the seventh century CE (Simpson 2018: 2). Furthermore, there was a timber bracket, possibly reused from an earlier structure, dated to the fifth century CE. Preliminary restorations were also identified to have been carried out in the ninth to tenth centuries CE, followed by a more extensive one in the eleventh to twelfth centuries CE (Coningham et al. 2022: 163).

Before this research, the oldest confirmed testimony to Kasthamandap came from a copy of the *Namasangiti* text dated 263 NS, or 1143 CE (Slusser and Vajracharya 1974: 207; Thapa 1968: 41). There are also numerous copperplate inscriptions from the fourteenth to the early sixteenth centuries which provide information on the introduction of the Nath tradition (Risal 2015b: 4-8). An inscription from the fifteenth century records the joint claim of three local *mahapatras* or local vassals on the Kasthamandap, which would have been used as a

council hall and possibly for coronations (Slusser and Vajracharya 1994: 209). It was possibly sometime in the fifteenth century that the stone image of the Gorakhnath was installed in the monument, reflecting the flourishing cult of wandering Saiva ascetics (ibid.: 2). The Nath yogis or ascetics controlled the monument till the mid-twentieth century, renting out stalls for shops and building enclosures as living quarters within the historic structure (ibid.: 2).

The Kasthamandap was restored by the DOA, Government of Nepal, and the Guthi Sansthan in 1966, and all encroachments to the monument, such as the dwellings and shops, were removed (Thapa 1968: 43). Over the following decades, inappropriate interventions and lack of further maintenance contributed to the collapse of the Kasthamandap during the 2015 earthquake (Coningham et al 2017: 10-11, 28). The issues of restoration and maintenance will be discussed further in Chapters 6 and 7.

3.2.3 Communities related to the Kasthamandap

The Kasthamandap is considered to be both a *mandap*, a sanctified place for rituals and a *sattal*, a rest house or community hall (Tiwari 2018). This already indicates that from early times, the monument has been used by various communities for a wide range of activities. This monument survived for over fourteen centuries, which would have only been possible if the communities needed the structure and therefore maintained and restored it regularly. As the core focus of this research, the communities of the Kasthamandap will be studied under five broad categories: users, urban community, authorities, custodians and those providing a broader significance to the monument. These five categories of communities linked to the Kasthamandap also provided the framework for the interviews that were carried out within the scope of this research.

3.3 The Kathmandu Valley in the foothills of the Himalayas

The Kasthamandap is located in the unique setting of the Kathmandu Valley, in the Himalayan foothills, which determined both the physical shape and materials, as well as the related socio-cultural context. The Kathmandu Valley consists of a bowl-shaped valley of about 665 square kilometres, at an average altitude of 1350 metres, surrounded by hills of up to 3000 metres (Gutschow and Kreutzman 2013: 9). This valley is different from the narrow riverine valleys that generally define the Himalayan landscape, and the only other comparison might be the Srinagar Valley in Kashmir, some 1200 kilometres to the northwest

along the Himalayan arc (ibid.: 9). The temperate climate is pleasant, for temperatures seldom go below freezing and seldom rise above 35 degrees Celsius (HMG 1969: 40).

Archaeological assessments were carried out of the foundations and underlying sediments of the Kasthamandap by Durham and Stirling Universities in 2015 and 2016. Results from Optically Stimulated Luminescence (OSL) measurements showed the onset of human activity around the tenth century BCE and early urbanization between 110 BCE and 100 CE (Simpson 2018: 1). Throughout history, the Kathmandu Valley has been the most populated area along the entire Himalayas, due to its strategic position controlling trade between Tibet and the Gangetic Plains (Sekler 1977: 13). The rugged topography was a constraint for both migrants and invaders. Many cultural historians believe that those who managed to enter the valley did not suppress the indigenous population but superimposed their culture onto the existing one (Korn 1977: XVII). This is especially important to understand the Newar community involved in the use and maintenance of the Kasthamandap, which will be further discussed in the following sections.

Trade through the Himalayas was based on exchange of valuable commodities, for which the Kathmandu Valley developed as an *entrepot* (Gutschow and Kreutzman 2013: 10). This meant that commodities from the south could only be brought through the malaria-infested jungles during the winter, while the high passes of the Himalayas were only open during the summer months, forcing traders to stop-off in the foothills, where trade and bartering took place (Gellner 1995:6-7).

3.3.1 Geology and the landscape

The landscape within which the Kasthamandap is located, and the regular seismic activities that it has experienced, are the product of the still ongoing plate-tectonic activities that created the Himalayas and the Kathmandu Valley. The seismicity of the Kathmandu Valley is defined by major earthquakes occurring every 80 to 100 years (Bollinger et al. 2016: 5). When the Mahabharat Range was uplifted in the Pliocene-Pleistocene, the precipitation runoff got dammed, forming a lake (Gutschow and Kreutzman 2013: 9). It was possibly seismic activity that ruptured the hills, allowing the water to drain out and make the entire valley habitable (Tiwari 2001: 12).

The physical setting of the Kathmandu Valley is defined by the relatively flat valley surrounded by hills, and the rivers that cut into the soft lake sediment. This landscape was created first through a geological process, then by the climatic effects of erosion, followed by sedimentation and then drainage. The lacustrine sedimentation created the *tars*, the higher ground or plateau within the Kathmandu Valley (HMG 1969: 26) where the settlements

developed. Drainage of the valley eroded through the sediments, cutting channels up to thirty metres deep and creating the *dol* or low alluvial valleys where agriculture flourished. (Smith 1978: 40-41). The Kathmandu Valley is drained by the Bagmati River and its tributaries, such as the Vishnumati that flows passed the Kasthamandap, exiting at the Dakshin Gorge (HMG 1969: 36, Wright 1877:6). There is an annual average rainfall of 3220 mm, with 80 percent falling during the southeast monsoon period between June and September (HMG 1969: 36-38).

The fertile land within the Valley was created of fluvio-lacustrine deposits of the Pleistocene Age (Smith 1978: 40). The valley is filled with alluvium with some distinct compositions. In the northern parts there is coarse sand of granite composition. The central areas are composed of *kalimati* or porous bluish-grey clay, vivianite and diatoms. The southern parts are largely composed of *kamero*, a whitish diatomaceous clay. Along the outer edges of the valley there are deposits of quartzites and phyllites pebbles in fine sand, lenticular bedding and thin horizons of peat (HMG 1969: 31-33).

3.3.2 Creation legends

Very little is known of this early period of history with various versions found in the chronicles, or *vamsavali*, as well as the Buddhist and Hindu religious scriptures, such as the *puranas* and *mahatmyas* (Gutschow and Kreutzman 2013: 13, Regmi 1965a: 41, Slusser 1982: 10). The Buddhist *Swayambhu Purana* was written in the sixteenth century, relating the creation legends of the Kathmandu Valley, such as the version published in English by Kirkpatrick (1811). The later versions of the chronicles, mainly with Hindu interpretations such as the *Bhasavamsavali* and the *Nepalavamsavali*, were written in the eighteenth century and included the creation legends in their narrative. The translation of one of these later versions was published in English by Daniel Wright (1877) (Table 3.2).

The legends of the *Swayambhu Purana* provide a cultural interpretation of the geological formation of the Kathmandu Valley, as a creation myth (Smith 1978: 42-44). Wright provides detailed translations of these intricate legends that merge into historical facts (1877: 77-117). These texts provide insight on how the natural setting and geological phenomena are integrated into the religious frameworks of both the Vajrayana, as well as the brahmanical interpretations. This provides the basis for later discussions on how these religious communities have laid claim to the Kasthamandap in similar manner.

3.3.3 Genealogy of legendary dynasties

Due to a lack of archaeological research and scientific dating, the understanding of the history of the Kathmandu Valley is dependent on textual sources, which are not always accurate and often incomplete. For example, the local chronicles, or *vamsavali*, document the various dynasties, with comparable lists of rulers, but with aggrandisement, manipulation and exaggerated dates (Regmi 1965a: 42-43).

The legendary dynasties of the Gopalas or cow-herders and the Ahirs or buffalo-herders, along with the Kiratas, have been listed in Table 3.1, for whom we still do not have any tangible testimony of their existence. In respect to the Kasthamandap, there is an interesting link to the legends of the cow-herders. Kirkpatrick refers to Nymuni as a prince and the founder of the cowherd dynasty, from whom the country, Nepal, got its name (1811: 255). In the legends of Pashupati, the prince is associated with Ne-Muni, a cow, that only gave milk over a particular spot, indicating to the cow-herders where to dig up the lost Pashupatinath shrine (Wright 1877:107). These legends are associated to the Kasthamandap through the Sa Ta Chow Nakeyu or feeding of the cow rituals carried out by the Sa Guthi, which relates to the Ne-Muni cow, also known as Kamdhenu, which will be further explained in Section 5.2.1. Furthermore, for the ritual, the cow-herder is brought from Kirtipur, a settlement towards the southwest, in the direction of Matatirtha, where the Gopalas were known to have resided (A. Joshi 2022: 201; Tiwari 2001: 16-17).

In contrast to the Gopalas and the Ahirs, according to Tiwari, 'Kirata' has been mentioned in a fragmentary inscription (2022: 53-54). Furthermore, the non-Sanskrit vocabulary and place names used by the Licchavis indicates the existence of an earlier community that spoke a language like the hill tribes, the Kiratas, which is also understood to be 'proto-Newari' (Slusser 1982: 10). The local population united by adopting the common language, *nepalbhasa* or Newari, which will be further examined in Section 3.6.

3.4 A historical overview of the Kathmandu Valley

The history of the Kathmandu Valley has been mainly written based on inscriptions and text of various forms. For a compilation of the written sources of the history of the Kathmandu Valley, refer to Table 3.5. The genealogies are inaccurate (Regmi 1965a: 44-47) and there is insufficient information on the early period of history of the Kathmandu Valley, particularly due to the lack of research. The following section provides an overview of the history of the Kathmandu Valley. There are still certain differences in opinions on particularly the earlier periods of history, which has been examined and compared in Table 3.3. For this thesis the

broad outline has been followed, with the generally accepted terms of Ancient Period till 1200 CE, then the Medieval Period till 1768, followed by the Modern Period (Shaha 1990, 1992, Slusser 1982).

3.4.1 The Ancient Period: first century CE to 1200 CE

The dynasties in the Ancient Period, between the first century CE and 1200 CE, have been provided in Table 3.4. The overall history of the Ancient Period will not be examined in detail, and the focus will be on picking up on the parts that are relevant to understanding the historical context of the Kasthamandap.

The stone inscriptions dating from the fifth to the ninth centuries CE provide references and allow the genealogies presented in the chronicles to be tested. As Shaha states, it was however only “with Manadeva I (r. ca. 464–505 CE) we move on to the *terra firma* of history supported by epigraphic and numismatic evidence” (1991: 13). It must be noted that a wooden bracket of the Kasthamandap, as per radiocarbon dating was from between 424 and 565 CE, with 95.4% certainty (Coningham et al. 2022: 163), which overlaps the rule of Manadeva I. Manadeva I is known for the 464 CE Changu Narayan inscription. He is said to have suppressed the uprising of the *samantas* or feudal lords after the death of his father, consolidating his central authority (Joshi 1993: 8) which allowed him to establish statues, *sivalinga*, *viharas* and his palace, the Managriha (Shaha 1992: 13-14, Tiwari 2001: 52).

Amsuvarman, a Vaisya Thakuri, who usurped power in 590 CE made great contributions in art and architecture during his 14-year reign (Shaha 1991: 14-16). He adopted Hindu laws and state structures, while accommodating the largely Buddhist customs of the populace (Joshi 1993: 233). This relationship between the various religions and beliefs still plays a role in understanding the ownership of the Kasthamandap and will be discussed further below. Amsuvarman built his own palace, the Kailashakutbhavan, possibly within the same palace complex as Managriha (Tiwari 2001: 59), indicating that large timber structures continued to be built during this period, though it must be noted that no physical evidence has been found.

Considering that the foundations of the Kasthamandap was dated to the seventh century CE, the following period needs careful inspection. What we do know is that the Licchavis and Guptas gained back their power and the rule of such illustrious kings as Narendradeva (r. ca. 643-679 CE) and Jayadeva II (r. ca. 713–733 CE), were documented on stone inscriptions (Slusser 1982: 31). Narendradeva managed to overthrow the Gupta feudatories with the

help of the Tibetan government, consolidating this position, setting up relations with China, and with the wealth gained through trade built his grand palace, the Bhadradvivasa (Joshi 1993: 11; Regmi 1965a: 190; Shaha 1992: 18-20).

There is a dearth of textual documentation during the period between Licchavi rule and Malla rule spanning from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries, and even the chronicles become highly inaccurate (Slusser 1982: 41). This is the period when a major restoration was carried out as per the radiocarbon dating of the main central timber posts and a central beam, with a preliminary restoration in the ninth to tenth centuries CE, followed by a more extensive one in the eleventh to twelfth centuries CE (Coningham et al. 2022: 163). During this time various important events and activities took place in the Kathmandu Valley, such as, according to the *Gopalarajavamsavali*, the founding of the city of Kantipur, later known as Kathmandu, by Gunakamadeva (r. ca. 980-998) (Regmi 1965a: 112, Shaha 1997: 40). The Transitional Period is also when various religious influences entered Nepal. In the eleventh century, Atisa, a famous Buddhist teacher, also known as Dipankara Srijnana, visited the valley and gave Vajrayana formal shape with an ecclesiastical hierarchy (Regmi 1965a: 128, 547). Legends have Sankara Acharya, a ninth century Hindu reformist, visiting Nepal, and is generally blamed for the gradual decline of Buddhism from the eleventh century onwards, though it was very likely not the original Shankara, but rather one of the subsequent Sharakaracharyas who visited Nepal (Gellner 1992:86, Slusser 1982: 49). According to Slusser, it was possibly during the tenth century that the sage Matsyendranath became popular, a sage who was revered both by the Vajrayana Buddhists and the Saiva, and the teacher of Gorakhnath who played an important role in Kasthamandap (1982: 367).

3.4.2 The Medieval Period: 1200 CE to 1768 CE

The dynasties in the Medieval Period have been provided in Table 3.5. The Early Malla period lacks documentation, but was defined by a period of more than a century of struggle between the rulers of the house of Tripura, from the Tripura Palace of Bhaktapur, and the rulers of Bonta, i.e. Banepa (Shah 1992: 47). During the rule of Abhaya Malla, between 1216 and 1255, the valley was regularly attacked by the Doya, the Tirhutiyas from Simraungarh to the south, and was beset by famine, the plague and a major earthquake in 1255, causing the king's death (ibid.: 46-47).

It was only after Jayasthiti (or Sthiti) Malla came to power in 1382 that the entire Valley was brought under a single rule again (Regmi 1965 I: 345). Jayasthiti was greatly influenced by the Brahmin priests of Tirhut and with their help he set up a "legal and social code aimed at consolidating Nepali society within the orthodox Hindu framework, with due regard and

concessions for local conditions” (Shaha 1992: 57). The influence of the Hindu priests of Tirhut continued throughout the Malla Period, with their language Maithali, being used in court (Slusser 1982:68). Stability and prosperity continued till the end of the rule of Yaksa Malla (r. 1428-1482 CE). It was during this period, in 585 NS (1465 CE) that Caitanyanath Yogi stayed in the Kasthamandap and donated land (Pant 2022: 48). It was under the sons of Yaksa Malla that the kingdom disintegrated, forming the separate states of Bhaktapur, Patan and Kathmandu (Shaha 1992: 59-61).

The following three centuries were defined by the politics between the three city states, each vying to overshadow each other’s exploits, particularly through art and architecture and inviting various deities to reside in their city (Hutt 1994a: 23). This was the period when the exceptional palace complexes and temple ensembles were created. In Kathmandu, of the 15 kings that ruled between 1482 and 1768, the most prominent were Mahendra Malla (r. 1560-1574 CE) and Pratap Malla (r. 1641-1674 CE) (ibid.: 77). It was also during the reign of King Narsingh Malla (r. 1621 – 1641 CE), that a major restoration would have been carried out on the Kasthamandap (S.M. Joshi 2022: iii, Thapa 1968: 41). Their contribution to the urban context of Kathmandu will be discussed further under Section 3.5.

3.4.3 The Modern Period: 1769 CE onward

The Modern Period begins with Prithvi Narayan Shah from the Gorkha Principality succeeding in conquering the entire Kathmandu Valley in 1769. The era of the Modern Period is provided in Table 3.6. It required numerous attempts over ten years for Prithvi Narayan Shah to conquer the fortified settlement of Kirtipur located towards the southwestern corner of the Kathmandu Valley. The Gorkha army entered Kathmandu during the festival of Indra Jatra, on 25th September 1768, encountering little resistance. King Jaya Prakash Malla escaped, and Prithvi Narayan Shah seated himself on the throne which was placed in the square for the Indra Jatra rituals (Regmi 1961: 202-204, Stiller 1973:130-131). Prithvi Narayan Shah established his capital in Kathmandu, taking over the palace at Hanumandhoka, which remained the seat of power for the Shah Dynasty. This prominence of Kathmandu allowed for continued aggrandisement of the palace and surrounding Durbar Square (Hutt 1992: 27), which will be further discussed in Section 3.5.

After conquering the Kathmandu Valley, the Gorkha armies moved east, reaching the Tista River in 1774 and then conquered the principalities to the west, reaching all the way to the Sutlej River bordering onto the Punjab in 1806 (Shaha 1990 I: 293-295). This expansionist approach led to wars with Tibet in 1788 and 1791 and then with the British in 1814,

concluding with the Sugauli Treaty of 1816, which required Nepal, under Prime Minister Bhimsen Thapa, to surrender large tracts of land (ibid.: 294-295). In 1846 Jung Bahadur Rana, with the support of Queen Rajyalakshmi, had all the nobles assemble in the courtyard of the Kot, the armoury, near the Hanumandhoka palace and, instigating a quarrel, had all his rivals killed (Shaha 1990 I: 219-221). Jung Bahadur coerced King Rajendra to put the *lal-mohar*, the royal stamp, on a proclamation to make him and his successors Prime Minister in perpetuity, establishing a dynasty that lasted for a hundred and five years (ibid.: 248-249). The period of Rana rule (1846-1951) was defined by the establishment of government institutions, construction of infrastructure and enormous palaces in European Neo-Classical style, mostly within the Kathmandu Valley (Gutschow and Kreutzmann 2013: 23). This was also when the 1934 Great Nepal Bihar Earthquake occurred causing great destruction throughout Kathmandu, but at the time the Kasthamandap did not collapse.

In 1951 King Tribhuvan (r. 1911-1955) managed to dispose of the Rana Prime Ministers with the help of the newly established government of independent India (Gupta 1964: 45-49). The 1950s in Nepal was defined by the struggle to establish a democratic system of government and gain international recognition as a sovereign country (Rose 1971: 208-226). The first democratically elected government under B.P. Koirala lasted less than nineteen months before King Mahendra (r. 1955-1972) dissolved parliament, to promote national unification under a system of Hindu monarchy (Sharma 1986: 161-162). This was also the time, in 1966, when the DOA and the recently established Guthi Sansthan carried out their first restoration project, which was on the Kasthamandap. This will be examined in detail in Chapter 5.

King Birendra (r. 1972-2001) allowed some reforms and the first *jana andolan* or people's movement that brought about the establishment of a constitutional monarchy in 1990, but stability was not achieved, and the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) declared a people's war in 1996 (Hutt 1993: 28, Whelpton 2005: 195). A large part of the royal family, including the King and the Crown Prince, were murdered in a palace massacre in 2001 (Whelpton 2005: 211). Under King Gyanendra (r. 2001-2006) the conflict turned into a civil war, leading to the second *jana andolan* that brought down the monarchy in 2006 and in 2008 Nepal was proclaimed a republic (Toffin 2013: 40). It was however only after the Gorkha Earthquake struck on 25th April 2015, devastating large areas of central Nepal, that the new Constitution of Nepal was promulgated on 20th September 2015. It was under these circumstances that the post-disaster rehabilitation was carried out, including that of the Kasthamandap.

3.5 The changing constitutions and governance of heritage

This section provides an overview of the dramatic political changes that has taken place since the 1934 earthquake and the end of Rana Rule. Since the initial the *Government of Nepal Act of 1948*, five more constitutions were adopted until the sixth and final one in 2015. This had a direct impact on how heritage was dealt with by the government, and its specific effect on the Kasthamandap will be further analysed in Chapter 5.

The response to the destruction of the 1934 Earthquake by the government under the Rana Prime Ministers indicates their lack of interest and direct involvement in the patronage of monumental heritage. The involvement of the government in the conservation of heritage, particularly national monuments, was formalized through the various Constitutions that were adopted. This began with *Government of Nepal Act 1948*, adopted by the Rana Government, that did not address issues of cultural heritage, though did guarantee freedom of religion (Article 4) and prescribes the expenditure of *guthis* and trusts to be charged to the state (Article 38(c)vii). This is possibly the reason that allowed the Kapalis to take over the Kasthamandap, build accommodations for themselves and rent out shops. After King Tribhuvan regained his power, the *Interim Government of Nepal Act 1951* was adopted with guarantee that the government will not discriminate based on religion, race, caste or sex (Article 15) and ensuring the protection of tangible heritage (Article 12).

It shall be the obligation of His Majesty's Government to protect every monument or place or object of artistic or historical interest from spoliation, disfigurement, destruction, removal, disposal or export, as the case may be (Interim Government of Nepal Act 1951, Article 12).

The first elections were held in 1959, and the *Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal 1959* was adopted. Beyond the standard article on not discriminating on grounds of religion, sex, race, caste or tribe (Article 4(2)) and a right to practice one's religion, but not convert others (Article 5), no mention is made of cultural heritage. After King Mahendra dissolved parliament in 1960, the *Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal 1962* was adopted. Article 3 defines the nation to be a monarchical Hindu kingdom and Article 4 states the national language to be Nepali in the Devanagari script. This was part of a process of nation building, which meant creating a national identity that legitimated the state (Burghardt 1993: 3-4). There was little intent on protecting the cultural heritage of individual communities. This led to the creation of the Guthi Sansthan in 1964, nationalising many of the organizations set up to maintain and protect heritage and perform cultural activities, particularly focusing on the

land endowed to these organisations as a source of income. The direct impact of these developments and policies on the Kasthamandap will be examined later.

This approach of the Government towards cultural heritage did not change after the amendments made in 1980. Even after the First People's Movement, the *Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal 1990* referred to a "Hindu Constitutional Monarchical Kingdom" (Whelpton 2005:116). The State was to adopt a policy to maintain cultural diversity (Article 26(2)) and allow communities to preserve and promote their language, script and culture (Article 18). The Second People's Movement in 2006 led to the abolition of the monarchy and the establishment of a republic under the *Interim Constitution of Nepal 2007*. The Interim Constitution hardly changes its stance on cultural heritage, focusing on cultural diversity (Article 35(3)) and giving the communities the right to preserve and promote their language, script, culture, cultural civilisation and heritage (Article 17(3)). This changed drastically in the *Constitution of Nepal 2015*, which will be further discussed in Chapter 6. The constantly changing Constitution defined the involvement of the State in the protection of heritage and affected the Kasthamandap, which will be assessed later in the thesis.

3.6 The unique culture of the communities of the Kathmandu Valley

3.6.1 Origins and identity of the ancient and medieval communities of Kathmandu Valley

The Gopalas, the Mahisapalas, the Kiratas and the various communities generally clubbed under the Licchavi Period, who had settled down in the valley stayed on and got integrated into the community that was later to be referred to as the Newars. Tiwari postulates that the Gopalas and the Mahisapalas are the Hale and Gwa caste of *sa-pu* or cow-milkers and *me-pu* or buffalo-milkers of the Newars (2001: 27). The Vyanjankar caste of the Newars are said to be of Kirata origin (Gellner 1992: 17). Many location names in the Kathmandu Valley originate from the Kirata Period, and the Kirata language is considered to be a form of proto-Newari (Slusser 1982: 10, Tiwari 2001: 30). This is particularly important, since the identity of the Newar community, with its complex caste divisions and social structures, is largely based on its Tibeto-Burman language (Gellner 1992: 13). The Licchavis and associated communities brought Sanskrit culture to the valley, particularly the Vedic and Hindu rules on town planning and building construction, as well as the socio-religious associations called *gosthi*, which continued during the Malla Period as *guthi* (ibid.: 231).

As mentioned in the previous section, Jayasthiti Malla established a code of religious and social conduct, organising the society within an orthodox Hindu hierarchy. Instead of the four main *varna*, or castes, a system of 64 sub-castes was established (Shaha 1992: 55). A

simplified overview of the Newar sub-castes has been provided in Table 3.7. The last of the celibate Newar Buddhist monks died out (Gellner 1992: 21). This was also the period when the Nath culture of the Saiva ascetics flourished, which had an important role to play on the Kasthamandap (Slusser 1982: 367). The tendency of the Malla kings to consult with the Tirhut Brahmins continued, and the rise in Hindu traditions greatly impacted the Buddhist community over time (Gellner 1992: 21, Slusser 1982: 68).

The use of the term 'Newar' to denote the indigenous people of the Kathmandu Valley became widely used only once they were conquered by the Gorkhalis (Slusser 1982: 9). This was also when the Newar culture and language became threatened, and as Gellner explains, led Newar cultural nationalists to distinguish themselves from the sanskritised 'Parbatiya' (1992: 16). The friction within the Newar community, as well as towards mainly the 'Parbatiya' will be further discussed in the thesis, when determining the various communities and their roles in respect to the Kasthamandap.

3.6.2 The *guthi*: community institutions

To understand the Newar community and how they carry out social and cultural activities, it is necessary to understand the system of *guthis*. The management and maintenance of religions and community structures is done by the various associated *guthis*. This section examines *guthis*, which will provide a basis to analyse the role of *guthis* associated to the Kasthamandap before, during and after the 2015 Gorkha Earthquake in the following chapters.

Guthi is derived from the Sanskrit *gosthi*, meaning association (Gellner 1992: 231). Slusser states that the roots of the *gosthi* lie in the Buddhist viharas of ancient northern India, which were introduced by the Licchavis to the Kathmandu Valley. Tiwari explains that inscriptions from as early as 491 CE refer to donations made to maintain monuments or carry out festivals, to ensure their continuity into perpetuity. This was achieved by either seasonal action, annual grants, or the establishment of *gosthi* (2015: 193-194). These institutions survived the transitional phase and were further developed during the Malla Period and many still survive today (Slusser 1982: 47, 218).

Gellner states that the *guthi* is "the fundamental basis of Newar social organization" (1992: 231) and Slusser defines a *guthi* as "a common interest group with collective responsibilities and privileges" (1982: 218). These interest groups might be from a certain community or family that have the responsibility to carry out specific rituals or to preserve public buildings

and monuments (Sharma and Shrestha 2007: 2). Fürer-Haimendorf points out that the term *guthi* refers to the social unit of *guthiars*, or members, as well as the feast that accompanies any activity (1956: 24). To this a third definition needs to be included, that of *guthi* being a land endowment (Regmi 1977: 234). Gellner picks up on Fürer-Haimendorf conclusion that the *guthi* are based on three principles: that they are linked to clearly define spatial entities or territory, that social precedence and ritual status is prioritized by seniority, and that public duties are carried out on rotational basis (Fürer-Haimendorf 1956: 36, Gellner 1992: 232).

The wealth of most *guthi* was their land. The inscriptions from the Licchavi Period, as well as the Malla Period, report on land donations, ending with a threat to anyone who might misappropriate the land with curses with grave consequences (Sharma and Shrestha 2007: 3). There are three main categories of *guthi* land: the *raj-guthi* which is owned and administered by the government, the *chut-guthi* which is owned by the government and administered privately and then the *duniya-guthi* which is fully private (Regmi 1977: 58-61). Land has been misappropriated, confiscated and sold off and the Rana administrator introduced the *guthibandobasta adda* or Guthi Management Office for the government to regulate financial issues, particularly after the *guthi* administration system was amended in 1920 (Sharma and Shrestha 2007: 12). In 1964 the Guthi Sansthan or corporation was established and many of the larger *guthi* were nationalized (ibid.: 12-13). This has had a major impact on the monuments and rituals and will be discussed further in the following chapters.

3.6.3 An overview of the traditional architecture and crafts of the Kathmandu Valley

The only structures that remain of the Licchavi Period are rudimentary Hindu *sivalinga* shrines, referred to as *avarana* in Licchavi inscriptions, consisting of stone columns covered with a single stone slab (Slusser 1982: 169). The Buddhist counterpart from the same period are various typologies of small stone *chaityas*, votive shrines composed of a drum, a dome and a finial, raised on a plinth, with various degree of intricate carvings (ibid.: 171). The Licchavi Period also boasts high quality stone carvings, which include waterspouts with *makara* decorations, and particularly enormous stone images such as of Garuda of Manadev at Changu Narayan, the sleeping Narayan at Budhanilkantha and the Kalbhairav brought to Hanumandhoka by Pratap Malla in the seventeenth century CE (ibid.: 194). The Licchavi mention six palaces, Daxinarajakula, Managriha, Kailashakutbhavan, Bhadradhivasbhavana, Salamburajabasaka and Pundrirajakula, (Shaha 1992: 31-32, Tiwari 2001: 40-42), though little is known about their location, Chinese Tang era annals describe Bhadradhivas, the palace of Narendradeva to have had a central seven-storey tower, “with wonderful

sculptures in the four corner pavilions” (Regmi 1965a: 239). Further detailed discussions on the style and construction technology related to the Kasthamandap will be presented in the following chapters, particularly responding to the recent dating carried out of reused capitals from the fifth century CE and foundations from the seventh century CE (Simpson 2018: 1-2).

The World Heritage nomination of seven monument zones of Kathmandu Valley acknowledges the “unique Newari culture”, with “exquisite examples of palace complexes, ensembles of temples and stupas”, which reached “an apogee between 1500 and 1800 AD” and “boasts of one of the most highly developed craftsmanship of brick, timber and bronze in the world” (Government of Nepal 2007a: 3). Ornate carved timber elements and decorative burned terracotta bricks are carefully integrated into the architecture (Le Port 1981: 81-82). Tiwari examines the development of temple architecture and the design principles that were used, particularly the unique brick and timber tiered temples, but also variations of the *shikhara* style built either in brick or stone (2009). The influence of these developments on Kasthamandap will be further discussed in Chapter 7, particularly in respect to the continuity of traditional knowledge and craftsmanship required for its reconstruction. An overview of the various typologies of Malla architecture are summarized in Table 3.8.

3.7 The historic urban context of the Kathmandu City

The uniqueness of the Kathmandu Valley civilization, particularly of the Newars, is the urban environment that was created with the supported of rural activities (HMG1969: 25). Until the most recent urbanisation, settlements were compact and efficient in space management, to ensure that least amount of fertile agricultural land was encroached upon (Sekler 1977: 14). These compact settlements evolved into highly developed urban systems that catered to the various needs of the communities, which will be discussed here, particularly in respect to the centre of Kathmandu City and the neighbourhood of the Kasthamandap. The following sections will examine the location where the Kasthamandap was built, and the city that development around it.

3.7.1 Early context and city founding in the Kathmandu Valley

Legends, documented in the various chronicles, narrate the stories of gods, *buddhas*, *bodhisattvas* and kings, who came to the valley and founded cities (Wright 1877: 77-117). Tiwari explains that the earliest settlements, those of the Gopalas, were located on the hillside towards Matatirtha, to the southwest of the valley. The Kiratas moved their settlements further down into the valley, but it was only the Licchavis and later the Mallas,

who established their settlements along spines and higher ground in the centre of the valley (2001: 16-17). The Licchavis following the planning and building norms set down in the ancient Sanskrit ritual literature such as the *Mayamata* (ibid.: 15-16). The cities that were established by the Licchavis were then overlaid or further developed by the Mallas. Slusser explains that the three important Licchavi *drangas* or towns, Yupagrama, Daksinakoli and Khoprn, were the origins of the three royal Malla *desa*, *sahara* or cities, Patan, Kathmandu and Bhaktapur (Figures 3.1a and 3.1b) (1982: 86).

3.7.2 The founding of Kathmandu City and its urban morphology

According to Tiwari, locations within Kathmandu City with names such as Tham (Thamel), Yam (Indra Chowk) and Te (Kwohiti) are of Kirata origins, and these would have been early settlements (2009: 48). The early Buddhist monks would have established *viharas*, their courtyard monasteries, in the last centuries BCE, before early Licchavi Period, when the Hindu or Vedic tradition of town planning using *mandala* forms of order was introduced (ibid.: 9-10). This corresponds to the finding of the archaeological research carried out by the team lead by Durham University's UNESCO Chair in 2015 and 2016, with early urban activities dated to the beginning of the first century CE (Coningham et al. 2022: 154)

According to Locke, there were two settlements that were established within the area of Kathmandu City during the Licchavi Period: Koligram to the north, called Yambu in Newari and later known as Kantipur, and Daksinakoligram to the south, called Yangala in Newari and later known as Kasthamandap (1985: 204). This is also examined in detail by Slusser (1982: 88-93) who suggests a dual development of the city that began in the Licchavi Period and continued throughout the Malla Period. This would have positioned the Kasthamandap in between the two city centres. Tiwari, however, postulates that the Licchavi used a *dandaka* form, rectangular plan with gridiron streets, for a single town called Daxinakoligram, with a central axis extending from the Jaisideval Temple, past the Kasthamandap to Ikha Pokhari, the large pond to the north (2009: 49-50). This would have positioned the Kasthamandap already during the Licchavi Period in the centre of the city.

The chronicles ascribe the founding of Kathmandu in the form of a *khadga* or sword of the Devi to Gunakamadeva towards the end of the tenth century in the Transitional Period, who then moved there from Patan (Shaha 1992: 40). Gunakamadeva brought many gods from various locations in and around the valley to ensure the protection of city and established the festival of Indra Jatra (Wright 1877: 153-156) which is still celebrated today. The medieval boundary of the city is still annually traced by a procession during Indra Jatra, the *upako*

wanegu or walking around the town, a tradition that would have started when the protective deities were placed around the city periphery (Locke 1985: 497).

Even though Gunakamadeva's founding of Kathmandu might be questioned, there are numerous references on various rulers governing from here during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when major restorations took place on the Kasthamandap. The joint rulers Bhojadeva (r. ca. 1009-1020 CE) and Laxmikamadeva (r. ca. 1010-1041 CE) ruled from Kathmandu at least between 1010 and 1015 CE. Bhojadeva even proclaimed himself king of Kathmandu (Shaha 1992: 41). There are also records that mention Kathmandu as part of the dominion of the last ruler of the Transitional Period, Vijayakamadeva II (r. ca. 1192-1200 CE) (ibid.: 44).

Kathmandu did not play an important role in the political scene of the Early Malla Period (1200–1482 CE), during which the rulers lived either in Bhaktapur or Banepa (ibid.: 46-61). After the death of Yaksha Malla in 1482 CE, his three eldest sons ruled jointly for a short time, but this agreement fell apart and Ratna Malla, who had moved to Kathmandu, established his own kingdom by 1484 CE (ibid.: 60). According to Locke, during the Malla Period the city was divided into four sections: Tathu Puin, or the upper quarters from Kwa Baha to Ason, Dathu Puin, or central quarters from Ason to Makhan, Kwathu Puin, or Lower quarters from Maru to the south, and the centrally located Layaku Puin, or Palace quarters from Makan to Maru (1985: 254). It was after Kathmandu became a capital that major restoration works were carried out on the Kasthamandap, such as the one by Narsingh Malla in the seventeenth century.

The urban structure of Kathmandu was by now well established (Figures 3.2 and 3.3). The city, however, continued to change, through renewal of buildings within the city limits, particularly the addition of floors and changes to ornamentation of the facades (Scheibler 1982: 62). Building beyond the city limits was largely started in the nineteenth century with the construction of palaces by the Prime Ministers in power in Neo-Classical style (Gutschow and Kreutzmann 2013: 17). The final major structural change within the city boundaries was during the reconstruction after the Great Nepal Bihar earthquake of 1934 (Hollé 1995: 58).

3.7.3 The city centre of Hanumandhoka Durbar Square

The urban context of Kasthamandap, which is now known as the Hanumandhoka Durbar Square, was largely established during the Malla Period, with additions and alterations being carried out even after the conquest of Kathmandu by the Shah Dynasty in the late

eighteenth-century CE. The area of Hanumandhoka Durbar Square was earlier known as Layaku Puin or the 'palace quarter', which stretched along the ancient trade route from the Makan neighbourhood in the northeast to the Maru neighbourhood in the southwest (Locke 1985: 254). The name Hanumandhoka Durbar Square was introduced much later, referring to the palace gate, or *dhoka*, next to the image of Hanuman that Pratap Malla (r. 1641-1674) installed, and the Persian term *darbar*, was borrowed from the Moghul (Hutt 1994b: 77).

The Kasthamandap was built next to an ancient trade route that even today cuts diagonally towards the northeast through the historic city. It is uncertain whether during the Licchavi Period this area was the centre of a single settlement of Daxinakoligram as presented by Tiwari (2009: 49), or on the boundary between the two settlements of Koligram and Daksinakoligram as mentioned in most literature (Locke 1985: 204, Hutt 1994b: 74, Slusser 1982: 88-93) and even by Tiwari himself in his earlier research (2001: 249). After the founding of the city of Kathmandu in the tenth century CE, Gunakamadeva also brought and consecrated the powerful statue of Ganesh, Asoka Binayak, in a shrine just north of Kasthamandap, and had the waterspouts of Maru-hiti built nearby (Wright 1877: 153-156).

Where the palaces of Gunakamadeva and Bhojadeva in the Transitional Period were located is uncertain. The Layaku Puin area between Makhan and Maru were profusely developed over the reign of the fifteen Malla kings of Kathmandu. Mahendra Malla (r. 1560-1574) built the numerous temples including the magnificent Taleju in 1563 (Shaha 1997: 72). Pratap Malla (r. 1641-1674) who had the most impact by building large parts of the presently existing palace complex, including numerous temples around the Hanumandhoka Durbar Square (Hutt 1994b: 78, Slusser 1982: 191-194, Shaha 1997: 74-75).

After Prithvi Narayan Shah conquered Kathmandu in 1768, the Hanumandhoka Palace became the seat of power, with Patan and Bhaktapur being largely neglected. Even though the King was moved to Narayanhiti Palace in 1896, the Hanumandhoka palace remained the ceremonial seat of power (Hutt 1994b: 79). The final major changes around Hanumandhoka were carried out after the 1934 earthquake with the insertion of a street lined with building in white stucco facades (Image 2.2), and the clearing of the Basantapur square to the south of the Hanumandhoka palace (Hollé 1995: 58). This new access road was practically aligned to the Kasthamandap from the east.

The Maru Square, which the Kasthamandap is located, is a market square surrounded by *sattals* (Figure 3.5). To the south is the Singha Sattal, and as has been explained in Section 3.2.1, it locally known as the Silengu Satta. In Newari *si* means wood and *lengu* or *lyangu* means remaining or leftover, referring to the creation myth that explains that this *sattal* was

built from the wood that was left over after the construction of the Kasthamandap. The building was given a Nepali name, the Singha Sattal, after the *singha* or lions were installed on the corners in 1929 CE (Pruscha 1977 II: 70). To the southeast is Kabindrapur Sattal, built in the seventeenth century, to house the Nasa-dyo, the god of music, and where the masked dance of Narsingh was performed. The *sattal* was originally six-storied but was only restored to four floors after being destroyed in the 1934 earthquake. To the northeast is the two storied Lakshmi Narayan Sattal. It is often referred to as a temple because a shrine was created on the upper floor dedicated to Vishnu Narayan. There are many images that have been placed within the *sattal* including Lokeshvar, Manjusri, Mahakal and Hanuman (Pruscha 1977 II: 68).

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter examined the context within which the Kasthamandap is located. The chapter began with an introduction to the Kasthamandap, the monument that is the centrepiece of the research. The unique setting of the Kathmandu Valley was described along with its two millennia long history. An overview of the Newar community was provided, a socio-linguistic group that is considered the local inhabitants of the Kathmandu Valley. The chapter concluded with the historic urban context of Kathmandu City being defined in respect to development over time and the present urban character. Hereby the second objective has been achieved, to define the geophysical, social and historic context of the Kathmandu Valley, with focus on the Kasthamandap and its related communities.

The Kathmandu Valley, Kathmandu City and the immediate context of the Kasthamandap have been described, to allow a comprehensive understanding of the setting for discussions in the later chapters of the thesis. Particularly important to understand the Kasthamandap and its existence for over 1,300 years is the historic activities taking place during this period. The physical context and the historic events will have left its traces in the monument which are there to investigate and decipher. The next chapter will address the third objective of defining the methodology, including the historic chronology verses community matrix.

Table 3.1: Early legendary dynasties as per various *vamsavali*.

	Dynasty	Generations	Short description
1	Gopalas	8	cow-herder kings, capital at Matatirtha
2	Ahirs or Mahisapalas	3	Came from the southern plains, capital at Matatirtha
3	Kiratas	27 to 32	Hill community that conquered the valley from the east

Source: Kirkpatrick 1811: 256-258, Regmi 1965a: 53-59, Shaha 1992: 6-8, Slusser 1982: 9-11, Wright 1877: 108-112.

Table 3.2: Table of written sources of the history of the Kathmandu Valley.

	Source	Major titles
1	Chronicles (<i>Vamsavali</i>)	Earlier versions: fourteenth century <i>Gopalarajavamsavali</i> (or <i>Bendall Vamsavali</i>) <i>Keshar Library Vamsavali</i> (fragment) (e.g. Kirkpatrick 1811) Later versions eighteenth century onward: <i>Bhasavamsavali</i> , <i>Nepalavamsavali</i> (e.g. Wright 1877)
2	Stone inscriptions (<i>silalekha</i>)	Licchavi Inscriptions in Sanskrit (2nd to 9th c.) Malla inscriptions in Newari (12th c. onward)
3	Travel diary	Seventh century Chinese travellers Huan-tsang, Wang Hsuean-t'se
4	Colophons	Tenth century onwards
5	Palm Leaf (<i>talapatra</i> / <i>tadapatra</i>)	Eleventh century onwards, manuscripts on palm leaf as legal documents (<i>tamasuk</i>) or journals (<i>thyasaphu</i>)
6	Copperplates (<i>tamrapatra</i> / <i>suvamapatra</i>)	Inscriptions on either copper or gilt copper
	Archaeology (surveys / excavations)	Verardi et al. (Hadigaun and Pashupati 1984-1993), Di Castro (Pashupati 1997), Khanal and Riccardi (Dumakhali 2007), Coningham et al. (Pashupati, Kathmandu, Patan, Bhaktapur, Hadigaun) Rescue archaeology was carried out after the 2015 Gorkha Earthquake

Sources: Regmi 1965: 41, Shaha 1992: 3-5, Slusser 1982: 10, 18-21.

Table 3.3: Comparative table of the historical periods of the Kathmandu Valley.

	ANCIENT	MEDIEVAL	MODERN
Regmi 1991, 1965*	till 740 end of Licchavi epigraphic record*	740 to 1760 Unification process begins ca 1760	1760 onward
Shaha 1990, 1992	till 1200 includes period up to Ari Malla	1200 to 1768	1768 onward Prithvi Narayan Shah conquers Kathmandu
Slusser 1982**	Licchavi Period c. 300 to c. 879 CE Transition Period c. 879 to 1200 CE	Early Malla 1200 – 1482 CE Malla Kingdoms 1482 – 1768/69	Shah Dynasty of Unified Nepal 1769 to present**

Sources: Regmi 1961, 1965, Shaha 1990, 1992, Slusser 1982.

Table 3.4: Table of Dynasties in the Ancient Period (first century CE to 1200 CE)

	Dynasty	Generations	Short description	Period
1	Somavamsi (Lunar Dynasty)	5	beginning sometime in first century CE, Nevesit (Nimikha) to Baskaravarma.	Early Licchavi or Varma Period
2	Suryavamsi (Solar Dynasty)	16 to 17	ca 150 to 605 CE Bhumivarma to Sivadeva I 1 stone inscription found till date	
3	Licchavi Era	14 to 15	Ca 400 to 605 CE Vrsadeva to Sivadeva I well documented - stone inscriptions	Licchavi Period
4	New Era	12 to 16	605 to 879 CE Amsuvarman and Manadeva IV well documented - stone inscriptions	
1	Amsuvarman Thakuri	5 to 12	879 to 1083 CE starting with Ragadeva (Nepal Samvat) to Vijayadev considered to be decedents of Amsuvarman	Transitional Period
2	Nuwakot Thakuris	5	1043 to 1083 CE Bhaskaradeva to Sankaradeva II	
3	Patan Thakuris	8 to 11	1083 to 1200 CE Vamadeva (Bamadeva) to Vijayakamadeva	

Sources: Kirkpatrick 1811: 259-264, Regmi 1965a: 54-59, Shaha 1992: 11-23, Slusser 1982: 397-398, Wright 1877 112-162.

Table 3.5: Table of Dynasties in the Medieval Period (1200 CE to 1768 CE).

	Dynasty	Generations	Short description	Period
1	Malla rule in transition	10	1200 to 1382 Ari Malla I to Arjunadeva.	Early Malla Period
2	Unified Malla rule	4	1382 to 1482 Sthiti Malla to Yaksha Malla	
3	The period of three city states within the Kathmandu Valley			
A	Kathmandu	15	1482 to 1768 Ratna Malla to Jayaprakasha Malla	Malla Period
B	Patan	23	1482 to 1768 Raya Malla to Tejanarasimha Malla (intermittently ruled by Kathmandu and Bhaktapur, or by mahapatras)	
C	Bhadgaon	13	1482 to 1768 Raya Malla to Ranajita Malla	

Sources: Kirkpatrick 1811: 259-264, Regmi 1965 I & II, Shaha 1992, Slusser 1982: 54, 398-401, Wright 1877 112-162.

Table 3.6: Table of eras in the Modern Period (1768 CE onward).

	Eras	Generations of Kings	Short description
1	Early Shah Era	4	1768 to 1806 Prithvi Narayan Shah conquers Kathmandu Valley in 1769, commencing the unification of Nepal and establishing the Shah Dynasty.
2	Bhimsen Thapa Era	1	1806 to 1846 Bhimsen Thapa as Prime Minister under Regent Tripurasundari 1806 to 1837 followed by chaotic period under King Rajendra.
3	Rana Era	3	1846 to 1951 Jung Bahadur Rana deposing of all opponents (Kot Massacre) to reign, starting hereditary Rana Prime Ministers (nine generations).
4	Late Shah Era	4	1951 to 2006 King Tribhuvan regains power and the struggle between monarchy and democracy begins.
5	Republic Era		2006: forced by political unrest and civil war, King Gyanendra abdicates, paving the way to Nepal becoming a republic.

Sources: Regmi 1965: 54-59, Shaha 1990, Slusser 1982: 397-398.

Table 3.7: Table with simplified overview of Newar sub-castes.

	Hindu	Buddhist
Priest Caste	Brahmin (Rajopadhyaya, Jha, Bhatta)	Gubhaju (Bajracharya) Bare (Shakya)
High Caste	Chhatharia Shrestha Including astrologers, tantric priests (Joshi, Karmacharya, Pradhan, Amatya)	Uray Buddhist merchants (trade with Lhasa) (Udas, Tuladhar, Tamrakar, etc.)
Middle Caste	Panchtharia Shrestha Hindu businesspersons	
Upper Lower Caste	Jyapu - farmers and artisans (Maharjan, Dangol, Awale, etc.) – (Silpakar, Rajkarnikar, etc.)	
Lower Caste	various trades including (Tandukar, Nyanjankar, Napit, Ranjitkar, Chitrakar, Sayami, Manandhar, etc.)	
Unclean Caste	butchers, tailors, those involved in death rites (Khadgi, Kusle, Kulu, Dhobi, etc.)	
Untouchable Caste	sweepers, drum-makers, fishermen (Pore, Halahulu, Kulu, Chyame)	

This chart is a compilation from the sources give below, an overview that does not present the entire complexity of hierarchies and relationships of all the castes, sub-castes and as Gellner proposes, subgroups within the Newari community (Gellner 1995: 19-22).

Sources: Gellner 1992: 150, Gellner 1995: 13-22, Gutschow and Kölver 1975: 56, Nepali 1965: 150, Sharma 1997: 167.

Table 3.8: Table of religious and community buildings of the Newars.

category	sub-category	short description
Public rest-houses	<i>pati</i> (<i>phale</i> or <i>phalca</i> in Newari)	A shelter for public use, usually single-storey, rectangular raised platform covered with timber planking, with a back wall and three sides colonnaded
	<i>sattal</i> (<i>satta</i> in Newari)	A public building for various functions, rest-house or community activities, with varying plan and number of floors (usually two), through sattals often also house deities.
	<i>mandapa</i> (or <i>manda</i> or <i>mandah</i> in Newari)	A pavilion of timber columns, open to all sides, square or rectangular (16-post is the basic typology), usually single storey, (Kasthamandap has three floors), used as rest-house, council hall, or other community activities.
Temple	tiered (<i>tallakara</i> or <i>degah</i> in Newari)	The iconic temple style with two, three or five tiered roofs, held up with ornate struts, with a square or rectangular sanctum. Main variations are low or high stepped plinths and whether the circumambulatory around the sanctum is provided as a passage inside or as an open colonnade outside.
	<i>shikhara</i>	A north-Indian style square temple with a single tapering tower, usually of stone or plastered and white-washed brick. A <i>Granthakuta</i> is a type of Shikhara.
House for deities	<i>dyochhen</i>	These are like traditional four storey traditional residential buildings but have an additional tiered roof structure with a <i>gajur</i> , or pinnacle indicating it to be an abode of a god.
Buddhist Monastery	<i>bahil</i> (<i>bahi</i> in Newari)	Monasteries for celibate monks, two storey buildings opening inward to a courtyard, with the outer walls totally closed off, both ground and upper floors open colonnades, with the main shrine on the south side face the main entrance in the north.
	<i>bahal</i> (<i>baha</i> in Newari)	Monasteries for monks live with their families (<i>grihastha bhikshu</i>), similar to the <i>bahil</i> but with room divisions and windows open to the outside.
	<i>bahal-bahil</i> (<i>baha-bahi</i> in Newari)	These are three storey courtyard buildings combining the two types of monasteries, with the first floor being like a <i>bahal</i> and the second floor being an open colonnade like with a <i>bahil</i> .
	<i>vihara</i>	Buddhist monastery usually built in the form of a courtyard surrounded by a two-storey building.
Hindu priest-house	<i>math</i>	These are buildings housing a community of male Hindu ascetics around a religious leader or <i>Mahanta</i> , which is like one or a cluster of residential buildings, but with extravagant woodwork.

Sources: Hutt 1994: 225-233, Korn 1976, Slusser 1982 136-141, Tiwari 2009 113,181-186.

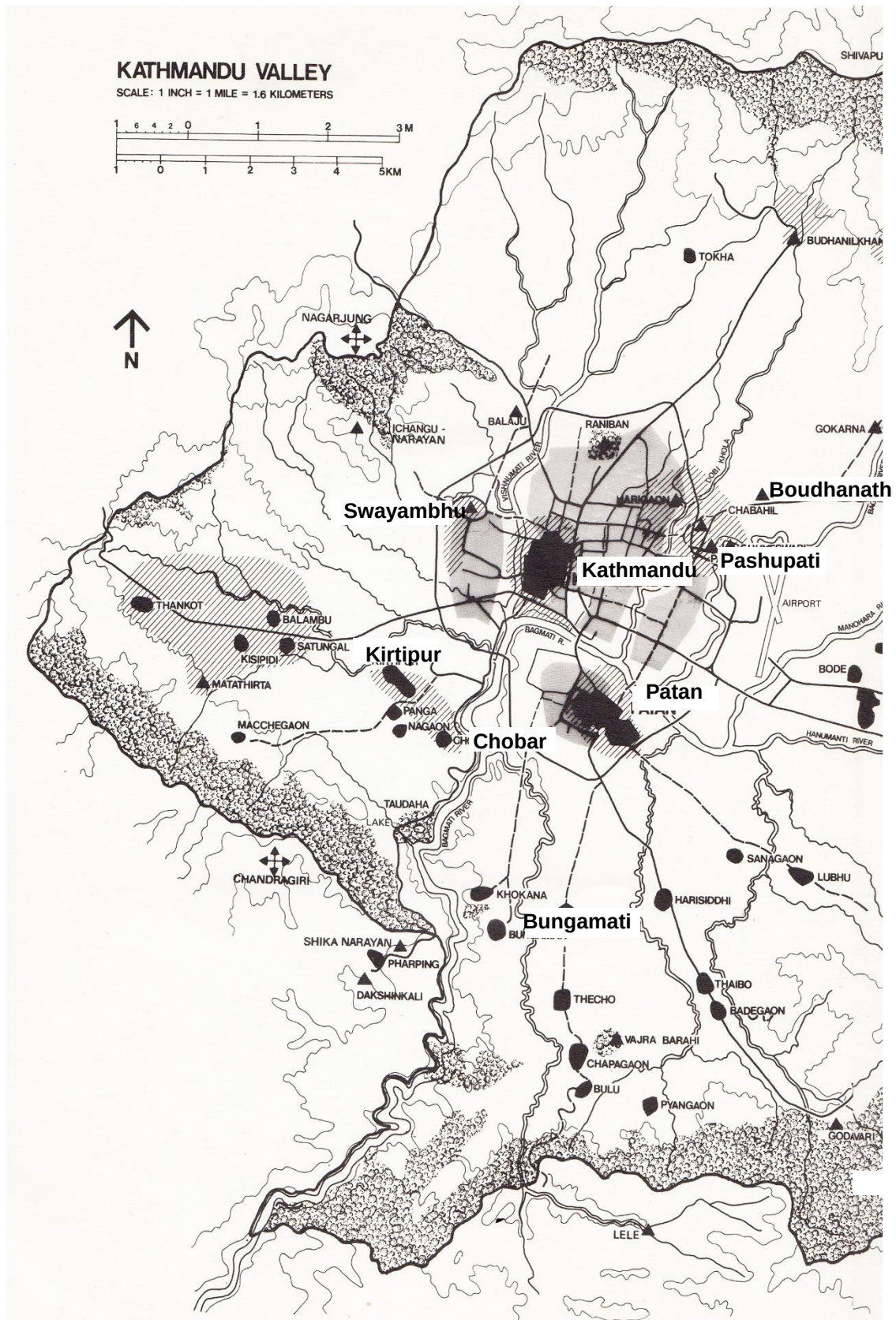


Figure 3.1a: Map of the Kathmandu Valley western section from Thimi to Thankot in the west (Sekler 1977: 22-23).

When the shaking stops: an evaluation of post-earthquake rehabilitation of the
Kasthamandap in Hanumandhoka Durbar Square

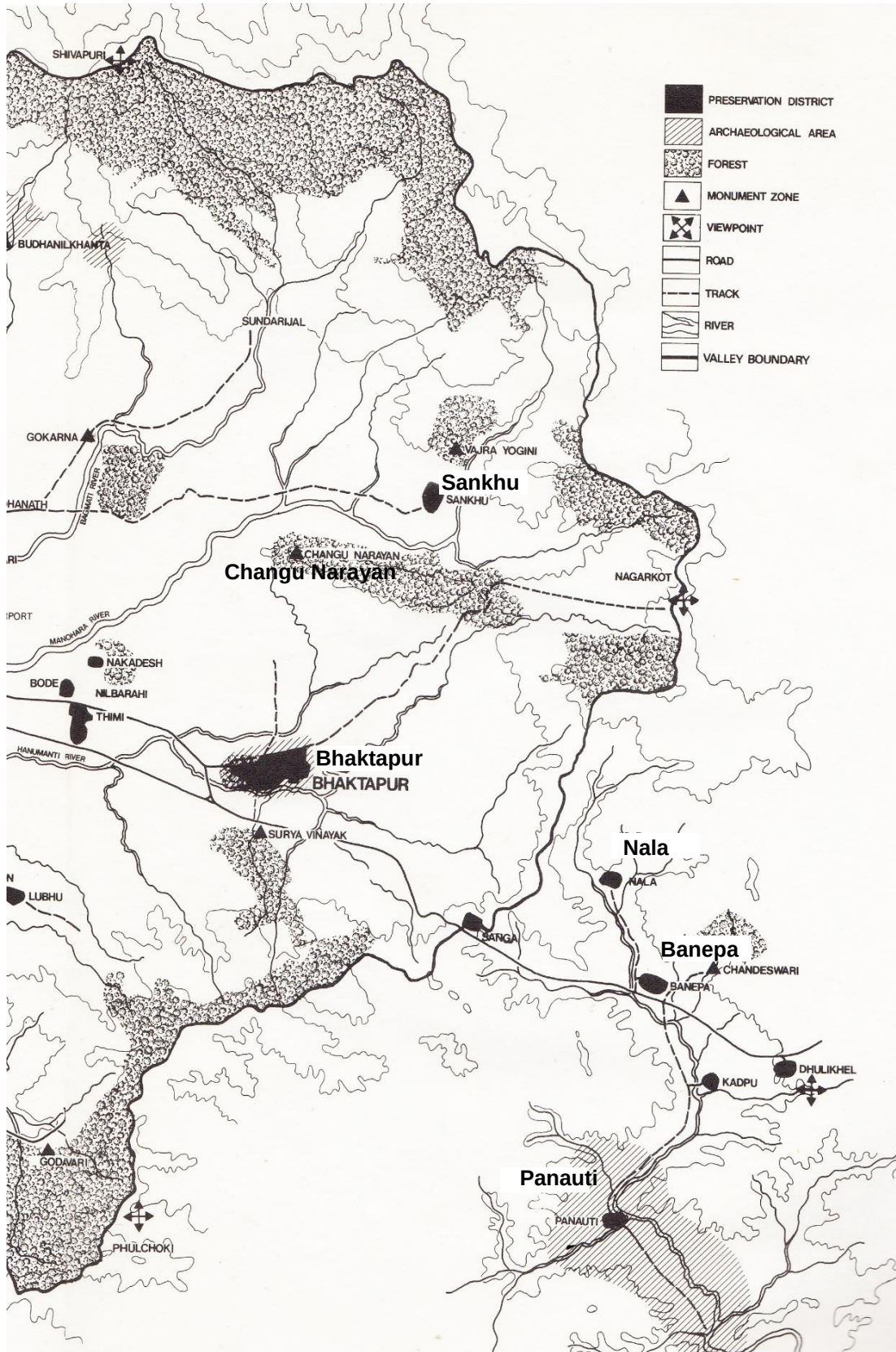


Figure 3.1b: Map of the Kathmandu Valley eastern section from Thimi to Panauti in the east (Sekler 1977: 22-23).

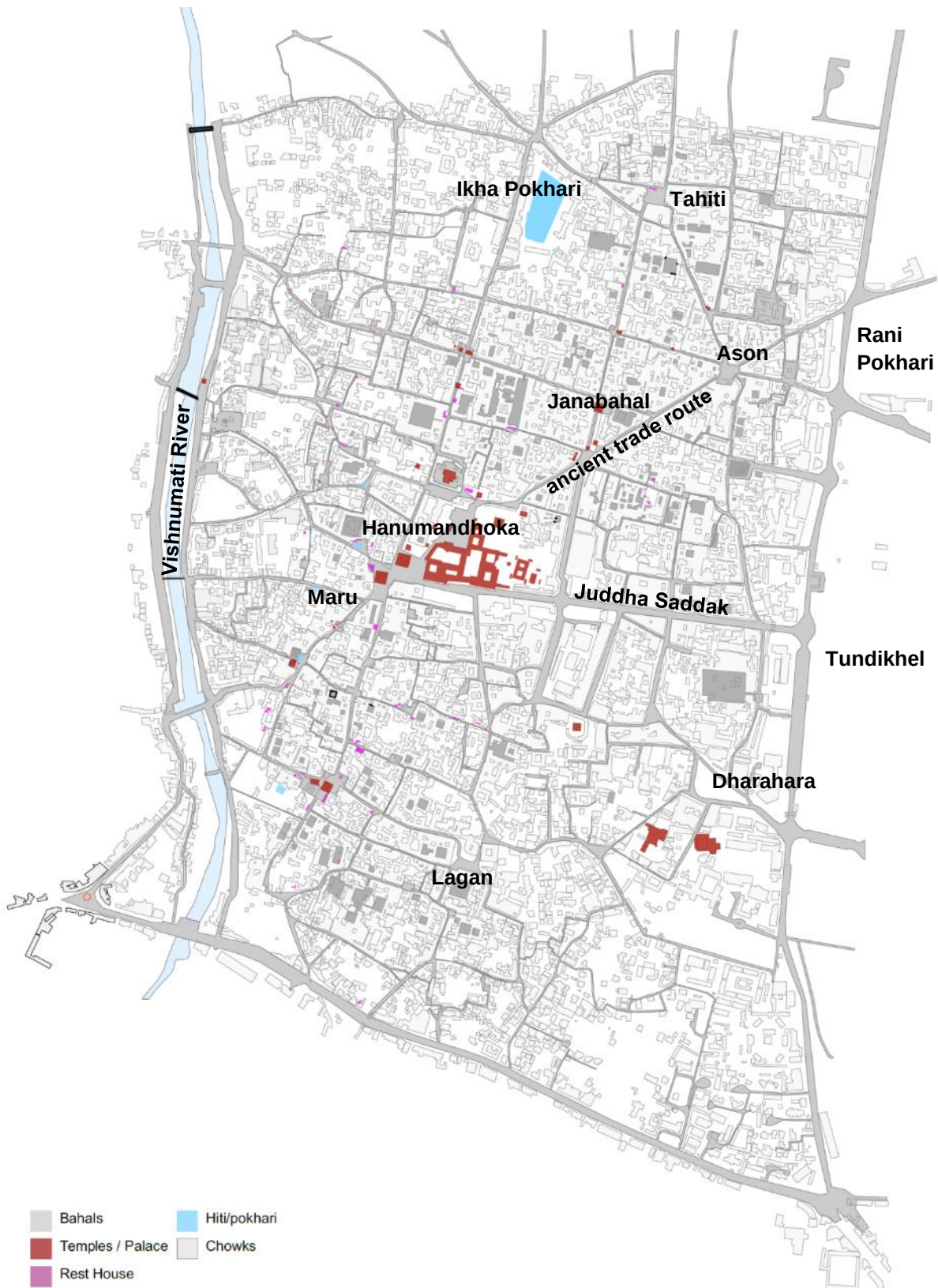


Figure 3.2: Map of the Kathmandu city with heritage features (base map after Land Revenue Office of 1999, with overlay of 'Buddhist Kathmandu' by Anil and Bijaya Basukala, Niels Gutschow and Yogendra Shakya in 2001, Google Earth Image 2020, with annotations by Ateliers A.J, Kai Weise).



Figure 3.3: Map of the Kathmandu city indicating old city boundaries (base map after Land Revenue Office of 1999, with overlay of 'Buddhist Kathmandu' by Anil and Bijaya Basukala, Niels Gutschow and Yogendra Shakya in 2001, Google Earth Image 2020, with annotations by Ateliers A.J).

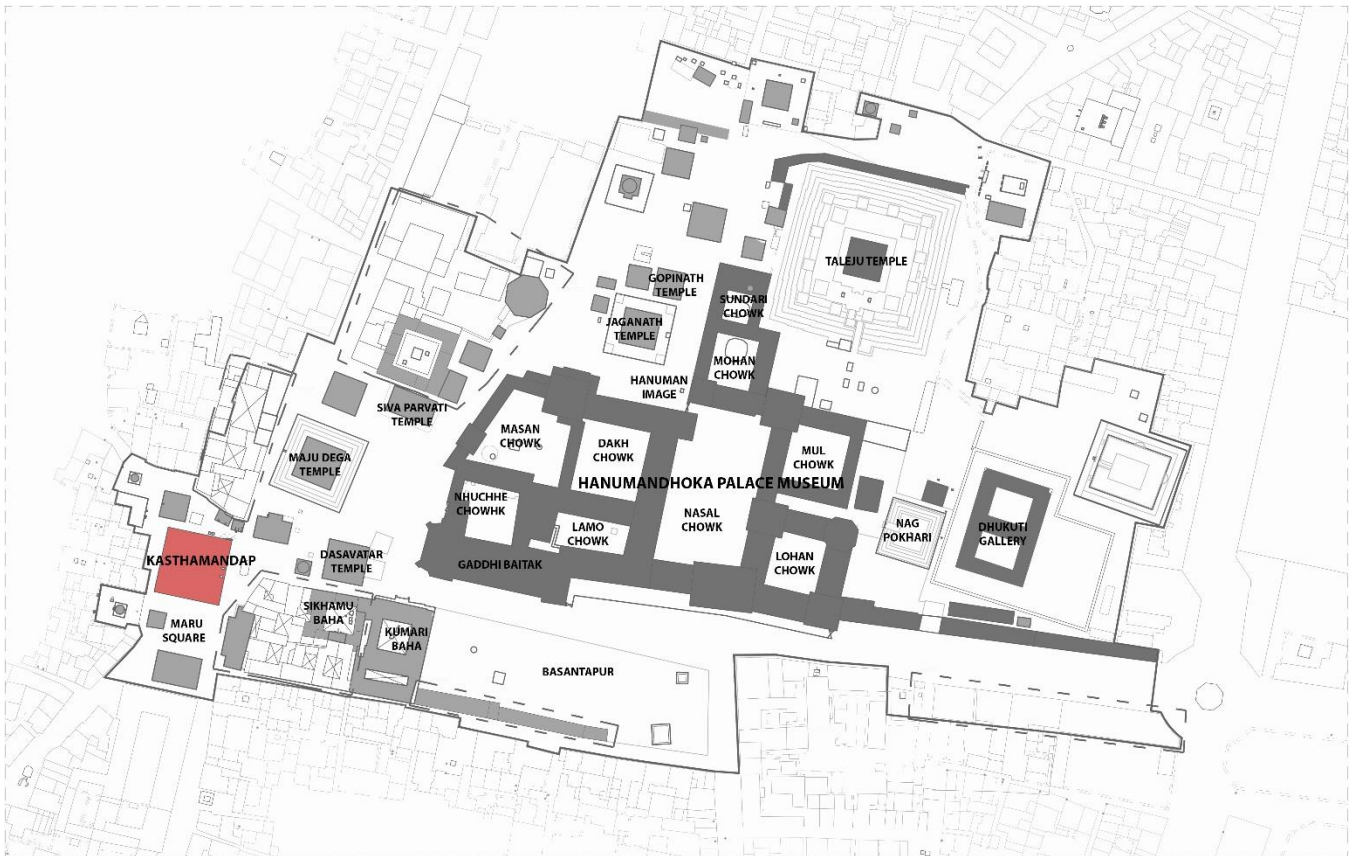


Figure 3.4: Map of the Hanuman Dhoka Durbar Square, in Kathmandu showing the location of the Kasthamandap and the Hanuman Dhoka Palace Museum complex (base map after Kathmandu Valley World Heritage Boundary Map, Government of Nepal, with annotations by Ateliers A.J and Kai Weise).

When the shaking stops: an evaluation of post-earthquake rehabilitation of the
Kasthamandap in Hanumandhoka Durbar Square



1. Kasthamandap
2. Singha Sattal / Silengu Satta
3. Kabindrapur Sattal
4. Lakshmi Narayan Sattal
5. Maru Ganesh shrine
6. Bhutisatta
7. Marudabali
8. Maru Ganesh Dyochhen
9. Mahadev Temple
10. Sikhamu Baha
11. Kumari Baha
12. Dasavatar Temple
13. Maju Dega Temple
14. Gaddhi Baitak, Hanumandhoka Palace
15. Piganani
16. Ta Bahi / Tabil

- SATTALS
- MONUMENTS
- DABALIS
- PALACE
- RESIDENCE

Figure 3.5: Map of the Maru Square area (after cadastre plan, Department of Survey, with annotations by Atelier AJ / Kai Weise).

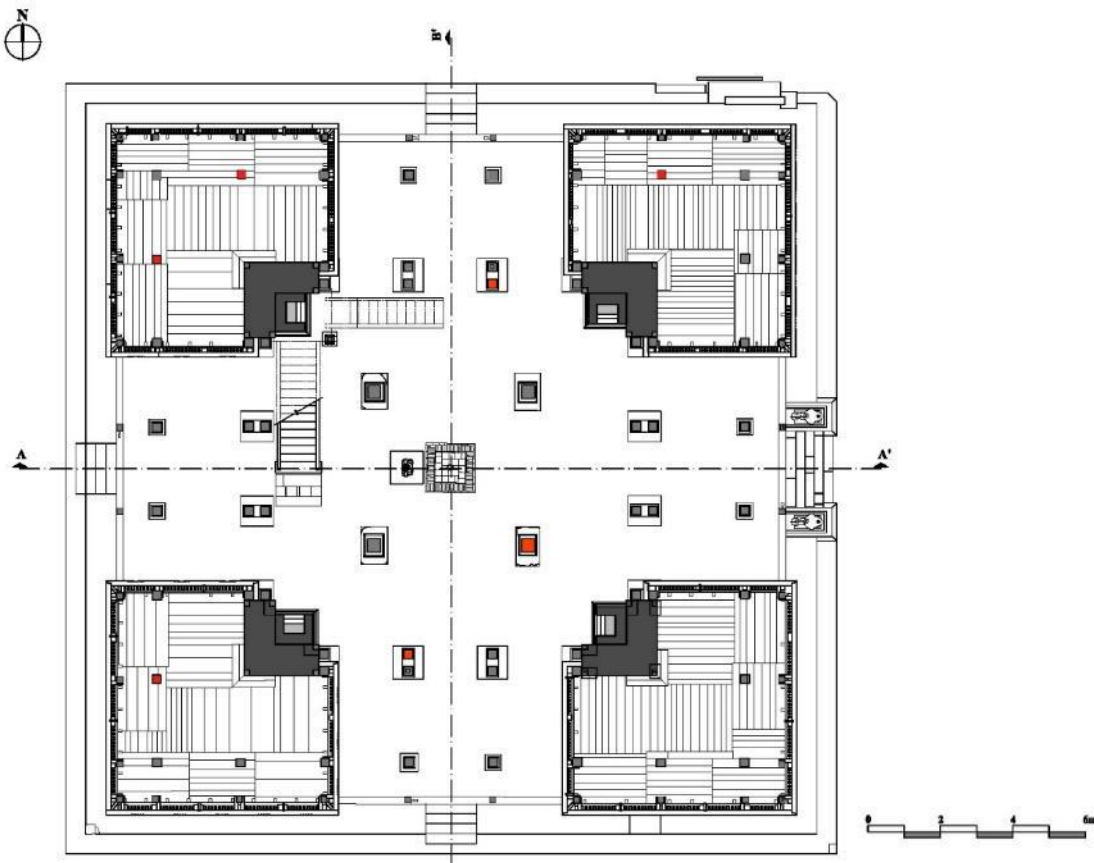


Figure 3.6: Ground floor plan of the Kasthamandap (Anie Joshi / Prakriti Bhandari - KRC 2022).

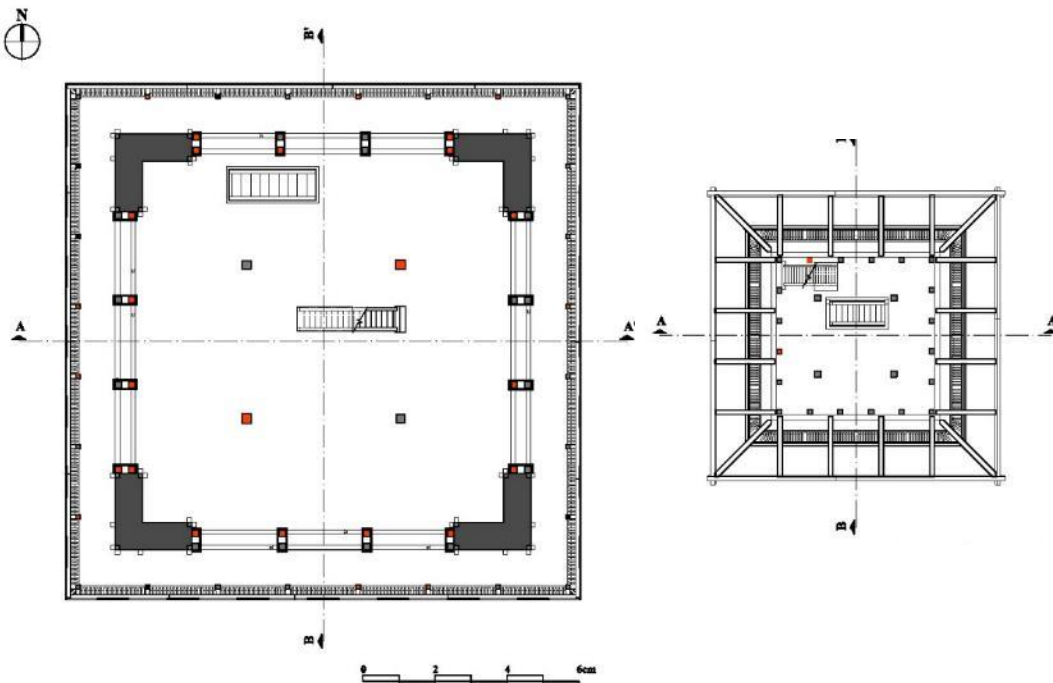


Figure 3.7: Upper floor plans of the Kasthamandap (Anie Joshi / Prakriti Bhandari - KRC 2022).

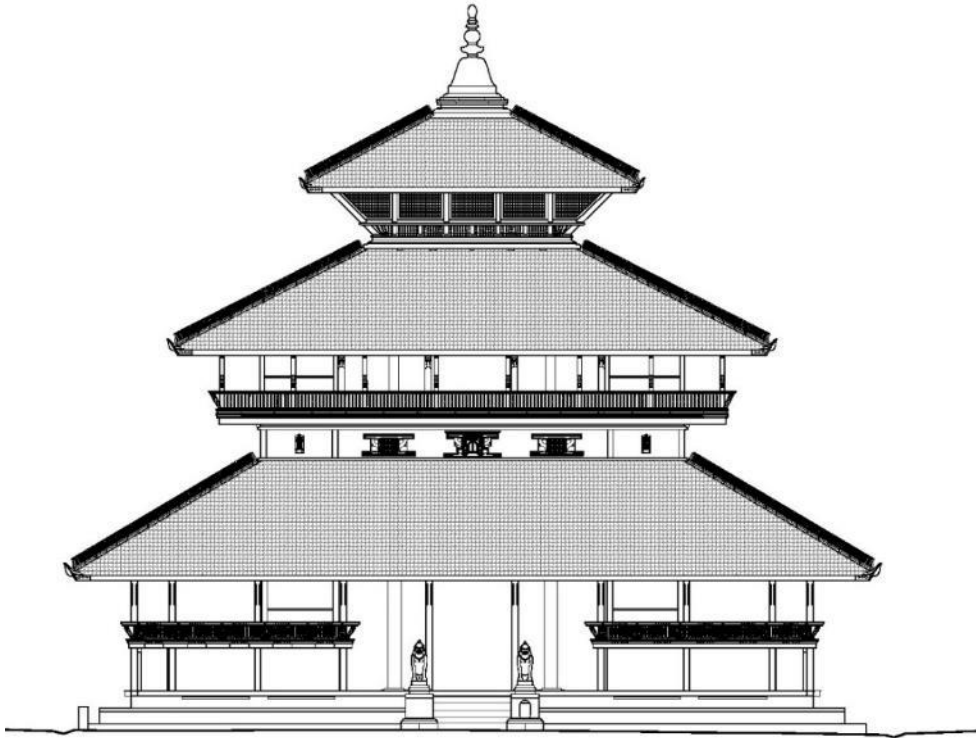


Figure 3.8: East façade of the Kasthamandap (Anie Joshi / Prakriti Bhandari - KRC 2022).

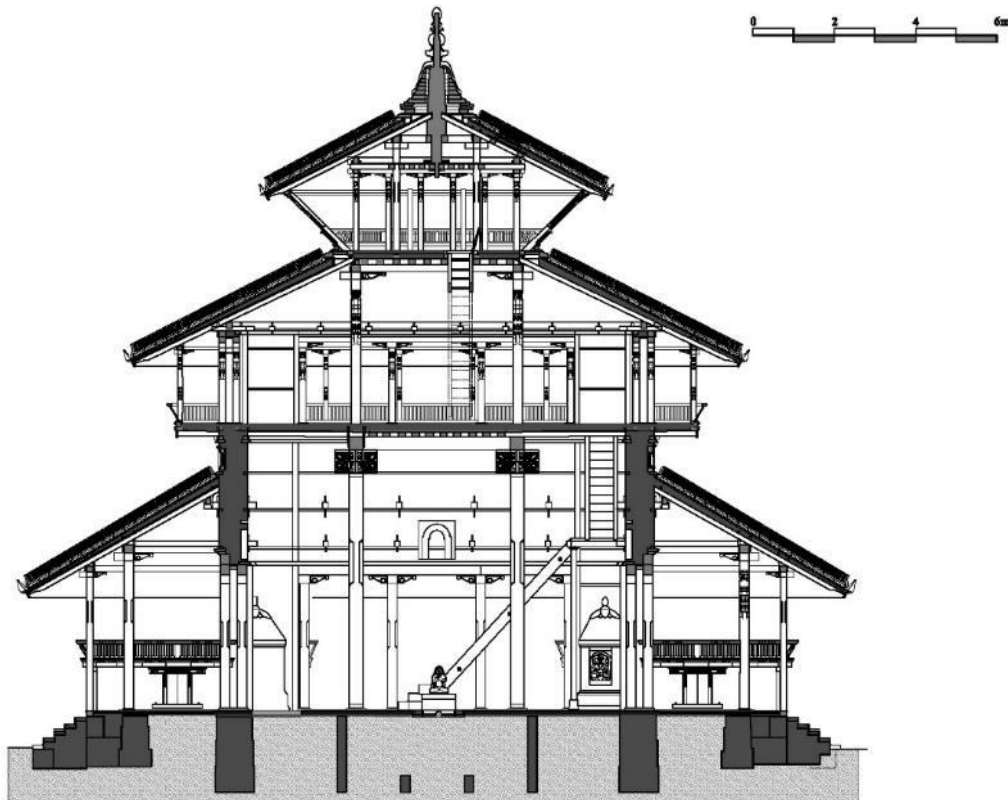


Figure 3.9: Detailed west to east section through the Kasthamandap (Anie Joshi / Prakriti Bhandari - KRC 2022).

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

Communities are not usually homogenous or united but often characterised by tensions including issues associated with local power, business interests, group identity, access to resources, political influences, marginalisation, religious differences and the impact of conflicts or natural disaster (Coningham and Lewer 2019: 5).

The previous two chapters provided an overview of the context to the research on the rehabilitation of the Kasthamandap after it collapsed during the Gorkha Earthquake on 25th April 2015. The broader context of heritage rehabilitation and community engagement in recent disasters along the Himalayas was followed by the context of the Kathmandu Valley with a focus on the immediate surroundings of the Kasthamandap. The timber and brick structure endured natural hazards, the wear of aging and the use and misuse by numerous generations. The Kasthamandap has been rebuilt and despite its collapse, will continue to exist. This continuity can only occur when communities over generations find it worthwhile to maintain, adapt and restore the structure.

The methodology used to research the communities of the Kasthamandap includes secondary literature, interviews, notes from discussions, as well as through the understanding developed while working closely together on the reconstruction of the monument. More specific understanding has been gained by interviewing people involved in the maintenance, use, research and reconstruction of the Kasthamandap since the 1960s. By personally being involved in various capacities in the activities that led to the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap, a very detailed insight was gained on the mechanisms and challenges faced in reconstructing a monument of such local, national and international stature.

The UNESCO *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* states under article 15b that the State Party, having ratified the Convention, has the responsibility to “adopt general policies to give the heritage a function in the life of the community” (2019: 11). Despite this statement, the discussion on community involvement has been peripheral and the 2007 UNESCO publication *World Heritage Challenges for the Millennium* barely touches on this issue. World Heritage management plans have generally only mentioned the need to allow community participation, though only recently have more concrete steps been taken, such as for the management of Mrauk U in Myanmar, a separate

Community Engagement Strategy has been introduced (Government of Myanmar 2020). Coningham and Lower recorded the collective agreement of a South Asian regional expert symposium in Kathmandu, *Heritage at Risk 2017*, that “community engagement should be an integral element of heritage interventions” (2019: 3). The in-depth research on the communities involved in the Kasthamandap and its urban context over time has allowed for a practical understanding to be developed on communities and their involvement in cultural heritage management.

This chapter provides an overview of the research methodology and the specific personal contributions. This chapter will meet objective three, which is to define the methodology, including the historic chronology verses community matrix. The involvement of various categories of communities in the Kasthamandap, as provided in Table 4.1, has been studied over time, particularly focusing on the circumstances before, during and after the 2015 Gorkha Earthquake. The methodology ensures reliability, validity and replicability of the research, which has been explained in the following sections.

4.2 Aim and Objectives

The aim of the thesis is to map and evaluate the success of heritage rehabilitation approaches to a single monument in Kathmandu, the Kasthamandap, and the extent to which each intervention altered linkages with its communities. The study examines the entire history of the Kasthamandap; however, more detailed investigations will be carried out on the activities that have taken place since the 1960s. Of particular interest is the impact of the 2015 Gorkha Earthquake and how this event has raised questions on ownership and changed the balance of involvement of various communities in the use and management of the monument.

Seven objectives have been defined and each objective has been addressed through a dedicated chapter. The first two objectives define the broad context of the research. Objective one is to review heritage rehabilitation and community engagement in recent disasters in the region. This has focused on earthquakes that have affected areas along the Himalayas including the Great Nepal Bihar Earthquake of 1934 which previously devastated the Kathmandu Valley, the Kashmir Earthquake of 2005 and the Sikkim Earthquake of 2011. Objective two is to define the geophysical, political and historic context of Kathmandu Valley, with focus on the Kasthamandap and the related communities. The third objective is to define the methodology including the historic chronology verses community matrix, which is being fulfilled through this chapter. These three objectives are addressed in Chapters 2, 3 and 4 respectively.

The next three objectives focus on community involvement in the Kasthamandap before, during and after the 2015 Gorkha Earthquake. Objective four is to document the changing historical and political circumstances before the earthquake and the impact on community involvement in the Kasthamandap. Objective five is to determine how the Gorkha Earthquake impacted the management system, the communities and the monument. Objective six is to document the post-disaster rehabilitation focusing on the struggle of the communities to find appropriate procedures. These three objectives are addressed in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 respectively.

Objective seven, the final one, is to discuss issues related to communities and their involvement in post-earthquake rehabilitation, resilience and sustainable development based on the lessons learned from the assessment of the case study of the Kasthamandap. This are addressed in Chapter 8.

4.3 Research Approach / Methodology

Research focus

The following research aims to develop a detailed understanding of the changing involvement of related communities in ensuring the continuity of a monument over centuries. In the case of the Kasthamandap, this is extremely relevant, particularly since the monument has a history of over 1,300 years, which has only recently come to be known, and its ambiguous function that does not prioritise any given community. This means that over the centuries there have been power struggles to claim ownership and the right to use this monument. This is closely linked to the fluctuating scenario of religious and political powers, a struggle which can be found to continue even today.

The research focuses on communities involved in a specific monument, the Kasthamandap, over time. The timeframe has been restricted to a period before the earthquake from 1966 to 2015, during the 2015 Gorkha Earthquake and the following response phase from 2015 to 2018, and the period of rehabilitation from 2018 to 2022. Based on the outcome of understanding this chronology, the future planning will be extrapolated, to ensure continuity of the monument. The communities were studied under the five categorized: users, urban community, authorities, custodians and those providing a broader significance to the monument.

Ethical approval

Ethical approval for the research was received on 2nd December 2019. The Ethical Assessment Forms (provided as Appendix 2), was supplemented with a project proposal,

sample questionnaire (provided as Appendix 1), information sheet, privacy notice, consent form, debriefing sheet and a data management plan. Even though the research did not deal with potentially sensitive topics or put people at risk, dealing with cultural heritage after a disaster can be very emotional. This was particularly the case when talking with survivors of the disaster, but also when interviewing activists and the concerned authorities.

The procedures defined in the Ethical Assessment Forms and the supplementary documents ensured that the interviewees were properly informed of the research, that they had the right to submit a complaint and even retract information and that the data was protected. All information collected from interviewees was only recorded with prior written or verbal consent, and the recording was stored in password protected storage. All information remained anonymous. For any information that has been used from an identified source, prior written consent has been obtained.

Information sources and means of data collection

To fulfil the objectives of the research, qualitative data from both primary and secondary sources is required. Particularly information on the historical aspects of the monument and related communities have been collected through secondary sources. Primary sources were tapped through interviews and observations that provided a means of understanding more recent and ongoing events, as well as the views of individuals within the relevant communities. The research has been carried out focusing on a single case study, that of the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap.

Various sources have been used to gather information on the Kasthamandap, its context and the related communities. Secondary sources were mainly published books and relevant research papers that were accessible on-line. This also included the specially invited papers for the official 2022 publication on the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap edited by Weise and Joshi.

A second source of information was through direct observation and analysis of the Kasthamandap reconstruction site, as well as the surrounding Maru neighbourhood. The entire reconstruction process has been carefully documented. A survey was carried out on the monuments, shrines and buildings around the Maru Square. The survey not only focused on the tangible build context surrounding the Kasthamandap, but also the communities and their various activities.

A third source of information was interviews with members of various communities, carried out as per the procedures defined by Durham University's ethical approval. To develop a

sampling frame, possible categories of communities related to the Kasthamandap were determined, as has been provided in Appendix 1. Since it was not feasible to create a list of all community members involved with the Kasthamandap, it was not possible to use probability sampling methods such as simple random sampling, systematic sampling, stratified sampling or cluster sampling. From the palette of non-probability sampling methods, such as convenience sampling, voluntary response sampling, quota sampling, purposive sampling and snowball sampling, the last two were used. Interviews were carried out using purposive sampling, and to reduce the risk of taking sampling bias, representation from each of the categories of community were accounted for, a method used for research on specific communities by researchers such as Hachhethu (2021: vii) and Gellner and Karki (2010:135). In respect to the communities involved with the Kasthamandap, for each of the five categories three to eight subcategories were identified. In total, there were 24 subcategories. When identifying the interviewees for each of the subcategories, it became clear that each interviewee was a member of several subcategories, depending on circumstances, as shown in Table A1 in Appendix 1. It was also not possible to determine all communities and individual community members with connections to the Kasthamandap before the commencement of the survey. It was therefore necessary to use the 'snowball' method of determining new respondents through the recommendations from previous interviewees, a method also used by Gellner and Karki for their research on activists in Nepal (2007: 362).

As shown in the Table A1 provided in Appendix 1, 45 interviews have been taken as the basis for the research. The transcribed and translated interviewee have been provided in Volume 2. The sampling size was based on ensuring sufficient representation of the community categories, while ensuring that the responses were relevant to the research. In certain cases information was not coherent or clear. There were also cases where the information was presented, but a certain level of uncertainty was noted. These concerns were addressed by carefully cross-checking information obtained from different interviewees. Where there seemed to be a lack of clarity, the sampling number was increased by carrying out further interviews within that specific community group.

Members of the five categories and their subcategories, were carefully chosen, taking into account age and gender whenever possible. The table in Appendix 1 provides basic information on the 45 interviewees. There was a relatively balanced representation of broad age groups: 13 between 20 and 40 (33%), 16 between 40 and 60 (41%), and 10 above 60 years (26%). The remaining six interviewees were with groups with members from all age groups. The elderly were mainly men, with only one woman in the age group above 60,

which also reflects on, that in the past, it was mainly men who were involved in the maintenance, management and rituals related to monuments. There were five women in the age group between 20 and 40 (38%) four women in the age group between 40 and 60 (25%), and there was one woman in the 60+ category (10%), and indicating the women in the younger generations being more active in protecting historical monuments. In three of the six group interviews (50%), women were also present.

Semi-structured interviews were carried out, starting with a questionnaire (Appendix 1), but allowing for the conversation to diverge, depending on the knowledge and interest of the Interviewee. Keeping the conversation relevant was a challenge, though such an approach did allow the recording of a broad range of information. This is further discussed under the section on strengths and limitations below. Most of the interviews were carried out and recorded in Nepali, which were then personally transcribed and translated into English. Where Newari phrases were used, assistance was sought for their translation from Anie Joshi. Since the earthquake, interviews have also been carried out by other researchers. Where information has been utilized from these interviews, they have been referenced as secondary sources, while ensuring that ethical standards are met, and interviewees are kept anonymous.

A further source of information has been detailed personal notes on culture sector management and earthquake disaster preparedness in Nepal, compiled since January 2013. In the capacity of consultant to UNESCO and then the DOA, Government of Nepal, as well as being President of ICOMOS Nepal during this entire period, I not only observed, but was also involved in the culture sector preparedness, response and rehabilitation planning related to the 2015 Gorkha Earthquake. Furthermore, having been a member of the Technical Advisory Team for the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap, I was directly confronted with the complexities of such a procedure. My personal position within the research is discussed further in detail in the section on strengths and limitations below.

Methodological approach

Considering that there is a dearth of information on communities and their involvement in the maintenance and management of monuments, particularly in Kathmandu, an inductive research approach has been chosen. This entails the development of a theory based on observations and their analysis. Though some statistical information on the communities have been used, the research is mainly based on qualitative assessments provided in descriptive form.

Having collected mainly qualitative data on the communities of the Kasthamandap, the method used to analyse this data has been to interpret patterns over time. The main interest has been to document the changing involvement of communities in the Kasthamandap. Though there are various factors that influence community involvement, the collapse of the Kasthamandap caused by the Gorkha Earthquake of 2015, literally jolted the power balance, questioning the status quo of the ownership and management of the monument. This has been presented in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, and its implications discussed in Chapter 8.

4.4 Case Study and Context

The Kasthamandap was chosen as the case study to carry out research on culture sector rehabilitation following the 2015 Gorkha Earthquake for various reasons. The Kasthamandap has a special significance due to its age, its ambiguity in respect to its function and is uniqueness in respect to its built form. This has allowed for many communities to be involved in the Kasthamandap over time and many continue to compete for their claim to the historical monument, particularly after its collapse. Particularly interesting is how this monument adapted and survived over 1,300 years. This will be studied and discussed in depth in the following chapters.

The Kasthamandap collapsed on 25th April 2015. Archaeological investigations found the brick foundations to be in perfect condition, while the lack of maintenance and inappropriate restoration contributed to the collapse of the structure (Coningham et al. 2017: 6). Material dating was also carried out on the foundations and various timber elements, providing evidence of the foundations being from the seventh century CE, several centuries older than previously assumed (Simpson 2019: 1-2). The government's plan to rebuild the Kasthamandap introducing modern technology and materials led local community members and experts to raise their voices against such disrespect towards this historical monument and traditional technology (Risal 2016). All these factors lifted the case of Kasthamandap to national prominence, and this monument has been featured on the new five-rupee note since 2016 (Figure 4.1).

The reconstruction of the Kasthamandap, which was carried out through a community-based user committee, led by the local representative to the provincial government, had all the ingredients to become exemplary. The project adopted the basic principle of ensuring that traditional artisans, materials and technology were prioritized. The model project, however, had to contend with numerous uncertainties in material and design, as well as keeping a balance between contending communities. Based on the research, a maintenance and management plan was drafted to enable the monument's continued existence.

4.5 Strengths and Challenges

Timing

This research was carried out at a very critical time, during the phase of rehabilitation after a major earthquake that takes place only every 80 to 100 years. Because of this long period between major earthquakes, there is a generation gap, and loss of memory of previous events. We know that during the Great Nepal Bihar Earthquake of 1934, the Kasthamandap did not collapse, which raised the question of why it did collapse during the 2015 Gorkha Earthquake of lesser magnitude. The collapse and the process of reconstruction has allowed research to be carried out which would otherwise not have been possible, such as investigations into the foundations, structural assessments and material testing.

Personal reflections

I have been personally involved in establishing the management system for the Kathmandu Valley World Heritage property since 2003. Considering the possibility of the next big earthquake, activities in disaster risk preparations were undertaken, including an international symposium in 2013, *Revisiting Kathmandu*, and its related publication (UNESCO 2015). After the earthquake, I was responsible for the preparation of the *Nepal Post-Earthquake Rehabilitation of Cultural Heritage Phase 2: Planning and Research* for UNESCO (Weise 2015b), the draft *Basic Guidelines for the Conservation and Reconstruction of Earthquake-Damaged Heritage 2072* for the DOA (Government of Nepal 2016b) (Appendix 3) and the *Sector Action Plan (SAP) Culture Sector, Post Disaster Recovery Framework* for the NRA (Government of Nepal 2016a). From July 2010 until January 2021 I had a weekly column in *The Himalayan Times* daily paper where I wrote about disaster preparedness, the destruction caused by the Gorkha Earthquake and the subsequent rehabilitation process. Such experience gave me the practical understanding of post-earthquake rehabilitation of historical monuments and this became the basis for my research on the Kasthamandap.

As a Nepali citizen of Swiss origin, I have the unique position of being an 'insider' in respect to official procedures, while remaining an 'outsider' in respect to any ethnic or religious qualms. I was one of the few non-Newar members of the Technical Expert Team for the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap, which will be further discussed in Chapter 7. This allowed me in-depth understanding of the circumstances and access to information. Furthermore, my knowledge of the Nepali language allowed direct communication with community members, and to personally translate and transcribe the interviewees.

My involvement in the project as member of the Technical Expert Team gave me access to information that was not on the records, which could not be used for the research. There was certain information obtained as a team member that would needed to be kept confidential since it could have had legal implications, such as in respect to the court case filed against the replacement of the Gorakhnath image. I had to take care to keep such information separate from my thesis. Furthermore, in certain cases, it was a challenge to reign in my emotions when presenting activities that might have questioned the final reconstruction process. This had to be consciously reviewed.

Challenges

The challenge that I faced was to ensure that I balance my direct involvement in decisions-making in the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap, with the need to remain an observer for the research on related communities. This was achieved by consciously keeping my work and research segregated, to whatever degree possible.

There are challenges to the inductive research approach which requires the interpretation of qualitative information. The purposive sampling and snowballing used for interviewing various community groups and the collection of largely qualitative data is also generally a point of concern. These concerns were addressed by carefully cross-checking information obtained from different interviewees. Where there seemed to be a lack of clarity, the sampling number was increased by carrying out further interviews within that specific community group.

Getting interviews from all critical community members has been very difficult, particularly getting them to speak openly. Spending time in the area and getting to know the interviewees was very important, but it was not always easy due to the Covid-19 pandemic. Not all interviewees could be contacted by phone. Following the Durham University risk assessments, meetings had to be carefully planned in an appropriate location, with precautions such as wearing masks and keeping a distance, further challenging communications.

The ethical requirements for data protection meant that all information was kept anonymous, whereby a certain layer of information gets lost, making the data impersonal. This was considered to be a worthwhile sacrifice, since it allowed the protection of privacy, that the information revealed by the interviewees cannot be identified to them. In many cases, the interviewees provided information on other community groups or members and their activities, which could be understood to be critical. Furthermore, keeping the information anonymous directly fulfilled the requirements of the ethical approval.

4.6 Conclusion

The communities that are related to the Kasthamandap are diverse, with differing interests and reasons for being involved. Understanding this mechanism, particularly in respect to specific circumstances such as the rehabilitation of the monument after its collapse, has provided insight into the requirements to ensure the continued existence and appropriate use of the monument. In this chapter, objective three has been addressed, to define the methodology of the study, including the clarification of the historic chronology of community involvement in respect to the categories of communities involved.

As Coningham and Lewer observe, “it is evident from the literature and prevailing practice that many challenges, context specific and generic, still remain when designing community engagement strategies” (2019: 8). With the research carried out on the Kasthamandap, I have mapped out the diverse communities and their respective involvement in the rehabilitation of the monument. I carried out 45 recorded interviews totalling over 81 hours. By understanding the complexity of the communities involved, a means of addressing community engagement in safeguarding and managing heritage has been discussed.

The research was carried out during a specific period following the Gorkha Earthquake and the collapse of the Kasthamandap. The challenge of reconstructing a collapsed monument after a major earthquake was compounded by alternative perspectives on how the monument should be rebuilt. The collapse of the Kasthamandap also provided opportunities, for example, the possibility for archaeological investigations to be carried out on the foundations by a team led by Durham University’s UNESCO Chair. During the research period, it was a challenge to interview the various community members, first due to their preoccupation with post-earthquake rehabilitation, and then later with the required social distancing during the Covid-19 pandemic. However, with the opportunity to accompanying the reconstruction process, it was possible to directly examine the involved communities and their involvement.

This chapter has aimed to fulfil the objective of defining the methodology including the historic chronology verses community matrix. The following chapters focus on community involvement in Kasthamandap before, during and after the 2015 Gorkha Earthquake. The next chapter will address the fourth objective to document the changing historical and political circumstances before the earthquake and the impact on community involvement with the Kasthamandap.

Table 4.1: Categories of community associated with the Kasthamandap.

1	2	3	4	5
USERS	URBAN CONTEXT	AUTHORITIES	CUSTODIANS	BROADER SIGNIFICANCE
official functions by authorities	traditional Maru communities	guthis and local organisations	guthis traditional link to structure	broader Newar community
social activities with community	new communities around Maru	the rulers: king or prime minister	artisans and contractors	national community
rituals and blessings	commercial community	local donors, patrons	manufacturing material supply	international community
commercial purposes	mobile communities	authority central government	technical experts, engineers	foreign donors and agencies
casual visitor tourist	first responders, local community	municipality and local government	research institutions	activists
shelter and accommodation				



Figure 4.1: Five rupee note with the image of the Kasthamandap.

Chapter 5: Before the Gorkha Earthquake

5.1 Introduction

There is continued discussion on whether this timber pavilion is a *mandap* or a *sattal*, as indicated by its two names: Kasthamandap and Marusatta. As stated by Tiwari, the structure and layout, particularly of “the two *navakunda* (nine-pit) ritual foundations corresponding to the sanctum room and its central pavilion, make the Kasthamandap a doubly consecrated *mandap* temple of the Licchavi” (2022: 73-74). Therefore Tiwari suggests that the structure was built to carry out ritual functions, and is essentially a covered ritual platform. Slusser and Vajracharya also describe the Kasthamandap as a “three-storey *sattal* of *mandapa* plan, the largest *dharmasala* in the Kathmandu Valley’, defining the Sanskrit term *dharmasala* as a ‘charitable asylum’ (1974: 180). Slusser and Vajracharya suggest that the structure was used as a rest house and a community hall. Possibly as early as the fifteenth century, during the reign of King Yaksha Malla, the Kasthamandap was used by the followers of Gorakhnath, a Hindu saint, as per the interpretation of the 585 NS (1464-65 CE) inscription by Tamot (2022: 22). Interviewee B1 (para 3) explained that for the followers of the Gorakhnath, the Kasthamandap is a *math*, “a religious place where rituals take place along with the teachings and accommodation of the disciples”.

These different interpretations of the timber pavilion, as a *mandap*, a *sattal* and a *math*, indicate how over the centuries, various communities have laid claim to the eponym of Kathmandu. There were constant changes in ownership and use, allowing for the regular maintenance, restoration and adaption of the building. As explained in the previous chapter, Chapter Four: Methodology, these communities have been studied under five broad categories, those who used the monument, those who created the urban context, those who took decisions and funded, those who maintained and restored, and the broader communities that justified the significance of the monument. Each of these categories of community has been examined, and their involvement with the Kasthamandap has been explained.

This chapter provides a detailed study of the communities that were involved with the Kasthamandap before its collapse during the 2015 Gorkha Earthquake. The focus will be on the period after the Kasthamandap was restored in 1966, however, at various points references will be made of the earlier history of the monument. When the major restoration was carried out in 1966, the ‘illegal’ inhabitants of the monument comprising mainly of the

Kanphatta Yogis, ascetics of the Nath community, were ejected to repair and revive the glory of the monument (Thapa 1968: 43). This was followed by a period of continued use by various community groups, however, the responsibility for the management and maintenance was taken over by the government through the Hanumandhoka Palace Maintenance Office (HDPMO) and the DOA (Banerjee 1977: 24-25). This chapter will meet objective four, which is to document the changing historical and political circumstances before the earthquake and the impact on community involvement in the Kasthamandap.

5.2 The users of the Kasthamandap

The functions of the Kasthamandap embraced the users of religious activities, as well as catering to the socio-cultural requirements of the communities. These include the local *guthis*, the Ta Chatan Guthi, the Sa Guthi and the Nath Sampradaya, that continued their activities in and around the Kasthamandap. The Pachali Bhairav Guthi managed to continue to carry out their festival every 12 years, however, there were various other rituals that were already lost prior to the collapse of the monument in 2015. The regular use of the monument continued, which included the daily worship of the Gorakhnath and the four Ganesh shrines. There were also various activities that were arranged at given intervals such as the blood donation campaign that was going on when the earthquake struck on 25th April 2015. This section provides an overview of the various users of the Kasthamandap, focusing particularly on the decades leading up to its collapse during the 2015 Gorkha Earthquake. A comparison of the months in the Gregorian, the Bikram and the Nepal Eras is provided in Table 5.1.

5.2.1 The *guthis*

There have been numerous *guthis* linked to the Kasthamandap, taking on the responsibility for carrying out specific festivals and rituals. The two most prominent *guthis* that have continued their annual rituals are the Ta Chatan Guthi and the Sa Guthi. The community of Kanphatta Yogis of the Gorakhnath Sampradaya related to the Gorakhnath shrine located within the Kasthamandap has also continued to perform the daily Nitya Puja until the damaged Gorakhnath image was relocated to the Hanumandhoka Palace after the earthquake. The Pachali Bhairav Bara-Barse Jatra Guthi has continued the rituals that take place every 12 years, the last one having taken place in 2011 (Interviewee B5: para 7). Even though these *guthis* continued functioning, they faced enormous challenges, some requiring extensive adaptation to ensure survival. There are several *guthis* that have been identified, that stopped functioning even before the 2015 Gorkha Earthquake, or at least in respect to their activities in and around the Kasthamandap. For example, the rituals carried out by the Vajracharya *gurjus* of the nearby Sikhamu Baha through their Mahaballi Guthi had also

stopped (Interviewee A9: para 6). A map of the main locations for the various activities of the guthi is provided in Figure 5.2.

Ta Chatan Guthi

The Ta Chatan Guthi belongs to the Tamrakar community, traditionally living in the Piganani neighbourhood immediately to the west of the Kasthamandap. The Tamrakars were traditionally copper smiths, the name deriving from *tama* meaning copper and *kar* meaning worker.

As explained by Interviewee B16 (para 9), the member of the Ta Chatan Guthi whose turn it is, the *pala*, begins reciting the Buddhist texts of the *Pragyaparamita* at his home during the month of Gunla of the Nepal Samvat (NS) calendar, which begins in August. The text is in three scripts, Prachalit, Bhujimo and Ranjana, and difficult to read, and though there have been various efforts to revive this tradition, this has been discontinued. Interviewee A8b (para 14) explained that the priests, the *gurjus*, should be the ones reciting the text, but the last time it was done, it was by a layperson, taking three months to recite the entire text.

The Ta Chatan Guthi is in possession of a copy of the *Pragyaparamita* written on palm leaf which, according to Interviewee B16 (para 9), could be interpreted from the text, that it was written in 212 NS, which would be in the eleventh century CE. Slusser and Vajracharya refer to this manuscript, stating that they had seen the document but were not able to study the “jealously guarded sacred relic” (1974: 207 fn34).

On *dwadasi*, the twelfth day after the full moon, in the month of Bhadra of the Bikram Samvat (BS) calendar, i.e., August to September, the Ta Chatan Guthi carries out a purification ritual inside the Kasthamandap, next to the pavilion on the northwest corner. Interviewee B1 (para 4) explained that the northwest side was auspicious, since this was where the Bhairav resides. As Interviewee B16 (para 11, 14) described, the most precious objects of the Guthi are brought here, including the *Pragyaparamita pauba*, and the utensils to cook rice: the *dyo khasi*, the historic copper vessel and the *ta chatan*, the large wooden ladle, from where the Guthi derives its name. Interviewee B16 (para 9) explained that the *dyo khasi*, which is still in possession of the Guthi, had markings which are now illegible, that recorded its restoration in the year 1 NS (879 CE). Though it was not possible to verify this, it reflects the aspirations of the *guthi* to have been involved, possibly right from the time the monument was constructed.

Rice was cooked in the *dyo khasi*, which has now been replaced with a new cooking vessel and is stirred using the *ta chatan*. The cooked rice is then stored overnight in the room under

the northwest corner pavilion of the Kasthamandap. According to Interviewee B16 (para 18), things have changed. A modern aluminium pot is now used, though the old ones are kept in a house in Piganani. In the past, the Mhye-Jyapus, the tillers of the *guthi* land, were involved, particularly to mould the stove out of clay within the Kasthamandap on which the rice was cooked, and they would stay on to help distribute the offerings on the following day.

The following day, on *trayodasi*, the thirteenth day after the full moon, the Panchadan ritual is carried out on the south side of the Kasthamandap. After carrying out various rituals, the cooked rice is moved to where the *panchadan* takes place. *Panchadan*, is often misinterpreted as meaning five offerings, but as Gellner explains, the word has various possible etymologies, but refers to offering boiled rice, *ja-dan*, and would therefore more correctly be written *pajadan* (1992: 187). Interviewee B16 (para 13) explained that traditionally, the offerings were first given to the Buddhist head priests, or *thakali gurjus* of the four Karunamaya or Matsyendranath, from Bungamati, Chobar, Nala and Janabahal, followed by the Vajracharyas and Shakyas, members of the Buddhist priestly caste of the Newars.

The Ta Chatan Guthi relates its history back to the very beginning of the Kasthamandap, indicating that it has survived for many centuries. The guthi is facing various challenges, including the lack of people knowledgeable enough to read the three scripts of the *Pragyaparamita*. The guthi is also facing challenges to continue functioning as an organization, and as has been explained in Section 3.6.2, has had to sell off their land. Interviewee B16 (para 27) explained that the money has been put in the bank so that the rituals can be paid for from the bank interest.

Sa Guthi

The Sa Guthi belongs to the Tabwo Bhindyo Twa Maharjan community, from the farmer caste, living to the south of the Kasthamandap. On Magh Sankranti, the first day of the month of Magh, which would be around mid-January, the Sa Guthi, performs a series of rituals in and around the Kasthamandap. As Interviewee B4 (para 3) explained, the *guthi* member, whose turn it is, the *pala*, starts preparations at home four days earlier. The *kalasha*, the metal ritual pot is consecrated by a Hindu Rajopadhyaya priest and filled with water from five *tirthas*, holy places on the Bagmati River at Gokarna, Guheswari, Sankhamul, Bhatrakhusi and Teku dovan. At the same time members go and visit the cow-herders in Kirtipur with *prasad*, offerings, to request them to bring a cow and attend the Sa Ta Chow Nakegu rituals at Maru on Maghe Sankranti. Before Maghe Sankranti, the *guthi* members also meet to prepare the *pata* or flag, and to cook wheat in a *khasi*, a large copper vessel. This is done in the Kasthamandap between the northeast and northwest central

posts. The wheat is placed in *dokos*, bamboo baskets and stored in the Kasthamandap, under the north-eastern pavilion.

As explained by Interviewee B4 (para 5) the rituals that are carried out on Maghe Sankranti can be divided into four parts, each justified through mythical stories, and assisted by community members of different castes. The first ritual is performed by the elder of the Sa Guthi at Bhutisa, to the east of the Kasthamandap. A sheep is sacrificed with the help of a member of the Kasai or butcher caste. This ritual goes back to a story when the Bhutisa Aji, or *tantric* goddess, helped the King of Kathmandu and she is being repaid through this annual sacrifice. In the afternoon, the second ritual, the Kalasha Puja is carried out on the Marudabali, or plinth located to the south of the Kasthamandap. The *homa*, or fire ritual, is carried out by the Hindu Rajopadhyaya priest facing north towards the Kasthamandap, with the consecrated *kalasha*. This is accompanied by a Bahu Bigu Puja on the northwest corner of the *dabali* performed by an *achaju* or Karmacharya priest. The intestines of the sheep sacrificed at Bhutisa, the cooked wheat and the *pata* are sanctified in the *homa* ritual.

When the *homa* is over, the *pata* is carried up through the Kasthamandap to be hoisted next to the *gajur*, the pinnacle on the top roof. Interviewee B4 (para 9) explained that this ritual is said to go back to the story of when the Kasthamandap was built. In this version of the creation legend of the Kasthamandap, during a festival, a carpenter of the Bhindyo Twa community saw among the crowd, a huge person watching the activities. Using his *tantric* powers, the carpenter trapped this person, who happened to be Kalpabrikshya, the divine tree. In return for his freedom, the carpenter demanded a tree large enough to be used to build an enormous *sattal*, the Kasthamandap. So that the gods and spirits that were kept to witness the construction of the *sattal* would not leave, the monument was never completed, and it was decided that consecration would only be done “when the price of oil and salt were equal” (A. Joshi 2022: 202, Interviewee A2: para 4).

Finally, there is the fourth ritual, the Sa Ta Chow Nakeyu or feeding of the cow, from where the Sa Guthi derives its name. The cooked wheat is fed to the cow, and the remainder given to the cow-herder. This ritual is linked to the story of the founding of the Pashupatinath temple, which has been explained in Section 3.3.3, where the Kamdhenu cow went every day and offered milk at a specific location, under which the *sivalinga* of Pashupatinath was found. On the way to Pashupati, the Kamdhenu cow used to daily pass through Marutole, where she used to eat the grain scattered by the community. After the *sivalinga* was found in Pashupati, the Kamdhenu cow stopped passing by, so in memory of this, the community

request a cow-herder to bring a cow which is fed, and the cow-herder is provided with enough food to last for a year (A. Joshi 2022: 202).

The Sa Guthi has faced numerous challenges to continue these rituals, which have been important to maintain the Kasthamandap. As Interviewee A9 (para 3) explains, the flag hoisting was earlier done by the Manandhars, who traditionally produced and traded in oil, and they would pour a lot of oil around the *gajur*, the pinnacle, possibly as a means of helping protect the wood. However, this responsibility was also handed over to the Maharjans. To simplify the access to the *gajur* to host the flag, an opening has been made on the top tier of the roof. A further complication has been, as per Interviewee B14 (para 2-3), the difficulty of finding cow-herders for the rituals.

Nath Sampradaya

As the late Satya Mohan Joshi explained, many centuries ago, when the educated and learned people came to Kathmandu, they stayed overnight at the Kasthamandap, where intellectual discourses were carried out (2022: v). Matsyendranath and Gorakhnath were philosophers and spiritual leaders. They were revered, and in honour of Matsyendranath, several chariot festivals were carried out, while for Gorakhnath, an image was established in the Kasthamandap. When other philosophers visited, they came to stay in the Kasthamandap.

The association of the Nath Sampradaya with the Kasthamandap is testified by the image of Gorakhnath which was installed to the west of the central sanctum on the ground floor. It is not known when the image was installed, however, the first known mention of the Nath community at the Kasthamandap was on a copper plate inscription dated 585 NS (1464-65 CE), which records the donation of land by Chaitanya Nath Yogi to provide for the annual ritual of the Jogichakra Puja (Tamot 2022: 22-23).

There are numerous stories that link Gorakhnath to the Kasthamandap. According to Interviewee B13 (para 2), Gorakhnath helped King Narendradeva in the seventh century CE to get rid of the effects of witchcraft, for which the King built him a large *sattal*, the Kasthamandap. According to Interviewee B12 (para 3), Gorakhnath, having been offended by someone at a festival due to a prank by the Paknajok Ganesh, captured the *nagas*, the holy serpents of the valley, and sitting on them, meditated in front of the Asoka Binayak, the Ganesh shrine at Maru. Since the *nagas*, who control the rain, were captured, there was drought in the Valley. The only way they could get Gorakhnath to stand up, was in front of his teacher, Matsyendranath, who was then called there, for the *nagas* to be released and the drought to be ended. Instead of just having the usual *paduka*, or footprints of Gorakhnath, a rare image of Gorakhnath was erected at the spot where he was meditating.

According to Interviewee B1 (para 2), the Kasthamandap is a *math*, where *yogis* resided and carried out their activities of *yoga*, *sadhana* and other *tantric* rituals. This was where Gorakhnath resided, when he captured the *bhut* or spirit that was bothering the community that lived in the settlement at Hadigaun, and imprisoned it in Bhutisatta, to the east of the Kasthamandap.

According to Interviewee B13 (para 1), the Kapalis lived in the Kasthamandap until they were evicted during the 1966 restoration. Ramesh Jung Thapa, the Director of the DOA responsible for the renovation does not specify who was evicted (1968: 43), but Interviewee C10 (para 5.) explained that the Kapalis slept on the ground floor and the Kanphatta Yogis on the upper floor. It was after the renovations that the responsibility of taking care of the Gorakhnath shrine was handed over to the Gorakhnath Sampradaya based at Mrigasthali across the river from the Pashupati Temple. According to Interviewee B1 (para 3) the main centre of the Kanphatta Yogis was at the Kasthamandap before Prime Minister Jung Bahadur Rana provided them the larger facilities at Mrigasthali.

Interviewee B1 (para 6) also explained that the daily Nitya Puja was carried out at the Gorakhnath shrine by the designated Kanphatta Yogis of the Gorakhnath Sampradaya, where in addition to the Gorakhnath image, there are two round stones. The central one represents Bhairav and the one to the northwest is Kali. The main annual ritual, which has not been performed for the past 50 years, is the Jogichakra Puja, performed during the month of Bhadra, in August / September. The ritual is performed next to the north-eastern central post of the Kasthamandap, with Bhairav represented as a *ghyampo*, a large round vessel.

It is important to note a story told by Interviewee A3 (para 33), that a few years before the earthquake, the Kanphatta Yogis had proposed to fence off the entire space between the four central post on the ground floor of the Kasthamandap, to protect the sanctum and the Gorakhnath image. There was, however, hefty protest from the local community and they were not able to carry out their plan.

Pachali Bhairav Bara-Barse Jatra Guthi

The Pachali Bhairav Bara-Barse Jatra Guthi, the *guthi* responsible for carrying out the festival dedicated to Pachali Bhairav every 12 years, belongs to the Malakar community. The Malakar, also known as Mali, are gardeners, who are of a slightly inferior caste to the Maharjans (Gellner 1992: 200, 250). Throughout the year various rituals are carried out within the Kathmandu Valley, however, two specific events take place at the Kasthamandap.

According to Interviewee B5 (para 2-3) on the tenth and main day of the Dasain festival of the 12th year, sometime in September or October, the Malakar carry out a procession to the Kasthamandap, visiting all the Siva temples on the way and then positioning themselves on the eastern entrance to the Kasthamandap, in front of Bhutisatta. Here the Khadgasiddhi Jatra takes place, the exchange of the *khadga*, the sword, takes place between the ruling monarch and the Bhairav, represented by the Malakar *naike*, the leader, 'to bestow the ruling monarch with the power to rule the country without any hindrance'. The last festival took place in 2011, but neither the disposed King, nor the President attended the ceremony. The next festival will take place in 2023. Interviewee B5 (para 5) explained that the Malakar return during Bharbala Asthami in the month of Asar, between mid-June and mid-July. The four deities from the Jyabaha Dyochhen (Ganesh, Manamaiju, Singini and Byangini) are carried to the Thaso Hiti, the stone erected on the southwest corner of the Kasthamandap, where the Bhairav, still in a trance, is given water by the Vajrayana priest, the *gurju*, before the deities are taken to the *ghats* of the Bagmati River at Teku.

5.2.2 The shrines and the devotees

The Kasthamandap has been defined as a *sattal*, a rest-house or a *mandap*, a covered ritual platform. The Kasthamandap is, therefore, not a temple that is consecrated to a specific deity. The most important deity in the vicinity is the Ashok Binayak, located just outside the northeast corner of the Kasthamandap. The Ashok Binayak was established in Maru during the Licchavi times, as claimed in the *Nepalavamsavali* (Wright 1877: 156).

As Slusser and Vajracharya note in respect to *sattals*, "its customary incorporation of a shrine, making it both rest house and temple" (1974: 175). They further mention that "less frequently, subsidiary shrines or images are installed in the upper storeys, too" (ibid.: 175). This is the case with the Kasthamandap, and many people visit to pay homage to the centrally located Gorakhnath image, as well as to the Ganesh images on the four corners. Even though the residents of Marutole do not agree, there are many who referred to the Kasthamandap as the Gorakhnath *mandir* or temple (Pant 2022: 45, Interviewee C1: para 4, Interviewee C6: para 27). As Interviewee A2 (para 5) explains, "they have put Ganesh images, there is also Gorakhnath, and Buddhists also do *puja*, we also go and watch, that it is a multipurpose kind of *satta*".

There is no exact record of when the image of Gorakhnath was erected. The copper inscriptions from 585 NS (1465 CE), 605 NS (1485 CE) and 632 NS (1512 CE) mention donations made to fund Jogichakra Pujas carried out by the followers of Gorakhnath (Tamot 2022: 22-27, Pant 2022: 51), but no reference is made of the image. There is, however, the reference made in the 585 NS (1465 CE) inscription that Chaitanya Nath Yogi stayed in the

Kasthamandap (Tamot 2022: 22). The Nath community, considering the structure to be a *math*, a place for rituals, teaching and accommodation (Interviewee B1: para 3), occupied the structure, until being evicted during the 1966 restoration. The responsibility to carry out Nitya Puja, the daily worship of the Gorakhnath image was then passed on to a designated priest of the Gorakhnath Sampradaya residing at Mrigasthali in Pashupati (ibid.: para 2).

The Ganesh images were installed on the four corners of the central space of the ground floor more recently. According to Interviewee A16 (para 7), the elderly people in the community remembered the Ganesh images being placed in the Kasthamandap around 2022 BS [1965-1966 CE]. This would have been around when the monument was restored in 1966 CE. The Ganesh images were donated by the Manandhars of Ta Bahi, located just south of Marutole. The Ganesh images were placed in the four corners to make sure that visitors kept the monument clean, since normally such images are not placed under a staircase, which is the case with the Ganesh image on the northwest corner. That the Ganesh images were installed after the 1966 restoration is further validated by the fact that Ramesh Jung Thapa, who was responsible for the restoration works carried out in 1966, does not mention them when describing the stone image of Gorakhnath and the wooden Bhairav images (1968: 42).

There were numerous images that were kept on the upper floor of the Kasthamandap, (Interviewee B16: para 13), however, these were a collection of displaced images kept here for protection and were not generally accessible to the public. Interviewee C10 (para 6) explained that there were numerous images on the upper floors just lying around, possibly collected from various places and stored there. Interviewee C7 (para 2) remembered that during the 2041 BS (1984 CE) restorations, when going to the upper floor, there were Bhairav images there. The hall on the first floor was used for *guthi* activities, particularly for feasts, such as for the distribution of *bhandara* after the Jogichakra Pujas carried out by the Nath priests (Interviewee B1: para 4).

5.2.3 Miscellaneous uses of the monument

The Kasthamandap, beyond catering to religious activities carried out by the *guthis* and visiting devotees, has been a structure used for numerous formal and informal community functions. Especially the large, covered space on the ground floor has been easily accessible and flexible to accommodate changing needs. Centrally located, it has been used as an extension of the market square, as accommodations for visitors, a community gathering place and a playground for children of the neighbourhood (Interviewee A12: 1-3, Interviewee C6: 27).

As Interviewee B1 (para 3) explained, before the restoration of 1966, the Kanphatta Yogis resided in the Kasthamandap and used to manage the ritual, as well as the space. They also leased out shop stalls on the ground floor, along the east and south sides. Until the 1984/85 restorations, according to photographs provided by the DOA (Figures 5.7 to-5.10), the monument seemed to have deteriorated and was again being used for storage, and even had shop stalls, as will be further elaborated on in Section 5.6.3.

The Kasthamandap was also used to carry out various government activities and services to be provided to the local community. Interviewee A12 (para 1) recalled that the government would sell basic rations such as rice at a special price when there were shortages.

Interviewee B11 (para 2) also remembered that the local government distributed citizenship certificates within the Kasthamandap. There were also political speeches given. Interviewee C10 (para 46) explained that during the Panchayat era, senior politicians such as Ganeshman Singh, from the then prohibited Congress Party, used to come here and complain about the King. He used to sit inside the Kasthamandap with loudspeakers outside so that all those passing by could hear.

The Kasthamandap was also where numerous community activities took place. Interviewee A6 (para 1) recounted how devotional *bhajans* were sung and stories recited by local members of the Tamrakar community.

[...], there were events such as marriage arrangements, *bratabandha* (Hindu coming of age ritual) and the Vajrayana passing of the religious *tatwa* ritual or [gaining inspiration]. The Hindus, the Brahmins came and recited short stories from the *Mahabharata* and from the *Ramayana* (Interviewee 21: para 42).

More recent community activities included both formal and informal events. Interviewee A6 (para 2) explained how during the festival of Gaijatra, the local youth clubs would use the Kasthamandap as a place to get organized, to prepare the material for offerings, such as sweets, fruits, various grains, all on leaf plates. Interviewee C1 (para 19) mentions the new development during the Tihar festival in October/November, when Anjali Maskey sat in the Kasthamandap and carried out Bhai-Puja for men who do not have sisters. She used to be considered as the “Universal Sister” (Coningham et al. 2022: 174).

The Kasthamandap was also a place for the children to play, as described by various locals who grew up nearby. For example, Interviewee C6 (para 27) described how as children, they would play *luku-mari*, hide and seek, and then go into the small rooms under the corner pavilions with the small *tiki-jhya*, lattice windows.

The only event that was organised for the public on the upper floor of the Kasthamandap was an art exhibition with the works of the local artist, the late Ekaram Singh. Interviewee

A12 (para 9) explained how this was initially halted by the Maharjan community, for whom the upper floor was sacred and could only be accessed during certain rituals. The exhibition was, however, carried out the following year, during the World Heritage Day on 18th April 2014. Considering the structure to be unstable, only ten visitors were allowed up at a time. Each visitor was given a card which was handed over to the next visitor after descending. It is interesting to note that the local community from the surrounding neighbourhood did not want to stay in line and be treated like the other visitors. As Interviewee A12 (para 10) explained, they were only appeased once they were involved in helping manage the visitors.

A further activity that regularly took place at the Kasthamandap were blood donation campaigns. On the day the earthquake occurred, there was a blood donation going on, organized by a local club, when the Kasthamandap collapsed. This will be explained more in detail in Chapter 6, in respect to the impact of the 2015 Gorkha Earthquake and the response to the disaster.

5.3 The urban community around the Kasthamandap

The Kasthamandap is located in Marutole, a commercial hub surrounded by densely populated urban neighbourhoods. This would have been very different in ancient times. According to the archaeological investigations carried out by a team led by Durham University's UNESCO Chair, based on traces of micro-charcoal in the sediments, "agriculture and woodland clearance was occurring in the general vicinity of the site from c.1050 BCE", and "the onset of urbanisation within the vicinity of the trench can be dated from the beginning of the first century CE" (Coningham et al. 2022: 156). According to Interviewee B1 (para 2), the Kasthamandap was initially on the outskirts of the settlement, in a forested area on the *ghats* of the Vishnumati River. Over time, the river moved further towards the west and the settlement began to develop. The area directly to the northeast of the Kasthamandap was already in ancient times the centre of the city, where the palace of the Licchavis was located (Pant 2022: 55). The area around Marutole was on the ancient trade route, and as Interviewee A9 (para 6) explains, the 'Lhasa traders' used the Kasthamandap as a trading spot, or for temporary storage, which then led to the area becoming the commercial hub of the city. The city grew around this hub, with each neighbourhood being inhabited by a particular caste. The following section will investigate the residential, commercial and transiting community in the urban context of the Kasthamandap.

5.3.1 The residential community

The urban area around Maru can be defined by four neighbourhoods, roughly aligned to the four cardinal directions (Figure 5.1). Each of the communities from these residential neighbourhoods have some level of formal and informal association with the Kasthamandap. There is a clear differentiation between the traditional communities who consider themselves to be local, and those who moved here later, as house-owners or tenants, renting rooms in the surrounding buildings.

To the west of the Kasthamandap is Piganani, the neighbourhood of the Tamrakars, who were traditionally coppersmiths. The integrity of the community at Piganani is still relatively well maintained. Recently, various community members worked on an overall plan to restore the houses within their entire neighbourhood. As Interviewee A8c (para 102) explained, “When this is built then automatically it becomes an example. It is a heritage area. What I say is that we are born in a gold mine, and we do not know what gold is”. The Tamrakar community of Piganani is closely related to the Kasthamandap through their Ta Chatan Guthi, as previously explained.

Interviewee A16 (para 6) explained that the front row of houses of the Piganani neighbourhood facing the Kasthamandap belonged to the *yogis*. These buildings used to be *sattals*, belonging to the community, but were given to the Kapali *yogis*, who were removed from the Kasthamandap during the 1966 restorations. These *sattals* have now been converted into shops with residences on the upper floors.

To the south, across the Maru Square is the Singha Sattal. Behind this *sattal* is a building built around a long rectangular courtyard, belonging to the Manandhar community, the traditionally oil traders, generally known as Ta Bahi. The real name of this courtyard where the Manandhars lived was Tabil, where the paper money was printed during the Rana Period. Interviewee A12 (para 39-40) described the huge building built around a central courtyard with a single interconnected balcony going around the entire building. It was therefore possible for them to watch the chariots processions passing from one road, and when they returned along the other road. But, despite the building being within the World Heritage property, it has been subdivided and rebuilt in sections. The Manandhar, Sayami, community that was earlier responsible for hoisting the flag on the Kasthamandap on Maghe Sankranti, before they left that responsibility to the Maharjans, were not from this neighbourhood, but from much further to the southeast of the city (Interviewee A15: para 8).

To the east is the neighbourhood that lies between the Kabindrapur Sattal and the Sikhamu Baha. According to Interviewee A16 (para 1), this area is inhabited by various communities, with some Manandhars still living along the back alley. The properties towards the square,

along the line of the Kumari Baha and Sikhamu Baha, were linked to the royal palace. These were owned by palace courtiers.

To the north is the neighbourhood located between the Ashok Binayak shrine, and further north the Joshi Agamchhen temple and to the west the waterspouts of Maruhiti. According to Interviewee A16 (para 2), the residents of this area were from the Joshi community, who were the main priests of various temples, particularly of Taleju. However, the buildings towards the square have been sold off for commercial use, with many of the owners now being from the Shrestha community, who lease out the ground floor as shops, and in some cases the upper floors as restaurants.

5.3.2 The commercial community

The Kathmandu Valley, located strategically between the plains of the Terai and the high passes to the north, “enabled it to control valuable trade routes between Tibet and India” (Gellner 1992: 9), since the high passes were closed off during winter and the Terai was impassable during the summer monsoons. The Newar traders are also known to have established themselves in Lhasa and other Tibetan towns. As Interviewee A9 (para 1) explained, his father was involved in the Lhasa trade, and his grandfather was there for many decades. That there was early interaction between Tibet and the Kathmandu Valley is demonstrated by the *Namasangiti* manuscript dated 263 NS (1143 CE), found in the Shakya monastery in Tibet, that cites a place called Kasthamandap (Tamot 2022: 15).

The Marutole area, located on the ancient trade route, developed into a commercial hub. As Gautam Vajracharya explains, in ancient times, the traveling merchants would enter the city and rest, possibly for several days, at the *cautara*, a single large tree with a platform around its base. This was later replaced by a superstructure, the Kasthamandap, to provide for the needs of the traveling merchants (2022: 40-41). According to Interviewee A9 (para 6), “There were many traders who traded with Lhasa and India, who used to live there”. As a market square, Maru is defined by the many *sattals* located here as has been described in Section 3.7.3, which used to be filled with shops. In the centre is the largest and most prominent *sattal*, the Kasthamandap, with the Singha Sattal, or Silengu Satta to the south, the Kabindrapur Sattal to the east and the Lakshmi Narayan Sattal to the northeast.

The local community of Piganani believes that there was an earlier structure before the Kasthamandap was built, and when this structure was destroyed, the important stone artefacts and images of the deities were installed in the Lakshmi Narayan Sattal (Interviewee A16: para 4). In the southwest corner of this *sattal*, the money exchangers can still be found,

who provide coins to offer to the Maru Ganesh. There were other smaller *sattals* around the square, but these have been occupied or repurposed, such as the privatised *sattals* in front of Piganani, to the west of the Kasthamandap, as explained in the previous section.

The Marutole area developed into an important market. As Interviewee A12 (para 33) explained, it was a place to buy all the things required for *pujas*, rituals carried out from birth to death. However, when both the Kabindrapur and the Singha Sattal were restored, the shops were removed by the authorities. Interviewee A8c (para 27-28) lamented that the Marutole area was known for traditional shops, that it was this that made the area festive, for locals and for tourists, and so it was difficult to understand the logic of removing all the shops. However, the buildings surrounding the square all have shops on the ground floor. As Interviewee A16 (para 3) explained, most of these have been bought or rented by outsiders, such as Shrestha families from Thimi.

Even the Kasthamandap was used for commercial purposes, with shops partitioned off on the ground floor, and stalls set up on the outer plinths, until they were removed during the 1966 restoration. The commercial use of the Kasthamandap continued until the 1980s, as can be seen from images obtained from the DOA (Weise and Joshi 2022: 84). Commercial activities, such as storing and selling rice and other groceries within the Kasthamandap were completely halted since the restoration works that were carried out in the 1980s. Interviewee B9 (para 4) observed that a long-time back there were shops inside the Kasthamandap, but because it was not possible to keep clean, the shops were removed by the KMC, with the perception that they needed to be kept clean for the tourists.

The commercial activities on the square around the monument remained vibrant despite the many shops in the various *sattals* having been shut down. Having come to an agreement with the Municipality, the street vendors set up their stalls in the mornings and evening. As Interviewee B9 (para 3-4) explained, most of the vendors were selling things around Maru Square even before the earthquake. In the mornings there were flower stalls and people bought flowers to use for *pujas* at the shrine, the Maru Ganesh, at other temples, or to do *puja* at home. In the evenings, those who sold vegetables arrived. People tended to buy vegetables in the evening.

5.3.3 Transiting community

Being on the main trade route, historically, people passing through the city would walk past the Kasthamandap at Marutole. The function of being a *sattal* for travellers and traders determined the location of the monument. The movement of traffic through Marutole also brought about its status as a vibrant market square.

The World Heritage status of the Hanumandhoka Durbar Square has put pressure on the government to control traffic (Government of Nepal 2007a: 39, Government of Nepal 2007b: 22). With motorized vehicles being restricted in the areas of Basantapur and Hanumandhoka, all traffic in the area gets concentrated past Marutole, causing traffic jams, particularly on the south-eastern corner of the Kasthamandap. This exacerbates the situation even more, particularly since during the rush hours in the morning and evening, this is also when the street vendors set up their stalls to sell flowers, fruits and vegetable.

The people transiting through the Kasthamandap, though they might not have anything directly to do within the monument, are an important component of the community related to the Kasthamandap, contributing to making Marutole vibrant. However, many interviewees who did not live nearby, or have any functional link to the Kasthamandap, seemed rather detached from the monument, taking it for granted.

So, for me, it was like, whenever I used to pass, it was one of the biggest monuments, as a passer-by. I did not use to go inside. People who are free, it seemed as if they were the only ones who used to sit there. So, I did not have that much of an attachment. It was like with any other monument, nothing more. Sometimes when passing by, I would walk through the monument, that was all (Interviewee A14: para 1).

5.4 The authorities of the Kasthamandap

Most large historic monuments in the Kathmandu Valley, such as temples and *sattals* were constructed through royal patronage. This has been recorded on stone inscriptions as early as the fifth century CE during the Licchavi Period, such as in Changu Narayan, Pashupati and Hadigaun (Regmi 1965: 73, Shaha 1991:12-13), however, any such references for the Kasthamandap are missing. In the *Nepalavamsavali*, it is stated that the Kasthamandap was constructed by King Lakshmi Narsimha Malla (r. 1617-1641 CE), (Wright 1877: 211), though this would have been a major restoration rather than the original construction of the monument (S.M. Joshi 2022: iii). Such royal patronage continued till recent times, with the restoration of the Kasthamandap in 1966 under the patronage of King Mahendra, and various maintenance works carried out in the 1970s and 1980s under King Birendra. National level institutions were set up to manage these monuments, with the establishment of the DOA in 1952 and the Guthi Sansthan in 1964. Political changes in Nepal over the past decades, with the proclamation of a constitutional monarchy in 1990 and a republic in 2008, has changed the governance system, decentralizing powers to the local government. This

section investigates the changing status of the authorities responsible for the Kasthamandap before the 2015 Gorkha Earthquake.

5.4.1 The Department of Archaeology (DOA)

The DOA was established in 1952, following the principles defined in *The Interim Government of Nepal Act 1951*. It must be noted here that this was the only Constitution of Nepal that obligated the government to protect “monuments or places or objects of artistic or historical interest” and these were to be protected from “spoliation, disfigurement, destruction, removal, disposal or export” (The Interim Government of Nepal Act 1951: Article 12). It was however only five years later that the relevant legislation was adopted, the *Ancient Monument Preservation Act 1956*. This act of parliament gave the DOA the legal basis “to preserve ancient monuments, control the trade in archaeological objects, as well as the excavation of the place of ancient monuments” (Ancient Monument Preservation Act 1956: preamble).

According to Banerjee, the DOA was initially quite ineffective due to the lack of technical expertise and finances (1977: 20). Most of the work carried out on monuments were done by the Upatyaka Nirman Samiti, the Valley Construction Committee, which was established in 1956. It was only after the DOA collaborated with the Guthi Sansthan on the restoration of the Kasthamandap in 1966, particularly with the establishment of the ‘Guthi Jirnoddhar Tatha Nirman Samiti’, the ‘Guthi Restoration and Construction Committee’, in 1967, that work was carried out more systematically (Banerjee 1977: 20). The detailed procedures and work on restoration and maintenance of the Kasthamandap carried out by the DOA from 1966 to 2015 will be examined in Section 5.5, under custodians of the Kasthamandap.

The DOA was established to become the primary authority to ensure the protection of tangible heritage. However, in Hanumandhoka, the DOA had to coordinate with, not only the Guthi Sansthan, but also the HDPMO, which came directly under the purview of the Royal Palace (Interviewee C10: para 23-25). It was only after 2008 that the HDPMO was transferred to the DOA. Furthermore, the DOA had to collaborate with the Kathmandu Metropolitan City (KMC). As Interviewee A3 (para 18) explained, once the DOA was represented in Hanumandhoka through the HDPMO, it only took the responsibility for that within the palace area, leaving the management of the area outside the palace boundaries to the KMC.

Since the inscription of the Kathmandu Valley property on the World Heritage List, the DOA has been the focal point for all World Heritage activities. Based on the Ancient Monument Preservation Act and related regulations, the DOA carried out the classification of

monuments. The Kasthamandap, as per the criteria for the classification of monuments, finalized by the Ancient Monument Survey and Classification Committee of the DOA in June 2000, is a 'Classification A' monument (Government of Nepal 2007a: 24). The DOA as a custodian of the Kasthamandap will be addressed under Section 5.5.3 and the involvement of the DOA during the post-earthquake response and rehabilitation phase at Hanumandhoka, and specifically in dealing with the Kasthamandap will be addressed in the following two chapters.

5.4.2 The Guthi Sansthan and changing ownership

As examined in Section 3.6.2, the ownership, as well as the responsibility for maintenance of monuments, were attributed to community organizations called *guthis*, a system that already existed during the Licchavi Period when they were called *gosthi* (Gellner 1992: 231). The *guthis* also owned land as a source of income, donated by patrons and philanthropists, to ensure sustainability. With the establishment of the Guthi Sansthan, many *guthis* were nationalised.

When the Guthi Sansthan brought out the new act, it reduced drastically the *bali* [payment made by the tiller]. They prioritized the farmers. They gave the farmers, and also, a lot of the property of the *guthis* was also given to the farmers, and the *guthis* collapsed. It was good for the farmers, but it also drowned the Guthi Sansthan. The one who did this was [King] Mahendra. Mahendra did a big mistake. The practise of encroaching on the *guthi* land began there (Interviewee C10: para 55).

There are several inscriptions that document the donation of land to the Kasthamandap. According to Tamot (2022: 22) the inscription dated 585 NS (1465 CE) records nine *ropanis* (ca. 4563 square metres) of land being donated to feed Jogichakra to the Yogeshwaras who stayed in the Kasthamandap. The inscription dated 605 NS (1485 CE) records another four *ropanis* (ca. 2028 square metres) of land to feed those returning from pilgrimage to Gosainkunda (Tamot 2022: 24). The inscription dated 910 NS (1790 CE) records a further one and a half *ropanis* (ca. 254 square metres) of land being donated to provide drinking water to pedestrians during Kumari Jatra (ibid.: 29). However, already towards the end of the nineteenth century, during the Rana rule, an investigation on land ownership recorded the Gorakhnath priest at the Kasthamandap stated that they did not own any land, and all support was provided by the treasury office and by the good will of the people (ibid.: 31). There are different opinions on this.

Guthi Sansthan provided 1200 rupees per month for performing the rituals in the three places; Kasthamandap, Pirpati and Indrachowk which is barely sufficient, and we must find our own means. There is mention of 360 *ropanis* [ca. 18.25 hectares] of land belonging to the Kasthamandap in the papers of the Guthi Sansthan, however, it does not exist anymore, which has made it impossible to continue other associated rituals, including the Jogichakra Puja (Interviewee B1: para 2).

The questions raised to the other *guthis* related to the Kasthamandap on *guthi* land and the relationship with the Guthi Sansthan was responded to by awkward silence. As Interviewee A9 (para 30) explained that “*guthiars* want to sell off the land and discontinue the *guthi*, it has happened in the majority of the *guthi* cases where the *guthiars* themselves do not want to speak about it because they will be trapped”. Interviewee A15 (para 5) explained that the amount the farmers pay the *guthi* to till the land has become so small that there is more income from selling the land and putting the money in the bank as a fixed deposit. Another problem has been that the *guthis* can only own land if they are registered with the Guthi Sansthan, so to bypass this, land is registered in the name of individual *guthiars*, which then gets passed on as inheritance within the family instead of staying with the *guthi*. It is not only the Guthi Sansthan, but also the Land Reform Act of 1964 that gave half the ownership of the land to the tiller (Regmi 1977: 200), that decimated the *guthis*, but also the income of the Guthi Sansthan (Interviewee C10: para 55).

On establishing the Guthi Sansthan, the first restoration project that was carried out, to set an example was on the Kasthamandap. As Thapa mentions, the project was implemented by the DOA with funds from the Guthi Sansthan (1968: 43). It must be noted that in the World Heritage nomination document for the Kathmandu Valley submitted in 1979, it is indicated that the owner of the Kasthamandap is the Guthi Sansthan (Government of Nepal 1979: 6). However, Interviewee B8 (para 2-3) explained that the Guthi Sansthan is now only responsible for intangible heritage. It was also clarified that the Guthi Sansthan does not have the funds to carry out restoration projects, and the DOA does not communicate with them anymore. This raises several questions in respect to the integrity and effectiveness of the organization.

5.4.3 Local government and decentralisation

Local governance has been one of the key issues in the changing political scenario in Nepal over the past decades. Beginning under the Rana government, and gathering strength in the 1950s, some members of the local communities within the Kathmandu Valley established a movement which Gellner calls “Newar cultural nationalism” (1997: 164), focusing particularly on promoting their language through cultural activities. Though refraining from direct political

confrontation, the struggle of the Newari community to retain, and even expand their cultural identity will be examined in Chapter 7, with the reconstruction process of the Kasthamandap. This was also related to the struggle for local governance.

The final reforms made by the Rana Prime Ministers were to conduct local elections in Kathmandu Municipality in June 1947 between four nominated candidates in each of the 21 designated wards (Gupta 1964: 31). This was the basis for the Municipality Act to be adopted by King Tribhuvan, and, though the municipal chair and vice-chair were selected, direct elections took place in the 16 wards of Kathmandu Municipality in 1953 (Shah 1990 II: 295-296). Once King Mahendra dissolved parliament in 1960, the Panchayat system was established in 1962 and Kathmandu became a Nagar Panchayat, though under this system, there was little self-determination.

It was only after the introduction of the constitutional monarchy in 1990 that local elections took place and representatives from political parties were elected. In 1992 Prakash Man Singh from the Congress Party became mayor, while the 1997 elections were won by Keshav Sthapit from the Communist Party of Nepal, Unified Marxist Leninist (CPN-UML) (Khatiwada 2017). This political rivalry continues and will play an important role in determining the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap which will be examined in Chapter 7.

Furthermore, the Local Self-Governance Act 1999 provided the municipalities with extensive powers of self-determination. Under Article 111, the municipalities were given the authority to prepare their own plans, working closely with the municipal wards (Local Self-Governance Act 1999: Article 111). Interviewee A15 (para 23) noted that various urban regeneration projects were carried out, such as the stone paving around Kasthamandap, which included a removal of the plinth towards the northern side. The mayor also continued using the Kasthamandap as a place to invite international guests to hand over the ceremonial key to the city. It was also during this period that the Kasthamandap was restored for the last time before the earthquake, which will be examined in detail under the Section 5.5.

The Kasthamandap was largely neglected for more than a decade, instigated by the political turmoil that the country went through, beginning with the Maoist insurgency that began in 1996. The palace incident that led to the death of King Birendra, the second People's Movement in 2006 and the proclamation of a republic in 2008, did not allow for the local elections and proper functioning of the local government (Whelpton 2005: 222). The Municipalities were then run by Chief Executive Officers, functioning under the ministry, who did not have the support of the people, and were therefore inefficient (Khatiwada 2017). The

political rivalry between political parties, which also affected the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap, will again be examined in the following chapters.

5.5 The custodians of the Kasthamandap

It was only after archaeological research was carried out on the foundations and salvaged materials of the Kasthamandap that collapsed during the 2015 Gorkha Earthquake, that a better understanding was developed of the chronology of construction and repair. The construction of the monument was previously explained only through various versions of a creation myth (Wright 1877: 211, Tiwari 2022: 81n16). The traditional system for maintaining monuments was to establish a *guthi*, with clearly defined membership, a specific task and a source of income (Sharma and Shrestha 2007: 2-3). The involvement of the *guthis*, and the followers of the Gorakhnath, continued until the national authorities took over responsibility, side-lining these communities and ejecting those living within the monument during a major restoration carried out in 1966 (Thapa 1968: 43). Some restoration and maintenance works were carried out over the following decades but were not sufficient to prevent the Kasthamandap from collapse during the Earthquake in 2015 (Weise and Joshi 2022: 89). The custodians of the Kasthamandap will be investigated in this section.

5.5.1 The early custodians of the Kasthamandap

It is not known who exactly the original builders of the Kasthamandap were and who maintained and adapted the structure, particularly during its early existence. As has been explained by Tri Ratna Manandhar, there were contradictory views on who the constructor of the Kasthamandap might have been (2022: 10). Manandhar elaborates on Jagdish Chandra Regmi's argument that the Kasthamandap would have been erected by King Gunakamadeva in the late tenth century, since he is considered to be the one who founded the city of Kathmandu, and there are no records referring to the city as Kasthamandap earlier than this period. Manandhar also states that according to Mahes Raj Pant, the Kasthamandap could have been built by Luipa, one of the 84 siddhas of the east, while Yagyaman Pati Bajracharya refutes this and believes the constructor to be his ancestor, Leelavajra (2022: 10).

This contradiction is further highlighted by the various versions of the creation myth of the Kasthamandap, which has been introduced in Section 3.2.1. Each version has someone different capturing Kalpabrikshya, the divine tree, to force him to provide a tree big enough for the wood to be used to build a *sattal*. The *Nepalavamsavali* tells the story of a Biseta (Wright 1877: 211), while the other variants are with Lopipad (Luipa), Leelavajra or the

charioteer of Matsyendranath (Tiwari 2022: 81n16). The Bhindyo Twa community of the Sa Guthi recite an account where a carpenter traps the Kalpabrikshya (A. Joshi 2022: 203).

The *Nepalavamsavali* states that the Kasthamandap was built during the reign of King Lakshmi Narasingh Malla in the seventeenth century CE (Wright 1877: 211). However, the name Kasthamandap was found to have been mentioned already in the late eleventh century CE during the reign of Harshadeva (r. 1087 to 1097 CE), with 15 more sources being published by Dhanavajra Vajracharya in 1962, including the *Namasangiti* manuscript copied in 1143 CE (Pant 2022: 47-49). It was most likely that a major restoration was carried out in the seventeenth century CE (Manandhar 2022: 10, Pant 2022: 49).

It was only with the copper inscription of 1465 CE, that the use of the Kasthamandap by a specific community, the Nath Sampradaya, can be identified, with Caitanyanath Yogi staying in the Kasthamandap and donating nine *ropanis* (ca. 4563 square metres) of land to pay for the Jogichakra (Tamot 2022: 22). An earlier copper inscription of 1379 CE was misinterpreted to read as King Jayasthiti Malla presenting the Kasthamandap to the followers of Gorakhnath, which has been found to be incorrect by Kasinath Tamot (Manandhar 2022: 12).

Beyond the above-mentioned references, very little was known of the origins of the building until archaeological investigations were carried out after the Gorkha Earthquake on the foundations of the collapsed structure by Durham University's UNESCO Chair. The outcome of these investigations will be presented in Chapter 6. What is better known are the activities that have taken place during the past decades, beginning with the major restoration undertaken by the DOA and the Guthi Sansthan in 1966 and leading up to the collapse of the structure during the 2015 Gorkha Earthquake. These activities of the custodians of the Kasthamandap will be investigated in this section.

5.5.2 The *guthis* as custodians before the Gorkha Earthquake

The traditional system of maintaining a temple or public structure was to establish a relevant *guthi*, define their responsibilities and provide them with a source of income, which was usually land endowments, as has been explained in Section 3.4.2. It is unclear which *guthis* might have been responsible for the maintenance of the Kasthamandap in the past, however, the rituals of the Sa Guthi and the related Manandhar Guthi, indicate that they had taken on such duties. Interviewee A14 (para 6) explained that before restoration in 1966, there were shops inside the Kasthamandap, and these were run by the Sa Guthi. Since they collected the rent, the Sa Guthi was also responsible for the maintenance of the structure.

As Interviewee A8b (para 20) explains that he had heard that the Tamrakars, the coppersmith community living on the western side of Marutole and members of the Ta Chatan Guthi, were considered to be the ones who carried out restorations of the Kasthamandap at certain intervals over the past five to six hundred years. There does not seem to be any substantive evidence of this, even though the unique use of copper shoes to protect the timber post discovered during the post-earthquake archaeological research will be examined in Chapter 6.

The involvement of the Sa Guthi in the maintenance of the Kasthamandap still continued through their annual rituals, which has been explained in Section 5.2.1, however, the related communities linked to these rituals have changed. The relationship between the Maharjans from Tabwo Bhindyo Twa and the Manandhars, the Sayami oil merchants is unclear. The relationship between the two communities fell apart and now only the Maharjans are involved in annual rituals that includes tying the flag on the *gujur*, the pinnacle on the top tier of the Kasthamandap (Interviewee A9: para 4, 47).

Before the restoration that was carried out on the Kasthamandap in 1966, there were people living inside the monument, and there were shops on the ground floor. This can be clearly seen in the watercolour painting by Oldfield from the mid nineteenth century (Figure 5.3). Interviewee B16 (para15) explained that before the 1966 restoration, the southern part of the Kasthamandap was occupied by the *yogis*, the followers of Gorakhnath, and it was always dirty. According to Ramesh Jung Thapa there were 45 families who had built “ramshackle residences inside the shrine along the facades” (1968: 43). Interviewee B16 (para15) further explained that before they could carry out rituals, they had to clean the floor and applying red mud paste to purify the area.

The responsibility for maintaining the Kasthamandap changed hands with the restoration work carried out in 1966, from the Sa Guthi to the DOA and the Guthi Sansthan. According to Interviewee A14 (para 6), the King had asked the Sa Guthi to carry out a major restoration of the Kasthamandap in the 1960s, but they did not have the financial means of doing so, since there was insufficient income from the rent. At the time they handed over the responsibility to the government, including the collection of any rent. Interviewee B16 (para 15) explains that once the key to the Kasthamandap was handed over to the government, which would have included those for the upper floor and the storage below the corner pavilions, the *guthiyars* became less involved with the monument, only going there to clean what was required for their specific festival. “After the major renovation of the Marusatta in 2022 BS (1966 CE), even to conduct the required rituals we had to go to Hanumandhoka

(the government office in the palace) to get the keys and it became a hassle” (Interviewee B16: para 15).

5.5.3 The authorities as custodians before the Gorkha Earthquake

The political change brought about by King Mahendra in the early 1960s, by introducing the Panchayat System and the vision of ‘national-building’ to create a modern state with a common identity (Burghart 1993: 4-6), also determined the State’s role towards heritage. The recently established Guthi Sansthan collaborated with the DOA to restore the monument ensemble within the Hanumandhoka Durbar Square. As Interviewee B3 (para 5) explained, it was decided to begin with the Kasthamandap and take it as a model project. At the time, Crown Prince Birendra visited the site regularly, and with the direct patronage of the King it was possible to implement the project. This was when all encroachments of shops and accommodations of 45 families were removed, the structure restored (Thapa 1968: 43). Interviewee B3 (para 6) states that by cleaning up the monument and exposing its magnificence, it was possible to give back the monument to the community.

In the 1960s, possibly due to ignorance and necessity, the heritage structures had degenerated. The magnificent, architectural heritage we had in Hanumandhoka were hidden behind the shops and the plastered façade applied during the Rana regime. So, with the vision to repair and revive the glory of the Hanumandhoka square as an ensemble, Kasthamandap was taken as the test project, a project to see the reaction of the community as this was a very new concept (Interviewee B3: para 1).

In addition to the removal of accretionary structures (Thapa 1968: 43), the rotten timber elements were replaced, the floors were covered with *telia* tile in lime-*surkhi* mortar, the plaster that was introduced during the Rana Period was removed, and the soot and grime was cleaned (Weise and Joshi 2022: 83). Interviewee B3 (para 3) recounts that already at that time it was difficult to get traditional materials and the production of required elements for restorations was diminishing, and the need to revive traditional skills was discussed.

According to Interviewee C10 (para 38), the Kasthamandap was fixed, cleaned and painted for the coronation of King Birendra which took place on 24th February 1975. However, there is no evidence that the King entered the Kasthamandap, but would have done *puja* at the nearby Maru Ganesh, the Ashok Binayak shrine.

To welcome international dignitaries such as Queen Elizabeth II during her visit to Nepal in 1986 (Figure 5.11), the Kasthamandap went through extensive restorations. The growing importance given to the Kasthamandap will be discussed in Section 5.6. Photographs from

the archives of the DOA show that the monument was in deteriorated condition, timber elements, roof tiles, flooring tiles and even part of the fencing were damaged or missing (Figures 5.5 to 5.8). The monument was not regularly maintained, and the vendors had started encroaching again. The roof tiles were relaid, non-structural timber elements, particularly those exposed to weathering such as the eave-boards were replaced, and the balustrades of the pavilions were restored. From the chronology of the photographs, it can also be noted that the *telia* tile flooring was laid in cement mortar and a marble finish was provided to the central sanctum (Weise and Joshi 2022: 84-85).

The late Saphalya Amatya describes in his publication the restoration of 1966 in detail and adds, “Again in 1999-2000 this monument was repaired by the DOA” (2007: 61), even though this was done during his tenure as Director-General of the DOA. No conservation notes were found. However, an overall list of works with respective budgets was printed in *Ancient Nepal* (Shrestha 2000: 54), with the budget for the completion of restoration of the Kasthamandap being 21 lakhs, or 2,100,000 Nepali Rupees.

Both Interviewee C10 (para 18) and C12 (para 11) complained about the quality of the work that was carried out at the time, ignoring traditional construction detailing and using nails. The work that was carried out during this restoration project included repair and replacement of timber rafters and re-laying of the roof tiles with the introduction of a layer of tar-felt. The floor tiles were also repaired in patches using cement mortar. The challenges of the contractors and the traditional craftspeople will be examined in the following sections.

5.5.4 The tendering process for the restoration of the monument

As mentioned previously, during the early years of the DOA, it lacked technical expertise and finance and required work was carried out by the *Upatyaka Nirman Samiti*, the Valley Construction Committee, which was established in 1956 (Banerjee 1977: 20). This would have been the modality for the work done during the 1966 restoration of the Kasthamandap by the DOA and the Guthi Sansthan. After successfully carrying out the restoration of the Kasthamandap that the *Guthi Jirnodhar Tatha Nirman Samiti*, the Guthi Restoration and Construction Committee, was established in 1967, that work was carried out more systematically (ibid.: 20).

The work on the Kasthamandap during the 1970s and 1980s was done based on the *amanat* system. The *amanat* system, referred to as a labour contract, is when the crafts-persons and labourers are hired separately, and the required materials are purchased separately. Though this system allows for the best artisans and the best material to be used,

without proper management and supervision, the outcome can be detrimental, as will be discussed in Section 6.5.3.

It required quite some investigations to find out when the inappropriate interventions were carried out at the Kasthamandap. According to Interviewee C10 (para 21) the process of tendering out conservation projects by the DOA to general contractors was introduced in the 1990s. This was the process used for the 1999 restoration of the Kasthamandap. As mentioned in the previous section, there was criticism on the outcome of the work.

Interviewee C8 (para 9) explained that due to certain irregularities the contractors were changed. Interviewee C10 (para 16) complained about of the “extensive heavy maintenance” that was carried out and things “were messed up”. Interviewee C12 (para 11) complained of the drilling and inserting steel rods, cutting of rafters and using nails to reconnect new components.

To prioritize contractors over the more traditional *amanat* system of hiring craftspeople and purchasing required materials was further institutionalized in the Public Procurement Act, which was adopted in 2007. The Public Procurement Act 2007 has provisions for carrying out construction works by Users’ Committees or Beneficiary Communities as per Article 44, which would then carry out work as per the *amanat* system (Public Procurement Act 2007: Article 44). But all these procedures require additional administrative work, and the public entity needs to take the effort and responsibility to justify these procedures. The DOA has, however, been carrying out work based on directly tendering to interested contractors, raising concern about the quality of the work. This will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6, when the local community protested the government tendering out the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap to contractors.

5.5.5 The traditional artisans involved in the restoration of the monument

The traditional craftspeople involved in building and maintaining monumental structures were an important part of the community. Traditionally, the various building crafts were carried out by specific caste groups. As shown in Table 3.7, the farmers and the artisans, including the caste groupings involved in the buildings trade are in the category of Upper Lower Caste. These include the copper-workers, stonemasons and carpenters, as well as the farmers and potters, the Maharjan or Dongols and the Awale respectively, who also work as brick masons and at times as carpenters. Gellner, though referring to the communities in Patan also places these caste groups just below the broad category of ‘Shrestha’, comprising mainly of traders, which would be at the lower mid-level of the caste hierarchy of the Newar community (1992: 44). This hierarchy plays an important role in both the respect given to

these caste groups, as well as the confidence to stand up for their rights, an issue that will be further discussed in Chapter 7. Interviewee A15 (para 6) explains that the farmer castes, the Jyapus, who owned land, or were given 50 percent ownership as tillers by the Land Reform Act of 1964, became rich as land prices rose within the Kathmandu Valley. With the economic upliftment and a strong communal identity, they have become proud to be called Jyapus, which in the past was considered a somewhat derogatory term. Table 3.7 provides a simplified overview of Newar sub-castes.

The building craftspeople have been the bearers of traditional knowledge, skills and techniques required for the maintenance, and in certain cases the reconstruction of historic monuments (Weise 2022: 327-328). In the building of monumental structures in the Kathmandu Valley, such as would have been the case with the Kasthamandap, it has always been the Sikarmi, the carpenters, who have taken the lead role, being the *naike*, or team leader. The other trades, which would mainly include the Awale (brick masons), the Shilakar or (stone masons) and the Tamrakar (copper smiths), provided their services under the directions of the *naike*. This will be further elaborated in Chapter 7, when the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap is examined.

Today, all the traditional craftspeople, particularly for timber work, timber carving, as well as laying the *jhingati* roof tiles, come from either Bhaktapur, Khokana or Bungamati. Validating this, Interviewee C12 (para 45) further explained that in Kathmandu there were no craftsmen because they had all become *sau*, businesspeople. The reason many traditional craftspeople have left their trade is that the government system does not allow them to work unless they are registered as contractors. Interviewee B6 (para 3) explains that the continued existence of traditional craftsmen is being challenged through the government system of hiring only registered contractors. Accordingly, the decline in the quality of the work carried out at the Kasthamandap can be seen particularly after the 1980s (Weise and Joshi 2022: 85-86). Interviewee B7 (para 1) explained that the older generation of craftspeople were concerned that heritage cannot be conserved if no one gets involved in continuing the craftsmanship. This was one of the concerns that were addressed in establishing the team to rebuild the Kasthamandap, as will be discussed in Chapter 7.

5.5.6 Impact of modern construction procedures

The modern construction procedure has been defined by the preparation of drawings and calculations by architects and engineers that are sent to the authorities for approval, and then the work is tendered out to registered building contractors. The question that arises here is whether this procedure has had an impact on the restoration of traditional monumental buildings before the earthquake, such as the Kasthamandap.

There is an inherent difference between the modern construction procedure and the traditional approach. According to Interviewee B7 (para 2), “The difference between the traditional carpenter and many of the new generation carpenters is the use of the *chukul* (wooden pegs) instead of *kila* (metal nails)”. It is not only the introduction of new materials and technology, but the entire approach to building is different.

Artisans do not prepare. They do not prepare six months beforehand; this is how we are going to do it. They just do it. And the thing with the engineer or the technical person is that they prepare, they plan. They do all this planning, and then analyse it and then start working. So, this is the difference (Interviewee A1: para 45).

Interviewee A15 (para 14) explains that the differences between the traditional craftsperson and the technical expert makes it difficult for them to communicate. The differences can be explained under the three categories of education, approach and hierarchy. The traditional craftsperson learns through apprenticeship and practical implementation, while the technical expert has learned mainly through an academic and theoretical process. This leads to the different approaches to construction, the traditional craftsperson dealing with issues based on experience and assessing the site conditions, while the technical expert approaches the task through theoretical assessments and calculations. Furthermore, the communication between the traditional craftsperson and the technical expert is impeded by the inherent social hierarchical difference. The implications of these differences will be further discussed in Chapter 7, when the process of reconstruction of the Kasthamandap is examined.

This difference in approach is also reflected in the government procedure of preparing project documents which include design drawings, the bill of quantities, as well as a structural analysis. The structural analysis of buildings is based on the *National Building Code* (NBC) of Nepal which was finalized in 1994 and approved by the government in 2003. The NBC does not take traditional buildings into consideration. For example, a four-storey building in loadbearing brick in mud mortar would not be allowed, which is the standard for most traditional residential buildings in Kathmandu. A separate building code is required for traditional buildings and Interviewee B10 (para 5) explained that it is necessary to agree on an acceptable level of safety. It would then be possible to analyse the traditional structures accordingly and propose interventions where required. This was a critical discussion when planning the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap, as will be reviewed in Chapter 7.

5.5.7 Regular cleaning and security of the monument

When people lived in the monument and used the monument, there would have been some form of maintenance that took place. Interviewee B3 (para 1) mentions that the magnificent

architecture of the Kasthamandap before the 1966 restoration had been hidden by the shops, but also by the plaster that had been applied during the Rana Period (Figure 5.5). Leaking roofs would have been fixed. It must be noted here that the Kasthamandap did not collapse during the M_w 8.2 Great Nepal Bihar Earthquake of 1934. After the government took over the responsibility of restoring and maintaining the monument, there seems to have been an accelerated deterioration of the monument as noted in the photographs from the early 1980s and the late 1990s, a period of 15 to 20 years (Figures 5.7 to-5.10). We must note that a further 15 years had passed between the last restoration and the Gorkha Earthquake.

During the restoration carried out on the Kasthamandap in 1966, a picket fence was erected around the monument (Figure 5.9). The gate towards the east was always kept open. To ensure that no inappropriate activities took place in and around the monument, the KMC had placed guards. However, Interviewee A8c (para 34) lamented that the KMC guards only stayed from 10:00 to 17:00. So, they had convinced the KMC to hire private security guards, who ended up also only staying from ten to five. Interviewee A8a (para 18) added that the guards used to allow them to go upstairs, to the second floor, where there were various sizes of images lying around. But then an image was stolen, and it was stopped.

There was no routine established of cleaning the Kasthamandap. Interviewee A6 (para 1) mentions how, when the KMC established eco-clubs in schools, the Kasthamandap was cleaned, which was full of plastic litter, remains from the *pujas* and pigeon droppings. Interviewee A12 describes how, for a planned art exhibition on World Heritage Day, the Kasthamandap was cleaned.

Cleaning it, there was a lot of that biting, itchy things. There was such a lot of pigeon droppings. Such a layer, up there. We scrubbed it, cleaned it and we got the municipal sweepers as well. [...] we first sprayed disinfectant [...] against that itchy stuff (Interviewee A12: para 8).

More recently, particularly in preparation for festivals, the KMC has been going around cleaning the public places using water tankers with pressure hoses, including monuments. As Interviewee A15 (para 24) complained, the pressure of the water has a detrimental effect particularly on the traditional construction, however, it has not been possible to stop them.

5.6 The broader significance of the Kasthamandap

The broader significance of the Kasthamandap can be identified at national and international level. The significance of the Kasthamandap has also been highlighted by a coin minted by King Mahendra Malla in the early 1560s CE, the Mahendra Malli (Figure 5.4). The text

inscribed on the obverse of the coin '*Srimat Kasthamandupasyadhipati*', can be interpreted as the 'Suzerain of Kasthamandap', and on the reverse '*Sri Jaya Mahendra Malla Devasya*', praising the reign of Mahendra Malla (r. 1560 and 1574 CE). As the late Satya Mohan Joshi explains, the Kasthamandap on the coin referred to "the realm governed by King Mahendra Malla, which would have been named after the great timber pavilion standing at its centre" (2022: iii).

The city of Kathmandu was known as Kasthamandap throughout the region. The *Namasangiti* treatise found in the Shakya monastery of Tibet from 263 NE (1143 CE) was copied by someone living in the neighbourhood of Kelachachem in Kasthamandap during the reign of Narendradev (Pant 2022: 45). This is followed by a series of inscriptions mentioning Kasthamandap as a city. The copper plate inscription of 585 NS (1465 CE) documents the visit of Chaityanath Yogi from Gaudadesh, Bengal, who stayed in the Kasthamandap and donated land to provide for an annual Jogichakra feast (Tamot 2022: 22). This shows how the city, identified by the timber pavilion, the Kasthamandap, was known from Tibet to Bengal already many centuries ago. This section will further elaborate on the broader significance of the Kasthamandap at national and international level.

5.6.1 National identity

As the late Satya Mohan Joshi explained, the Kasthamandap was the centre, and all the important things were attracted by the centre, including the palace, the temples, and even the numerous activities that create the intangible heritage of the city (2022: vi). He further explains that this was the centre for the planning of the city, which, according to the *vamsavalis* was laid out by King Gunakamadeva in the tenth century CE in the form of a sword, with the protective deities around the periphery (ibid.: iii-iv).

The Kasthamandap is the eponym of Kathmandu. Previously the city was known for its various parts, such as Yambu for the northern section and Yangala for the southern section, with many other names mentioned in the various inscriptions and manuscripts (Slusser 1982: 89-90). Slusser also states that the Gorkhalis called the city 'Kantipur', a name that is sometimes still used. However, the name Kathmandu, a modified version of Kasthamandap (ibid.: 89) prevailed, to become the capital city of Nepal.

Till the 1960s, the timber pavilion was occupied by the Kanphatta Yogis and the Kapalis, using it as accommodation and for commercial purposes. It was only when they were removed in 1966, that it was restored and 'given back to the community' (Interviewee B3: para 6). As Ramesh Jung Thapa explains, this was the "maiden venture of the DOA and the

Guthi Sansthan” (1968: 43). The Kasthamandap was chosen as the first major restoration project carried out by the Government of Nepal, which was to test the communities, check on the possibilities of obtaining traditional materials and expertise, as well as to set an example for future projects (Interviewee B3: para 1).

The Kasthamandap did set an example in many ways. The profile of the Kasthamandap changed dramatically in the 1980s when the monument was restored and used by the KMC to welcome important foreign dignitaries, such as Queen Elizabeth II, as has been explained previously. The status of the Kasthamandap grew with this newly adopted function and a postage stamp with the Kasthamandap was issued in 1987. This status that the Kasthamandap had gained was maintained even after the First People’s Movement in 1990 and change in government to a constitutional monarchy. A set of two stamps of the Kasthamandap was again issued in 1996 (Figure 5.6) (Weise and Joshi 2022: 84-85).

The image of the Kasthamandap has also been used commercially, as a logo for various organisations. For example, the Kantipur Media, papers and television, uses the roof profile of the Kasthamandap for their logo (www.kmg.com.np/). There is the famous Kasthamandap sweet shop in Marutole that widely distributes, for example the packed *lakhamari*, a Newari traditional deep-fried sugar-coated biscuit used for various social events (www.lakhamari.com/). Observations during the research period has shown the name Kasthamandap having been used by a college, an airline, a bank, a party venue, a bus service, a boutique hotel, a television channel, a health care centre, and the list goes on. There are even watches sold with wooden casing and strap from the Kasthamandap series (www.okharstore.com/product/kasthamandap-light-34mm/). Though the monument itself was not regularly maintained, as has been noted, the structure that defined the city, continued to inspire people and was used as a brand.

5.6.2 World Heritage and international visits

As has been described above, the Kasthamandap was known throughout the region, from Tibet to Bengal many centuries ago. The late Satya Mohan Joshi explained that the cultural orbit extended along the entire Himalayas from Badrinath and Kedarnath, to Muktinath and Pashupatinath. The Kasthamandap must be understood as the centre of the cultural orbit of the Himalayas, with Kathmandu Valley located below the mountains, the abode of the gods, and “below the mountains lies the Kathmandu Valley, and in its heart is the Kasthamandap” (2022: iv-v). The centre therefore attracted people from the entire region and from all along the Himalayas. They visited the Kathmandu Valley for trade or pilgrimage, and slept in the *sorekutte patis*, the rest-houses built of sixteen timber posts. The late Satya Mohan Joshi further explained that “at the time all the educated and learned people who visited

Kathmandu stayed overnight at the Kasthamandap [...] and that is why, for example the philosophy of Gorakhnath was introduced, and Gorakhnath was established there” (ibid.: v).

The Gorakhnath Sampradaya, the Kanphatta Yogis and the Kapalis were removed from the Kasthamandap in 1966, but the monument continued to be associated with the ‘alternative’ culture, and the Kasthamandap continued to be considered a place where disrepute activities took place. The Hippie culture that flourished in the nearby Jhhochhe neighbourhood, often referred to as Freak Street, was eternalized through the 1971 Bollywood classic film, ‘Hare Krishna, Hare Rama’. Interviewee A13 (para 1) only remembered the Kasthamandap to be a place where people hung out, that was memorialized by the Bollywood song. Interviewee C10 (para 44-45) reminisced the scenes of hashish smoking youths singing the classic song ‘Damaru Dam’ that was shot in the Kasthamandap. The music video to this song is still shown throughout the subcontinent. This image of the Kasthamandap remained and Interviewee C10 (para 43) further narrated a story of a local from Maru who sang *bhajans*, devotional songs, and recited tales, who later began to sell hashish to those who came to listen.

In the 1970s, international agencies began to carry out major documentation and planning projects within the Kathmandu Valley including the preparation of a protective inventory that was published in 1975. The Kasthamandap is included as one of the many monuments (Pruscha 1975 II: 69). Wolfgang Korn also published his compilation of measure drawings of monuments in 1977 including plans, elevations and sections of the Kasthamandap (1977: 94-98). This led to the seven monument zones of the Kathmandu Valley being inscribed on the List of World Heritage in 1979, and the Kasthamandap was included within the Hanumandhoka Durbar Square monument zone, under the ownership of the Guthi Sansthan (Government of Nepal 1979: 6). However, the importance of the monument was not highlighted in any of the documents. Slusser published her research in 1982, which included passages on the Kasthamandap (1982: 147), and she did understand that the monument was unique, large and old, but could not fully understand the significance. An earlier paper Slusser wrote together with Gautamvajra Vajracharya in 1974 presents all the available information on the two Nepali *dharmasalas*, the Kasthamandap and the Dattatreya, exposing the need for further research (1974: 205-212).

The Kasthamandap was highlighted in the international news once Queen Elizabeth II was invited to the monument to be given the key to the city and to sign a visitor’s book on 17th February 1986 (Figure 5.11) (Weise and Joshi 2022: 84). As Interviewee C10 (para 40) explained, this developed into a tradition, with King Juan Carlos and Queen Sofia of Spain

visiting in November 1986, and in November 1987, during the third South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) summit, all the heads of state from the South Asian countries visited the Kasthamandap. It was only once the Kasthamandap collapse during the 2015 Gorkha Earthquake that the monument was again highlighted in the international media, a topic which will be further discussed in Chapter 6.

5.6.3 Growing neglect

A growing neglect can be observed beginning in the 1990s, which was a period of political turmoil. The lack of maintenance led to leaking roofs and the rotting of timber elements. The restoration of the monument in 1999 was tendered out and work was carried out neglecting quality and traditional detailing, as has been explained in Section 5.5.3.

The monument is known to everyone, but most people other than those living in Marutole, before it collapsed, did not regularly interact with the historical monument. This is also reflected in the interviews. For example, Interviewee A14 (para 1) explained: “So, for me, whenever I used to pass by, I noticed it as being one of the biggest monuments, but I did not go inside”. Others, such as Interviewee A12 (para 22) presented an image of the Kasthamandap as being a place where the drunk came and slept, urinating and defecating in the dark corners, particularly towards the back, on the western side. Interviewee B11 (para 3) complained that, especially after the arrival of democracy, the Kasthamandap became even more of a place of disrepute. “What to do? We cannot scold them. We can only look away”.

Thapa’s description of the Kasthamandap is not flattering. “The structure rises to the height of 65 ft 4 in, which is not very much larger than the basal width. This imparts to it a somewhat stunted form” (1968: 43). Whether it is due to the lack of aesthetics, or the cramped context within which the monument is located, there seems to be a dearth of photographs of the Kasthamandap. To prepare a 3D model of the Hanumandhoka Monument Zone, researchers at Bradford University did web scraping for relevant images. There were sufficient images of most of the heritage zone, but only few images could be located of the Kasthamandap (Figure 5.12) (Interviewee A15: para 30). For most people, the significance of the Kasthamandap was limited to the monument being very old, of being built of a single tree and that the city of Kathmandu got its name from this monument.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter examined the changing relationship between communities and the Kasthamandap before the 2015 Gorkha Earthquake, mainly focusing on the period after the 1966 restoration. The communities have been studied under the categories of users of the

monument, surrounding urban community, authorities, custodians and those that giving the Kasthamandap its broader significance. The involvement of these various categories of communities with the Kasthamandap has ensured the continuity of the monument, but has also had detrimental effects, which led to its collapse during the 2015 Gorkha Earthquake.

Over the decades leading up to the 2015 Earthquake, some major changes have been identified in the communities linked to the Kasthamandap, as has been presented in this chapter. The Kapali and Kanphatta Yogis had established themselves within the Kasthamandap, constructing accommodations and shops within the historical structure. They were removed during the 1966 restoration. This was a pivotal event, when the responsibility of the *guthis* related to the maintenance of the Kasthamandap, as was the case particularly with the Sa Guthi, was taken over by the central government authorities. The daily ritual of visiting the Gorakhnath and the four Ganesh images continued. The annual festivals of the Sa Guthi and the Ta Chatan Guthi continued to be carried out, but the keys to the storage spaces under the pavilions and the upper floors remained with the government office within the Hanumandhoka Palace. There was renewed encroachment during the 1970s, until the monument was again cleared and restored in preparation for it to be used to welcome foreign dignitaries. The political turmoil in the 1990s again led to the monument being neglected until its state of disrepair compelled further restoration. The work was carried out through tendering, neglecting quality and traditional construction principles. The inappropriate interventions and the lack of maintenance left the monument in a vulnerable state when the earthquake struck on 25th April 2015.

This chapter has fulfilled the fourth objective, to document the changing historical and political circumstances before the earthquake and the impact on community involvement in the Kasthamandap. The following chapter provides an overview of the Gorkha Earthquake, the collapse of the Kasthamandap and the immediate impact on the various related communities during the three-year period before reconstruction works on the monument could begin. The next chapter will address the fifth objective of determining how the Gorkha Earthquake directly impacted the management system, the community and the monument.

Table 5.1: Overall timeline of events related to the Kasthamandap

CENTURY	PERIOD WITH MAJOR EVENTS	KASTHAMANDAP TIMELINE
1st century	ANCIENT PERIOD First century to 1200	Early traces of urbanization
2nd century		
3rd century		
4th century		
5th century	LICCHAVI Manadeva I (r. ca. 464–505 CE)	timber bracket fifth to sixth centuries
6th century		
7th century		
8th century		
9th century	879 CE start of Bikram Samvat TRANSITIONAL Gunakamadeva (r. ca. 980-998)	brick foundations seventh century
10th century		
11th century		
12th century		
13th century	MEDIEVAL PERIOD 1200 - 1768 EARLY	minor restoration ninth to tenth centuries
14th century		
15th century		
16th century		
17th century	Yaksa Malla (r. 1428-1482 CE) THREE KINGDOMS Narsingh Malla (r. 1621 – 1641 CE)	major restoration eleventh to twelfth centuries
18th century		
19th century		
20th century		
21st century	MODERN PERIOD 1768 onward SHAH REPUBLIC	1143 <i>Namasangiti</i> text
		Caitanyanath Yogi visit 1465
		major restoration seventeenth century
		1966 restoration
		2015 Gorkha Earthquake

Source: Coningham et al. 2022: 162-163, Pant 2022: 48-49, Slusser 1982: 397-402, Weise and Joshi 2022: 81-85.

Table 5.2: Comparison of the months in the Gregorian calendar with the Bikram Samvat (BS) and the Nepal Samvat (NS).

Gregorian calendar	Bikram Samvat	Nepal Samvat
Year 1 CE	Year 879 CE	Year
	Poush	
January NEW YEAR	Magh	Pohela
	Magh Sankranti	
February	Falgun	Silla
March	Chaitra	Chilla
April	Baishak NEW YEAR	Chaula
May	Jestha	Bachhala
June	Asadh	Tachhala
July	Shrawan	Dilla
August	Bhadau	Gunla
		Panchadan
September	Asoj or Ashwin	Yanla
October	Kartik	Kaula
November	Mangsir	Kachhala NEW YEAR
December	Poush	Thinla

Note: this provides a rough overview of the months in the three different calendars, however, since the Bikram Samvat and the Nepal Samvat are based on the lunar calendar, the dates change compared to the Gregorian Calendar. For example, the New Year of Nepal Samvat is on Mha Puja, during Tihar, which can be in October or beginning of November.

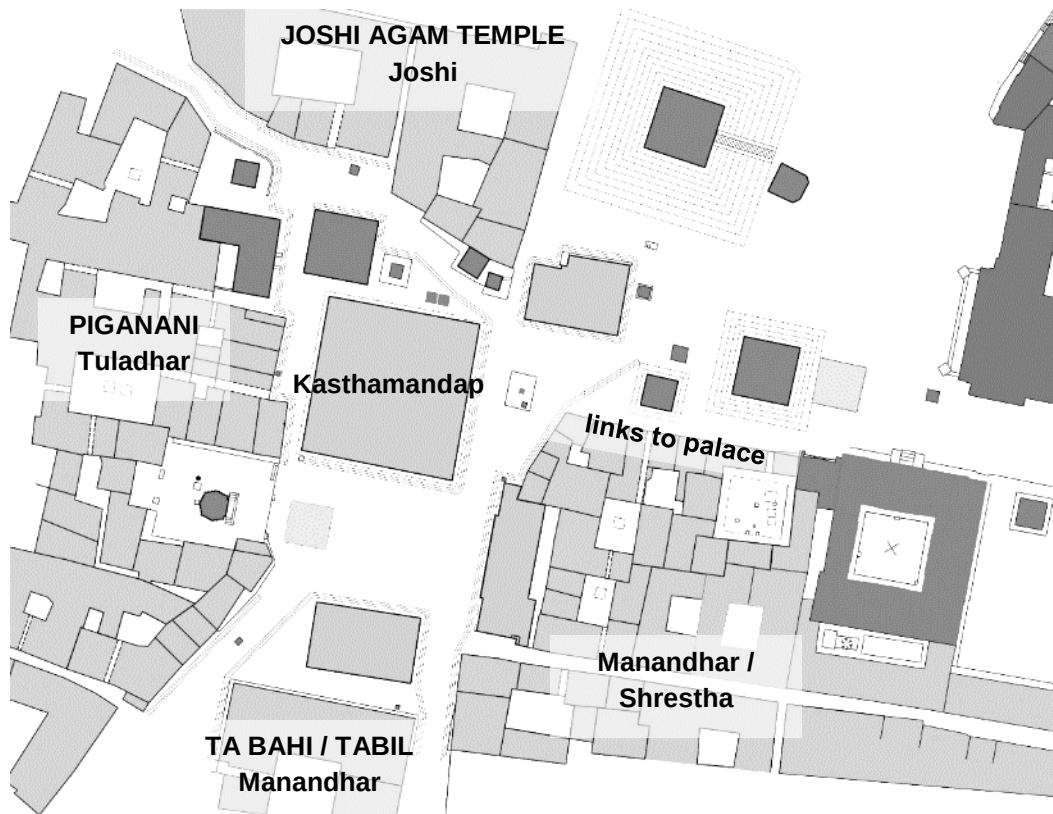


Figure 5.1: Map of Maru Square area indicating location of main communities (cadastre plan, Department of Survey, with annotations by Atelier AJ/Kai Weise).

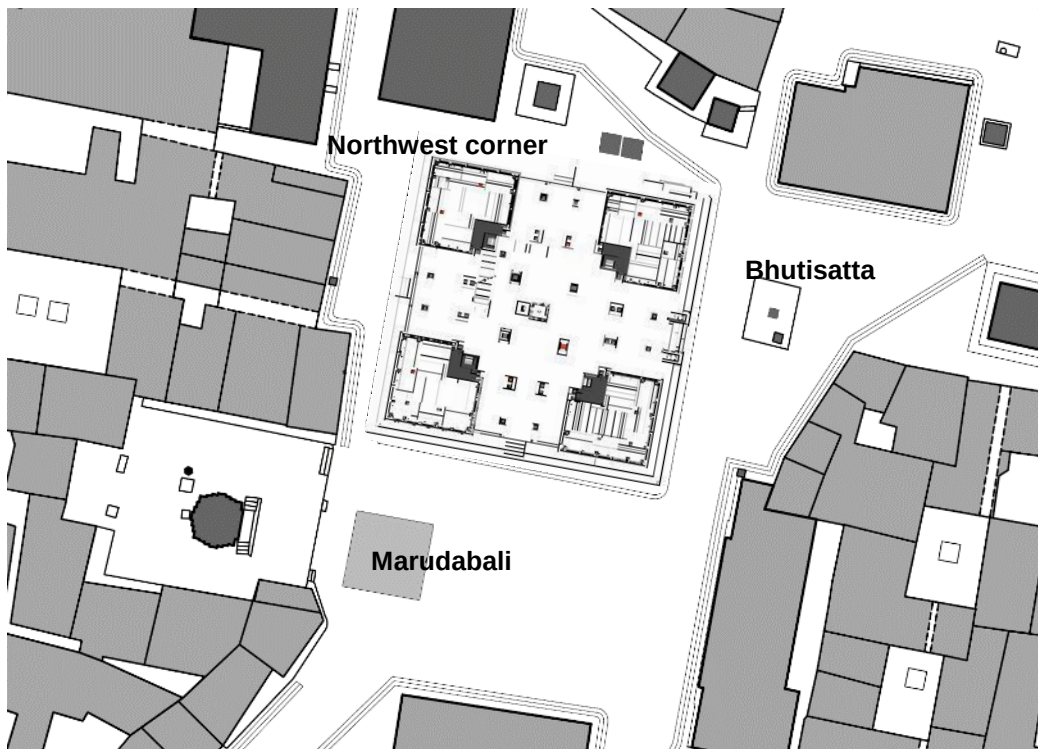


Figure 5.2: Main locations of rituals in and around Kasthamandap (cadastre plan, Department of Survey, with annotations by Atelier AJ/Kai Weise).



Figure 5.3: Watercolour of the Kasthamandap by Henry Ambrose Oldfield (Resident in Nepal 1850-1863) *Image courtesy: The Wellcome Collection*
<https://wellcomecollection.org/works/ach73dhj/items?canvas=127>



Figure 5.4: The Mahendra Malli coin with the inscription '*Srimat Kasthamandupasyadhipati*' at the National Numismatic Museum, Nepal (Image Anie Joshi).



Figure 5.5: The Kasthamandap in the 1960s with the shops on the southern fringe which were removed during the 1966 restoration (Image Ganesh Man Chitrakar 1965).



Figure 5.6: Postage stamp with Kasthamandap issued in 1987 and in 1996.



Figure 5.7: Gorakhnath shrine before the 1985 restoration (Image DOA).

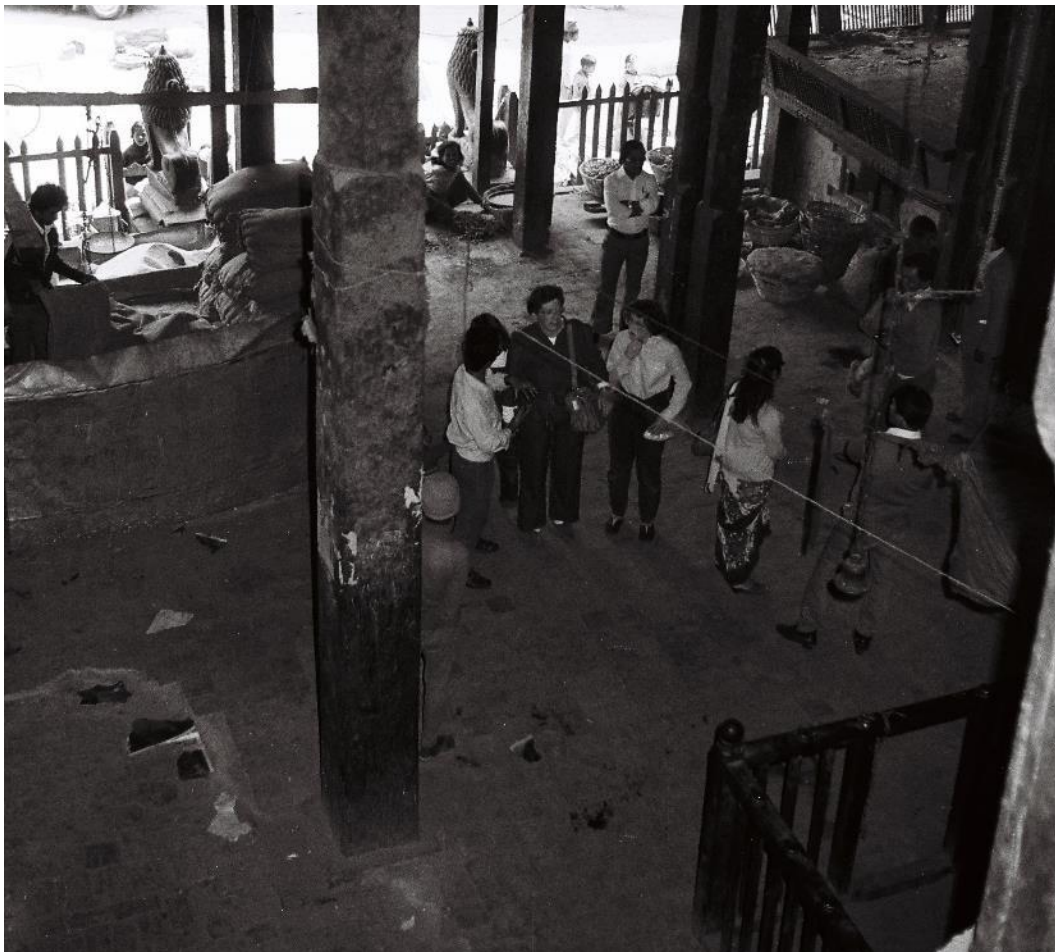


Figure 5.8: The northeast central post with its saddle stone exposed with the damaged floor tiles before the 1985 restoration (Image DOA).



Figure 5.9: Kasthamandap after the 1966 restoration (Image Mary Slusser 1967).



Figure 5.10: Encroachment with shop stalls and damages to the wooden elements in the early 1980s site (Image Ng Chong Kin 1983)



Figure 5.11: Queen Elizabeth II signing the visitor's book inside the Kasthamandap during her visit in 1986 (Image Tej Ratna Tamrakar).

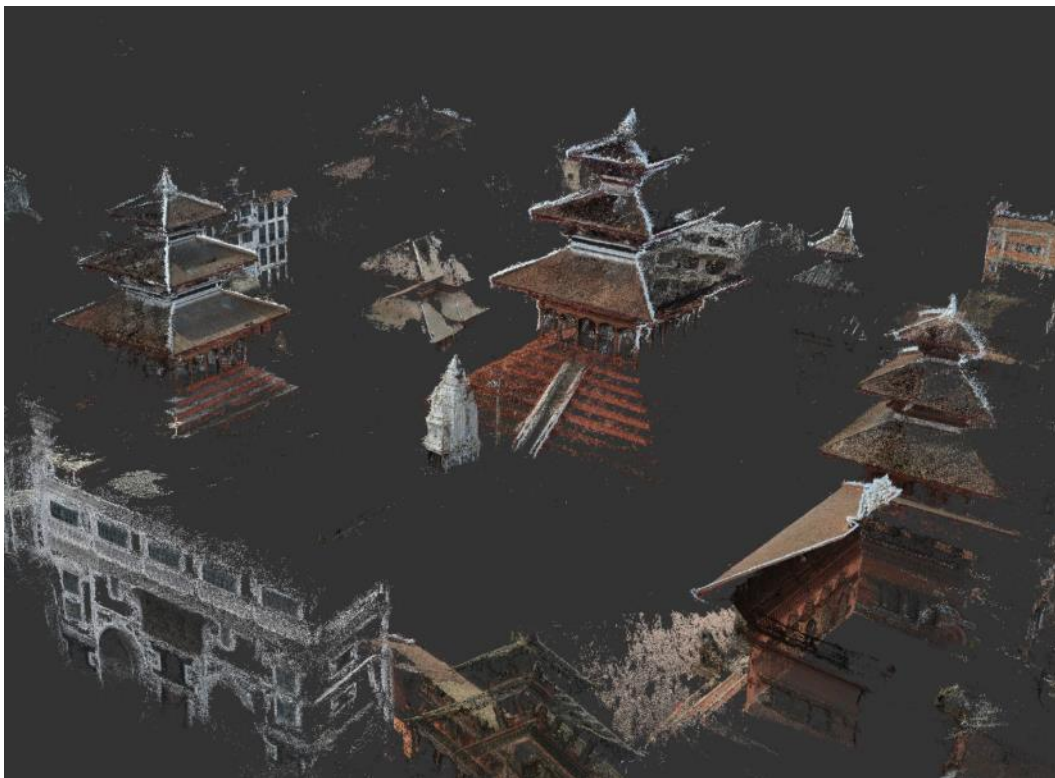


Figure 5.12: A 3D image of Hanumandhoka using web-scraping (Image Bradford University).

Chapter 6: The Gorkha Earthquake

6.1 Introduction

The Gorkha Earthquake struck on 25th April 2015, at 11:56 am, causing great destruction throughout central Nepal and bringing about the collapse of the Kasthamandap (Figure 6.1). Many were buried under the collapsed structure and at least ten people died (Interviewee A15: para 26). This chapter will deal with the immediate response to the earthquake, as well as the continued impact it had on the communities related to the Kasthamandap, as they struggled to negotiate the most acceptable means of reconstructing the historical pavilion. It took three years for the reconstruction process to begin.

The 7.8 magnitude Gorkha Earthquake, with the epicentre near Barpak in Gorkha District, some 77 kilometres to the northwest of Kathmandu, was followed by numerous aftershocks, include one of 7.3 magnitude on 12th May 2015 12:50 pm, with the epicentre near Kodari, 76 kilometres east-northeast of Kathmandu (Rai et al. 2015: 1). This seismic activity caused extensive damage throughout central Nepal.

As a result of the earthquake, 8,790 people died and more than 22,300 people were injured. Assessments showed that at least 498,852 private houses and 2,656 government buildings were destroyed. Another 256,697 private houses and 3,622 government buildings were partially damaged. In addition, 19,000 classrooms were destroyed and 11,000 damaged (Government of Nepal 2016a: 1).

This illustrates the extent of destruction caused by the earthquake which the Government of Nepal had to deal with. Furthermore, the impact on the cultural heritage was extensive, particularly on built heritage.

A total of 920 monuments were affected in 31 districts. This does not include approximately 845 Buddhist monasteries which come under the Monastery Management Committee, which is directly supported by NRA. Of these within the seven monument zones of Kathmandu Valley World Heritage property, there were 33 collapsed and 137 partially damaged monuments (Government of Nepal 2020: 6).

To facilitate the enormous task of rebuilding the country, the new Constitution of Nepal, which was being negotiated since 2008, was adopted on 20th September 2015. Parties displeased with various articles of the new Constitution protested and the southern border to India was sealed off for over four months, blockading the entry of materials required for reconstruction, including essential fuel and medications (Pant 2018: 21). Political stability

was only achieved with the local and general elections that were carried out in two phases in 2017, as per the 2015 Constitution of Nepal.

Under these circumstances, the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap was delayed by negotiations between the various stakeholders. There was a clash of different opinions on the approach and process of reconstruction, between government authorities, as well as with the local community of Marutole and different groups of heritage activists. This was also a period of contemplation and discussions, while numerous studies and research projects were carried out.

This chapter will examine what happened during the three years until the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap began. The response and involvement of the various community groups related to the Kasthamandap will be examined. There were the users of the monument, those involved in various activities in and around the historic structure, the devotees and the *guthi* members, whose activities were displaced. There were the neighbouring urban communities, the members who were the first responders, those who were directly and indirectly impacted by the collapse, as well as those who expressed their concern in various ways, to ensure the appropriate reconstruction of the Kasthamandap. There was the community group consisting of the authorities, the central government, the local government and the security forces, involved in the response and in the planning for the reconstruction of the monument. There was the technical community responsible for maintaining and carrying out research on the monument that included the building and cultural heritage experts, archaeologists and artisans. Then there was the community linked to the broader significance of the monument, as a national symbol and as part of the World Heritage property linked to the global community, and the activists who played a role in guiding the reconstruction to respect traditional architecture.

While Chapter 5 provided a detailed examination of the communities linked to the Kasthamandap leading up to the Gorkha Earthquake, Chapter 6 will provide an overview of the Gorkha Earthquake, the collapse of the Kasthamandap and the immediate impact on the various related communities during the three-year period before reconstruction works on the monument could begin. This chapter will meet objective five, which is to determine how the Gorkha Earthquake directly impacted the governance system, the community and the monument itself.

6.2 The users of the Kasthamandap in response to the earthquake

On the Saturday morning of 25th April 2015, the main activity within the Kasthamandap was a blood donation camp (Interviewee C2: para 4). There were people entering the structure to pay homage to the four Ganesh statues and the Gorakhnath shrine, however, the main rush of devotees would have been over before the earthquake struck four minutes before noon. It is not known exactly how many people lost their lives within the Kasthamandap, and only ten persons directly related to the blood donation camp have been identified, who were commemorated at the Kasthamandap on the anniversaries of the earthquake (Figure 6.15) (Interviewee A15: para26). This will be discussed further in the next section.

The collapse of the Kasthamandap impacted the local communities, who visited the monument regularly, but also the *guthis* who carry out their annual festivals in and around the monument. The users of the monument were displaced, and to some degree ignored, but they continued their activities in whatever manner possible. This section will examine the direct impact of the earthquake, and the collapse of the Kasthamandap, had on the user communities, and how the communities dealt with it during the following three years. Reference will be made to the activities in the *Calendar of Events* provided in Section 7.2.4, where the continuity of these activities will be examined.

6.2.1 Those buried under the collapsed structure

It is not known how many people died due to the collapse of the Kasthamandap. What is known is that on that day, the Nimbus Savings and Credit Cooperative had arranged a blood donation camp in collaboration with the Nepal Red Cross. Linked to this event, ten persons died, three from the Nepal Red Cross and seven from the organisers who had remained till the end of the event. On the day of the anniversary of the earthquake the ten persons who lost their lives during this event were remembered by displaying their photographs on the fencing of the Kasthamandap (Interviewee A15: 26). Interviewee C6 said (para 28) that he had come to understand later that 21 or 22 people had died. Interviewee C2 (para 4) recounted that a friend's daughter had been buried under the Kasthamandap, who had been one of the staff of the organisers. No information could be found on others who might have died here. However, there are indications that there were more fatalities, as will be discussed below.

What is not known is whether there were many more people there who might have been paying homage to the Ganesh shrines, or to Gorakhnath, and who might have been trapped.

There were many who were trapped under the timber beams, from the blood donation programme. Slowly, several people were removed from the rubble. [...],

some just the bodies, and also others who had survived were removed (Interviewee C4: para 7).

In the interviews several other people were mentioned who lost their lives. For example, Interviewee C3 (para 10) mentioned being with a couple donating blood and the wife had not survived. There were further comments, but without referring to specific numbers.

There were the corpses of beggars. Some had lost their legs. We also carried those corpses from the Kasthamandap [...]. There, however, does not seem to be any record of this (Interviewee A6: para 11).

Eyewitnesses to the collapse of the Kasthamandap state that the monument did not collapse immediately. There was a lot of noise and initially the structure swayed, so there were people who had run out of the monument, who then ran back in. Interviewee C2 (para 4) remembers running out of the Kasthamandap and seeing some ten to 12 people running back in before being thrown out by the wind created by the collapsing structure. Being thrown against the tin sheet barricades erected for the restoration project of Singha Sattal, he did not see what happened to those people.

There were also those who were buried under the rubble and survived. Particularly distressing is the story of a survivor who got pinned under one of the main timber posts. Interviewee C6 (para 12) recalled the fear that he felt while he was still buried, that he would not survive, when hearing that a bulldozer was going to be brought to help clear the site. He had survived because he had been protected by one of the main central posts. Two months later, when he had recovered, he went to see the post that had saved him.

According to Major Lok Bahadur Katwal, the officer in charge of the Sardul Jung Gulma, a company of the Nepal Army garrisoned in the Hanumandhoka Palace, the joint rescue mission between the army, the police and the community were able to extract 27 people from the rubble, and many were alive who were taken to Bir Hospital for treatment. “Sadly, some of them did not make it” (Joshi et al. 2022: 106).

It was not possible to find out how many people died due to the collapse of the Kasthamandap. The ten members linked to the blood donation camp are remembered at the site of the disaster (Figure 6.15), but others have merged into the overall statistics of the 8,790 fatalities of the Gorkha Earthquake (Government of Nepal 2016a: 1).

6.2.2 The *guthis* and the continuity of ritual practices

The related rituals and festivals carried out annually by various *guthis*, as have been described in Chapter 5, were challenged by the collapse of the Kasthamandap. The annual rituals of the Sa Guthi and the Ta Chatan Guthi were continued, but the greatest impact was on the Nath Sampradaya, since the image of Gorakhnath was broken in two and the pieces removed to the Hanumandhoka Palace Museum. This section will describe how the *guthis* related to the Kasthamandap carried out their activities after the earthquake and during the following three years.

Ta Chatan Guthi

Since the annual festival, the Panchadan, carried out during the month of Gunla of the Nepal Samvat (NS) calendar, roughly corresponding to August. This allowed several months of preparations after the earthquake. The recitation of the *Pragyaparamita* by the Tamrakars of Piganani continued being carried out in the *pala's* house, house of the family whose turn it was. However, as explained by Interviewee B16 (para 11), the cooking of the rice, which used to take place within the Kasthamandap had to be carried out within the Piganani neighbourhood, since the site was still covered with rubble. The Panchadan, the offering of food was carried out to the south of the Kasthamandap. From the second year onward, this activity was done in the same location as would have been carried out when the Kasthamandap was standing, next to the northwest pavilion. The overnight storage of the rice, which used to take place in the room below the northwest pavilion, was done within the Piganani neighbourhood (A. Joshi 2022: 207).

Sa Guthi

The main rituals carried out by the Sa Guthi take place on Magh Sankranti, which would be in the middle of January each year, as has been explained in Section 5.2. The first time the rituals were carried out after the earthquake was on 15th January 2016. There had been ample time to prepare. The area around the collapsed monument had already been cleared. As Interviewee B14 (para 5) explained, the cooking of the wheat took place on the site, between the two central posts on the northern side, then indicated only by the north-western saddlestones. The storage of the cooked wheat that took place in the room under the northeast pavilion could not be done. Therefore, as requested by the *guthi* members, it was stored in the Maru Ganesh Dyochhen, located to the west of the Kasthamandap, until the Kasthamandap was reconstructed. It was possible to carry out the Bhutisa Puja to the south of the Kasthamandap. The Maru *dabali* was also cleared, which meant it was possible to carry out the Kalasha Puja and the Bahu Bighu ritual. It was only the Pata Chayegu or flag hoisting, next to the *gajur* of the Kasthamandap, on the pinnacle of the topmost roof, which

was not possible. The flag was therefore hoisted near the centre of the site, and on the highest points as the reconstruction of the monument progressed (A. Joshi 2022: 204).

Nath Sampradaya

As has been explained in Chapter 5, the daily worship of the Gorakhnath image, the Nitya Puja, was carried out by a designated Kanphatta Yogis from the Gorakhnath Sampradaya based in Mrigasthali at Pashupatinath. When the earthquake struck, Interviewee C2 (para 4) remembers having entered the Kasthamandap and was greeting the person who was looking after the Gorakhnath shrine, a friend's son-in-law, and they both ran out of the structure in opposite directions. The Kasthamandap collapsed and when the image of the Gorakhnath was found the following day, as per Kaji Man Pyakurel, the responsible DOA officer, it was broken in two pieces (2022: 105). The salvaging and restoration of the Gorakhnath image will be discussed in Section 5.5; however, it must be mentioned, that the restored image was kept in the HDPM. The image was first kept next to the Dashain Ghar, a shrine near the museum office, but the constant rituals caused disturbance, and the image was then moved to the Nhuchhe Chowk, on the veranda of the Farashkhana (Figure 3.4).

6.2.3 Impact on the visitors to the Kasthamandap

As Interviewee A15 (para 29) explained, the photographs from that period show that during the first year, people used the open space of the collapsed monument during the festivals such as Gai Jatra in August and Indra Jatra in September 2015. Without the area being fenced off, the crowds could gather in this raised space to observe the festivities, just as they would have done when the monument was standing (Figure 6.6). On various festivals, the site was decorated with colourful flags and the Brahmin priests continued their activities such as reading out their ritual texts within the site. These activities were also noted by the archaeologists who carried out investigations on the foundations of the Kasthamandap (Coningham et al. 2022: 172), which will be further discussed in Section 6.5. It must be noted that during the first season of archaeological investigations that were carried in October to November 2015, there was no fencing around the site and people could enter and observe the activities from an area defined by safety tape.

With the monument collapsed and the damaged images of the deities moved to the HDPM, as will be explained in Section 6.5, the devotees had lost their place of worship. However, during the first year, the central sanctum was cleared. First the area was defined by four long poles stuck in the corners, with a rope strung around the outside (Image 6.6). Later, in

October 2015, a timber mandap with a roof was built and placed over the central sanctum (Slusser 2016: 134). Interviewee A15 (para 28) mentions that this could have been either the KMC or the local community organisation, the Maru Twa Puchha. Though the broken Gorakhnath image was removed, in its place a metal trident, the symbol of Lord Shiva, was erected on a long pole. Rituals continued until a year later, when in March 2016 a chain-link fence was erected around the site of the collapsed Kasthamandap by KMC (Figure 6.6). The controversy that arose between the Municipality and the DOA when the fencing was being erected will be discussed in Section 6.4.

6.2.4 Sacred interpretation of the Kasthamandap

The interest in the Kasthamandap grew, particularly with the outcome of the archaeological research that was carried out in two phases, in 2015 and in 2016, which will be discussed in detail in Section 6.5. What was important for the interpretation of the structure, was that the ancient foundations formed a nine-celled mandala, with the central square again being divided into nine squares at a lower level (Coningham et al. 2022: 157). Sudarshan Raj Tiwari explained that “both the nine-pit ritual foundation structures, one provided under the central (*mul-*) *mandap* and the other under the whole sanctum, also support the geometry of the Panchabla (five lotuses) Yantra” (2022: 76). Yagyaman Pati Bajracharya interpreted the nine cell divisions of the foundations to represent the Dharmdhatu Mandala as being the basis for the construction of the Kasthamandap (2022: 64). Bajracharya also took the opportunity to carry out a Satwa Puja at the Kasthamandap when the second season of archaeological research ended, and as he states in an interview, it was to empower the people to successfully rebuild the Kasthamandap. He further explained that this was related to the registration of the Kasthamandap Punanirman Ka Lagi Abhiyan, the Campaign to Rebuild Kasthamandap (CRK), which will be discussed in a later section, and the *puja* was organised to show the government that they had the capacity to bring together the people required for the task of rebuilding the monument (Joshi et al. 2022: 126). Though the campaign was not successful, Yagyaman Pati Bajracharya later became the expert for managing all rituals during the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap, which will be discussed in Chapter 7.

6.3 The urban context of the Kasthamandap in response to the earthquake

The Kasthamandap collapsed four minutes before midday on the 25th of April, which was a Saturday, a day when community activities take place on the square and the local community members are at home or shopping nearby. As has been explained in Section 6.2, that morning, there was a blood donation camp taking place within the Kasthamandap, organized by a local

cooperative. When the large structure that covers much of the northern section of Maru Square collapsed, it blocked the access along the main routes passing through the square. The communities from the adjacent neighbourhoods ran out into the square to find the remains of the collapsed monument. As per the various interviewees, the visitors who happened to be in Maru Square, and the local community members became the first responders to the site, helping with search and rescue and then the salvaging of valuable materials. Interviewees also explained how the collapse of the monument also had a direct impact on the immediately surrounding buildings, as well as the commercial activities within the square. This section will examine the impact of the collapse of the Kasthamandap on the surrounding urban communities, their response and continued concern for the appropriate reconstruction of the Kasthamandap.

6.3.1 Immediate rescue efforts

When the earthquake struck, there was chaos in the Hanumandhoka Durbar Square area, since so many monuments had collapsed. There were numerous people who were buried under the collapsed structure of the Kasthamandap, and the people in the vicinity responded immediately. This then became a major site for search and rescue (Interviewee A6: para 7).

There were many people who got involved in the immediate response and the search and rescue of survivors (Figure 6.1). Those living around Maru rushed out of their houses and headed for the open space of the square. Interviewee C4 (para 1-2) had been cleaning the passages and courtyards of Piganani in preparation for the Buddha Jayanti when the earthquake struck, and running towards the square, he was surprised to see how the passage was bright without the shadow of the enormous monument. Immediately he helped rescue some children who were trapped. Interviewee C5 (para 5) described how he had gone out and seen that all the temples had collapsed and remembering the blood donation camp hurried over to the Kasthamandap, where he joined others who were lifting beams and rubble to free those who were trapped underneath.

In an interview, Basanta Shrestha, the head of the Maru Twa Pucha Tole Sudhar Samiti, the local committee responsible for the improvement of Marutole, explained that, seeing the locals and street vendors helping clear rubble and rescue people at the Kasthamandap, he went to the HDPM to get the army to help, who were later followed by the police (A. Joshi 2022: 123). The involvement of the authorities in the response phase, including the security forces, will be examined later in Section 6.4.

According to Interviewee A6 (para 18), the main problem that the first responders faced was the lack of equipment and personal safety gear. They did prioritise how they worked, by first helping rescue those who were still alive, then to removing the corpses, and only then sorting and inventorying heritage artefacts. The inventories were then verified together with the authorities before being moved to a safe location.

There were desperate moments when it seemed impossible to save the lives of those trapped below the massive timber posts, and Interviewee C4 (para 8) described how, even though there were maybe a hundred people helping on the first day, they did not have any equipment until they got a chainsaw from a nearby house and sawed one of the main posts into two.

Interviewee C5 (para 8) explained that the surrounding communities provide water and food, and sometimes they brought gas to the site and things got cooked there. Everyday water and snacks were provided for 500 to 600 volunteers. The communities continued to be involved at the site and Interviewee C5 (para 6-7) explained that they spent the whole day working and then slept in a tent erected in the middle of the Kasthamandap site for a month, to make sure nothing got stolen.

6.3.2 Impact on Maru neighbourhood and their response

The collapse of the Kasthamandap directly and indirectly impacted the neighbourhoods around Maru (Figure 6.5). As the structure collapsed, a timber beam pierced through the ground floor shops of the houses in the Piganani neighbourhood to the west. Interviewee B11 (para 4) described how the rafters of Kasthamandap pierced into the shop, filling it with debris, however everyone there survived. As mentioned above in the previous section, many of those involved in the search and rescue, as well as the salvaging of cultural objects were members of the local community living in the neighbourhoods around Maru (Figure 6.3).

The collapse of the Kasthamandap changed the entire setting of the square, hindering the traffic and displacing the vendors from the immediate surroundings. Moreover, the immediate impact of the collapse of the Kasthamandap was on those who daily visited the monument to venerate the Ganesh and Gorakhnath shrines. For the festivals around the Kasthamandap to continue, it was important that the streets were cleared. Following the earthquake, the next big festival was Indra Jatra, which took place during the week of 27th September 2015. Three chariots, with Kumari, Ganesh and Bhairav, needed to be pulled around the city. As Interviewee A6 (para 57-58) explained, there were plans of using palanquins instead of the chariots, but the organizers thought this might change the tradition and made all efforts to clear the streets and provide adequate emergency services to carry out the festival following the traditions of pulling the chariots through the city.

Once the Kasthamandap collapsed, the related communities changed their sentiment towards the monument, from taking it for granted to carry out their daily activities, to focusing on its historical significance. As Interviewee A3 (para 2) explained, the thoughts of the people were that their oldest monument, from the eleventh century CE had collapsed. Then the archaeological research showed that the monument was even older, with the foundations being from the seventh century CE and the sentiments of the people grew even more. The significance was not based on the Gorakhnath shrine, or any religious importance, but that the Kasthamandap needed to be rebuilt and protected for the culture of Kathmandu. Even the younger generation took interest in this (Interviewee A3: para 2).

The communities from the surrounding neighbourhoods initially got involved in the discussion on how the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap should be carried out. Interviewee C4 (para 15) mentions that the locals were involved in pushing for the Kasthamandap to be rebuilt. Interviewee C3 (para 14) explained that in the neighbourhood they had even discussed how the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap should be done and met with Bhesh Narayan Dahal, the then Director-General of the DOA. The communities living around Marutole clearly differentiated themselves from the Kasthamandap Punanirman Ka Lagi Abhiyan, the Campaign to Rebuilt Kasthamandap, which will be further discussed in Section 6.6.

6.3.3 The continued commercial activities

The commercial activities within Maru Square had already diminished before the earthquake through the removal of shops in the Singha Sattal and the Kavindrappur Sattal. Furthermore, as noted in Chapter 5, all commercial activities within the Kasthamandap had also been removed during the 1966 renovation and again during the 1985 renovation. However, the surrounding urban fabric consisted of buildings which had shops on the ground floor. The impact on the commercial activities of these shops varied. Interviewee B11 (para 6) explained that her shop was damaged and for four months she went to stay in the neighbouring city of Thimi, where her family lived.

The main square is used as a market, particularly in the morning and evening. In the morning, flowers and fruits are sold for offerings, particularly in the corner around the Ashok Binayak, the Maru Ganesh shrine on the northeast corner of the Kasthamandap. Here Brahmin priests sit inside and along the Kasthamandap fencing and provide their services in prayers and blessings, accepting customary offering and monetary contributions. In the evenings, the vendors sell mainly fruits and vegetables (Interviewee A15: para 28).

Interviewee B9 (para 5) described how they had spent two months living in a tent on the open grounds of the Tundikhel. They then decided that they needed to go back and set up the stall again to earn money. There were continued expenses, particularly to make sure that the children continued going to school. After the earthquake, when the Kasthamandap collapsed, they set up their stalls on the rubble, and then next to the construction site (ibid.: para 6). It did not stop their business, since flowers were required for all kinds of activities, particularly to offer to the shrines, but also when people died. So, the flower business is always good (ibid.: para 3).

6.4 The authorities of the Kasthamandap in response to the earthquake

This section provides an overview of the government involvement in the earthquake response phase during the three-year period after the Gorkha Earthquake and before the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap. The respective government authorities included the DOA, the KMC, the security forces, which include both army and police, as well as the Guthi Sansthan and the NRA. The responsibilities of each of these authorities and the roles they played will be examined in this section.

The security forces, particularly the army, was immediately ready to deploy in response to the earthquake, while it took others more time to get organized (Interviewee A10a: para 11). As Interviewee A6 (para 19) questions, “Here so much damage has been caused by the earthquake, the Nepal Army is here, Police is here, everyone is here, where are the ones who collect fees, the Department of Archaeology, Palace Maintenance Office and the Municipality?” Then the initial steps taken for the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap by both the DOA and the KMC were countered by protests from concerned community members, who were against the standard tendering procedure and the use of modern materials (Risal 2016).

Within this period some major changes were made to the government authorities to response to the disaster and, with the promulgation of the new Constitution of Nepal on 20th September 2015, a new tier of provincial government was introduced (A. Joshi 2022: 115). Elections were held in 2017 establishing the new elected government. These events had a direct impact on the rehabilitation of the Kasthamandap.

6.4.1 Response of the authorities to the collapse of the Kasthamandap

The security forces themselves had numerous casualties around Hanumandhoka. As interviewee A6 (para 13) explained, a policeman died at the Vamsagopal Temple that was

under restoration. Four soldiers died behind the Gompukot barracks. A soldier was also killed on the south wing of the HDPM that collapsed.

The security forces were the first authority to respond to the disaster, initially the army, followed by the police and later the Armed Police Force. As Interviewee A10 (para 11) explained; “The army was the only part of the government that was prepared. That is what it was trained for”. However, the army did not have the expertise to deal with the recovery phase, and once the security situation was clear, they moved out and handed it over to the responsible government authority. Major Lok Bahadur Katwal who was in charge of Sardul Jung Gulma at Hanumandhoka explained the situation at the Kasthamandap.

At Kasthamandap there were many people trapped, as the blood donation program was going on. I think there were around 27 people inside the rubble and with the joint rescue mission between the army, the police and the community; we were able to extract many victims alive, who were then taken to the Bir Hospital for treatment. Sadly, some of them could not make it (A. Joshi 2022: 106).

At the Kasthamandap, initially the security was uncontrolled, and the local community dealt with the situation. Interviewee A3 (para 10) described how local community members had called the DOA, asking what to do, and they were told to try to cordon off the area with ribbons and rope and, while people are being rescued, to keep a watchful eye on the possible removal of objects. It was only later that the armed police cordoned off the site to allow for the search and rescue to take place and control the flow of people.

As was described previously by the community responders, they did not have any heavy equipment. It was only when the security forces arrived that they arranged for heavy machinery. Photographs show that initially a single teal coloured excavator was used. By the second day there were two smaller yellow backhoe loaders working over the rubble (Figure 6.4). There were protests against the use of heavy equipment.

The bulldozer [excavator] arrived, from India [several mentions of Indian, but unclear what that meant], others also came, [...] I told them that I will not allow bulldozers to be used, since it could be that people might still be alive. [...] We will take them out slowly, but if they are alive, we need to do this manually (Interviewee A6: para 11).

Interviewee A3 (para 13) said that at another site, the Hemhiranya Temple, after the fourth or fifth day, the army had said that they could not remove all the rubble without using heavy equipment, and the DOA had complained to the Chief of Army Staff. It was after this incident that the coordination between the Army and the DOA was set up. Interviewee A3 (para 15)

explained that after the sixth day, every morning a meeting was held at the Army Headquarters together with the designated representative of the DOA, and deployment plans were made. An officer of the DOA was assigned to each site.

The coordination did not always work. Even later, the army used excavators to clear the Kasthamandap, since it was said that there could still be corpses under the rubble. Interviewee A3 (para 17) described how the plinth and remaining structure of the Kasthamandap was being cleared, and again the DOA had to contact the Army Headquarters to stop them.

During the time that search and rescue was being carried out in and around the heritage sites, individual as well as organizational volunteers flocked onto the site to support the rescue effort. As there were too many people, the salvaging of cultural objects and important components of the built heritage was being done in a haphazard manner. Interviewee C4 (para 12) described how they had initially sorted out the material, separating them according to which monument they came from, but once it got too much, things got all mixed up. Interviewee A6 (para 20) remembered political parties bringing their followers to help with such work, but they worked chaotically and the elements from different monuments got mixed up. Seeing this as a problem, officers of the DOA arranged short orientation courses to young local volunteers on salvaging materials.

Do not demolish anything, collect whatever is scattered around. Check each piece before passing it on, since it could have writing, or decorations, or dates. Separate these out. Also keep the salvaged artefacts from each temple separately (Interviewee A3: para 18).

It was only much later that a dedicated project had to be set up to get experts to sort out the salvaged materials, which will be explained in Section 6.5.

The involvement of the DOA during the immediate response period restricted itself to basic monitoring as has been explained above. However, there were complaints that the site office of the DOA, the HDPMO, did not get involved and according to Interviewee A3 (para 18), “for the first ten days [after the earthquake], they would not even come outside [the palace area]”. However, a very crucial task was carried out by one of the officers, the inventorying of important objects that were found. Not having any paper, the *muchulka*, or inventory of salvaged objects, was written into a school notebook, and signed by representatives of the community, the security forces and the DOA. In an interview, Kaji Man Pyakurel explained, it was only possible to salvage cultural objects on the second day, such as the image of Gorakhnath, which was broken in two, and the slightly damaged images of Ganesh (A. Joshi 2022: 109).

The local government, comprising of the KMC and its various offices, were not actively involved in the immediate response phase at the Kasthamandap. Interviewee A3 (para 18) complained that, since at that time the municipalities did not have a Mayor or Deputy Mayor, the bureaucrats who were there “did not do anything, they did not help at all”.

6.4.2 Initial attempts of the authorities to rebuild the Kasthamandap

As has already been explained in Chapter 5, the principal authority responsible for the monuments of national importance, and for World Heritage, is the DOA, under the Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Civil Aviation (MOCTCA). The Kasthamandap, is a ‘Classification A’ monument and was listed in the World Heritage nomination document (Government of Nepal 1979: 6). The Guthi Sansthan, that would have been the de facto owner of the monument as indicated in the nomination dossier, had relinquished all its duties to the DOA, other than providing support for intangible heritage, as has been explained in Section 5.4.3. This meant that the DOA had to take the official decision on how and by whom the Kasthamandap was going to be rebuilt.

In response to the destruction caused by the earthquake on the culture sector, the Earthquake Response Coordination Office (ERCO) was established at the DOA on 10th May 2015, with technical support from ICOMOS Nepal and financial support from UNESCO Kathmandu Office. The ERCO team worked on mapping damage and preparing the ‘Basic Guidelines for the Conservation and Reconstruction of Earthquake-Damaged Heritage 2072’ (Appendix 3). It must be noted here that the Engineering Section commissioned their own study focusing on the reconstruction and strengthening of monuments, however, many concepts that were presented contradicted the conservation guidelines. It was agreed between ERCO and the Engineering Section that some form of manual would be prepared which was mentioned in the basic guideline document (Government of Nepal 2016b: 10), but this was never prepared. The conflicting views between using traditional means of reconstruction and strengthening with modern materials and technology continued to define the discussion on how to rebuild the Kasthamandap.

The DOA decided to hand over the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap to the KMC. Interviewee A3 (para 22) explained that there were many at the Department who thought the Kasthamandap, being a ‘Classification A’ monument of historic and archaeological importance, should be dealt with directly by the DOA, “but [the main decision makers] were of a different opinion, that since the Municipality collected all the entrance fees and taxes from this area, and considering the sentiment of the public [local residents and activists], the Kasthamandap should be left to the Municipality”.

The DOA got the drawings prepared for the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap by a junior architect between July and September 2015, which will be discussed further in Section 6.5. These drawings were then passed on to the consultants who were working on the structural design for the Kasthamandap. The consultant, though a senior structural engineer, had never worked on traditional structures, and introduced various interventions to the original design. The technical aspects of these designs will be discussed further in Section 6.5.1; however, it quickly became clear that the design was too intrusive and was against the principles of traditional construction. This will be studied in detail in Section 6.4.2. It also did not consider the findings of the archaeological research carried out on the foundations of the Kasthamandap, that the original foundations of the seventh century CE “were extremely well preserved and showed little evidence of earthquake displacement, damage or distortion” (Coningham et al. 2022: 167). Interviewee A6 (para 42) explained that there were many who were against this new design, using “fibre, cement and steel”. The entire activist movement against the use of modern materials, as well as protest against the tendering out of the reconstruction project to the lowest bidder, will be examined in Section 6.6.4.

Meanwhile, the KMC had tendered out the construction of fencing around the various collapsed monuments within the Hanumandhoka Durbar Square in January 2016. The DOA instructed the work to be halted after receiving complaints from heritage activists, that the contractors were digging right next to the foundations of the monuments, and they were using cement concrete to fix the fencing posts. The KMC justified carrying out the work, stating the locals had expressed concern that if the damaged monuments would be left unprotected, it could suffer further damage (*The Kathmandu Post* 5 February 2016). The relationship between the KMC and the DOA continued to be tested, particularly when having to deal with the issues raised by activists, as will be further described in this section and in Section 6.6.4.

A community hearing of the proposed project design was organized at the District Development Committee Hall on 2nd February 2016 by Member of Parliament, the late Nabindra Raj Joshi, where community members spoke up against the design. It was decided that a technical committee led by Prof Sudarshan Raj Tiwari was going to review the design (A. Joshi 2022: 114).

The government procedure continued. On 7th February 2016 an agreement was signed, with the DOA handing over the full responsibility for the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap to the KMC. The drawings of the project, still with major interventions, with the cost estimates of a 192 million Nepali Rupees were handed over by the DOA to the KMC on 31st March 2016. The drawings were put on public display on Basantapur Square for a week, and

the design continued to be criticised by the public (Figure 6.13) (Interviewee A9: para 14). A further meeting was held on 18th April 2016 to launch the reconstruction on the first anniversary of the Gorkha Earthquake, but that did not take place (A. Joshi 2022: 116). In the beginning of the following year, a further attempt was made to carry out the tendering process by the KMC, with the prequalification rounds completed by 25th January 2017, but no bids were submitted (ibid.: 117).

To respond to the enormous task of dealing with the destruction caused by the Gorkha Earthquake, the National Reconstruction Authority (NRA) was established on 25th December 2015 and the Post Disaster Recovery Framework (PDRF) was prepared for the first anniversary of the earthquake. This will be discussed concerning the involvement of foreign funding agencies in Section 6.6.2. The NRA included a 'Heritage Preservation, Public Buildings and Infrastructures Division', creating some confusion in respect to the authorities and hierarchies vis-à-vis the DOA. The NRA was not responsible for the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap, however, there were incidences when they got involved indirectly, by influencing other stakeholders. The CEO of the NRA approached the local community leader, Birendra Bhakta Shrestha, who was leading the CRK, asking whether they could carry out the reconstruction. In an interview, Birendra Bhakta Shrestha explained that he had felt challenged to carry out this project and agreed (A. Joshi 2022: 124). The activism that developed in respect to the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap will be examined in Section 6.6.4, however, it must be mentioned here, that the NRA was instrumental in promoting the CRK to carry out the project, even convincing the DOA and the KMC to sign an agreement with them (Interviewee C11: para 2) on 13th April 2017. This was just two days before the local elections, which totally changed the power balance, side-lining the NRA at the Kasthamandap.

6.4.3 The 2015 Constitution and the elected government

The promulgation of the new Constitution of Nepal on 20th September 2015 had a direct impact on the outcome of the negotiations that were being carried out on how the monument would be rebuilt. There was hefty opposition to the new Constitution, particularly with the communities along the southern border, 'the Madhesi uprising', leading to blockades that lasted till early February 2016 (Hutt 2020: 382), which hindered the immediate efforts in the overall post-earthquake recovery (Lord and Moktan 2017: 132). However, it was the outcome of the elections that followed in 2017 that provided the political framework to begin reconstruction work.

Local elections were held on 14th May 2017 and Bidhya Sundar Sakya from the CPN-UML party, was sworn in as the Mayor of Kathmandu on 31st May 2017. The new mayor announced his 101 commitments on 20th July 2017, which included the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap in Public Private Partnership modality (A. Joshi 2022: 118). Some of the activists were not happy about it.

What happens in Nepal is, the political situation suddenly changes towards a different direction. There were elections. With the elections, what happened is, the issues concerning the Kasthamandap has become even more politicised (Interviewee C11: para 3).

The general elections, to form the national and newly formed provincial government, were carried out on 26th November and 7th December 2017. Rajesh Shakya from the CPN-UML party won the seat for constituency 8(A) that included the Hanumandhoka area. At the national level, the outcome was delayed, but by 16th February 2018 Khadga Prasad Oli, also from the CPN-UML party, was sworn in as Prime Minister. With all tiers of government under the same party, the political basis was established to rebuild the Kasthamandap (A. Joshi 2022: 118). The arrangements that led to the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap will be dealt with in detail in Chapter 7.

6.5 The custodians of the Kasthamandap in response to the earthquake

This section provides an overview of the technical professionals responsible for maintaining and carrying out research, including architects, engineers, archaeologists, traditional building craftspeople and contractors, who were involved in the earthquake response and preparations for the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap which continued for three years. The technical professionals were not involved, as such, during the earthquake response phase of search and rescue and salvaging of objects. Even during the following three-year period, when the discussions were mainly targeted at who would take the responsibility to rebuild the Kasthamandap, the technical professionals were not in any decision-making position, and the traditional building craftspeople were not even consulted.

The technical professionals themselves conflicted on whether modern materials and technology should be introduced when rebuilding the monument. This became the central theme of discussions and disputes between the authorities, local communities and the activists, prolonging the debate and delaying the reconstruction of the monument. The delay was also beneficial, since it allowed for research to be carried out, particularly in respect to archaeological investigations of the foundations, as well as on the salvaged materials, allowing for new knowledge to be gained on the monument. This section will examine the

activities and contributions of the technical professional right after the Gorkha Earthquake and the following three years, before reconstruction began on the Kasthamandap.

6.5.1 Architectural and structural planning for reconstruction

According to government procedures, the technical expertise of architects and structural engineers were required to plan out the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap. As has been explained in Section 6.4, from the side of the authorities, it was the DOA that took on the task of preparing drawings, structural designs and estimates for the project, preparing the documents required for standard tendering procedures. When these designs were confronted by local community members and activists, the authorities established a technical committee of architects and engineers to review the design and come up with recommendations. The activists, organised under the banner of the CRK, also established a team of young architects to carry out research on the monument. As will be explained in this section, all these efforts did not lead to a solution for the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap, but did, directly or indirectly, raise the critical question on the appropriate technology and materials and procedures.

Department of Archaeology (DOA)

As mentioned in Section 6.4, the DOA prepared the documentation of the Kasthamandap and commissioned the structural design and detailing to be prepared. The architectural drawings were prepared by a junior architect hired by the DOA between July and September 2015. Roshani Maharjan explained she managed to prepare the drawings by getting an overall idea from Wolfgang Korn's published drawings, and then getting measurements of the site and various salvaged timber elements (A. Joshi 2022: 122). The ICOMOS Nepal project had identified the salvaged elements belonging to the Kasthamandap, which will be discussed in a later section. At the time the foundations of the Kasthamandap had not yet been investigated by the archaeologists, and the drawings remained without any foundation details.

Based on these drawings, the joint venture team of Design Station Architects and Planners and MRB associates worked on the technical details and structural design for the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap (ibid.: 115). The structural design and technical details were presented at the DOA on 7th January 2016, introducing various forms of modern intervention, which included the use of reinforced cement concrete (Figure 6.14). Various community groups and individual experts protested the proposed design. As Interviewee A9

(para 14) stated, the protests had grown since the archaeologists had found the foundation to be in perfect condition after all these centuries, so questioned the need for further strengthening. The involvement of the archaeologists and the outcome of their research will be presented in the Section 6.5.3. A following presentation was made by the consultants in the District Development Committee (DDC) hall at Babar Mahal on 27th January 2016, and as per the drawings and presentation provided by the consultant, various adaptations had been made, such as the concrete piles to strengthen the foundations had been changed to timber piles. The structural interventions included improvement of ductility of connections, improvement of structural integrity by tying together structural members, improvement of connection between floor diaphragm and walls, and reduction of weight, particularly of the roofs, to lower the earthquake forces. Some of the proposed details included 12-inch by 12-inch laminate timber tie-beams above the plinth, timber posts inserted into the brick masonry tied together with steel rods, horizontal geo-grid bands in brick masonry, introduction of micro-fibres to lime mortar and diagonal bracing for roof overhangs (Figures 6.14) (MRB Associates 2016: 8, 17-21).

The consultants continued justifying the proposed strengthening of the foundations of the Kasthamandap, despite the criticism from activists and various experts and the results of archaeological investigations that found the foundations from the seventh century CE to be extremely well preserved. In an email to the Engineer at the DOA dated 31st January 2016, the consultants explain that the total load of 8380 kilonewtons is distributed on foundations measuring 56.16 square metres, producing a pressure of close to 150 kilonewtons per square metre, which is much higher than the 104 kilonewtons per square metre recommended by the Geo-technical Investigation (MRB Associates 2015: 8). The consultant further explains that even if the soil bearing capacity might be sufficient based on-site parameters, a further consideration is vertical acceleration, causing tension uplift requiring anchorage, which can only be achieved by introducing piles connected to the cross beams at plinth level.

The consultants were again challenged by community members at a public hearing organized on 2nd February 2016 at the District Development Committee Hall at Babar Mahal by the late Nabindra Raj Joshi. Interviewee A6 recalls the heated discussions at the meeting.

[The Engineer] said that we should not build monuments that kill people. That was not acceptable. If you talk about age, Taleju Bhawani is still standing. It is still standing, so there is a lot that still needs to be learned [from the traditional building technology]. If this is heritage that kills people, let's demolish all the inner city. Let's demolish it right away. And what guarantee is there of the [buildings constructed with]

cement? How many years will they last? Have new cement buildings not collapsed?
(Interviewee A6: para 42).

The Technical Committee

At the meeting in the DDC hall at Babar Mahal a separate Technical Committee was created, led by senior architect Professor Sudarshan Raj Tiwari to review the design of the consultants and provide amendments. There is no report available on the review by the Technical Committee, however, Tiwari presented the findings during an event organized by ICOMOS Nepal on 15th February 2016 (ICOMOS 2016a: 78). Based on the rapporteur's notes, the following comments were made. He stated that the reconstruction of the monument could not be designed on the drawing board but would need to be decided as the construction proceeds. Furthermore, he presented various proposals made by the Technical Committee. The proposed piles should not be introduced to the foundations. At plinth level, instead of the proposed concrete plinth beams, timber tie beams or *lakashe* should be introduced, to allow for better anchoring of the posts. Timber reinforcement should be introduced to strengthen the brick masonry. Possibly rice husk, straw and cow-dung could be used to improve the quality of the mud mortar, even though there is no test data on this.

Technical Contributions by Campaign to Rebuild Kasthamandap (CRK)

The community group that organized themselves as the CRK under community leader Birendra Bhakta Shrestha, were made up mainly of volunteers. As per Interviewee A14 (para 5), there were several activities that took place such as the retelling of stories related to the Kasthamandap, particularly focusing on the various *guthis*. The volunteers also got involved in the mapping of the festivals and the activities of the visitors (Figure 6.12). According to Interviewee A9 (para 2), they carried out a study which was called *Decoding Kasthamandap*. With the support of numerous experts, the Kasthamandap was researched in respect to its architecture, as well as the mathematical proportions, and how it relates to the Vajrayana philosophy. This report was never made public and was not shared with the subsequent committee that was responsible for reconstructing the monument.

6.5.2 Salvaging and sorting of timber elements

The salvaging of materials was initially carried out in a systematic manner. However, as it became overwhelming, things became chaotic.

We separated out the materials from different monuments, as far as we understood. Since it was something we kept seeing, we could make out which monument the pieces came from. The element from this temple we first put near the Shiva Parvati Temple, but once there was too much material there, it got moved inside the palace. Then there was from Maju Dega, this temple and Kasthamandap. We first separated out the elements. We first planned out where what would be stored, but once there was too much material, things got mixed up (Interviewee C4: para 12).

The main stone images of the Kasthamandap, the four Ganesh and the Gorakhnath, were salvaged. Kaji Pyakurel explained that these were the artefacts given most importance, and they were salvaged on the second day following the earthquake (2022: 105). All of them had some damage to varying degree. The Gorakhnath image was broken in half (Figure 6.8). They were taken to the HDPM for safekeeping. It was also reported that the two parts were separated, one part going to the HDPM, while the other was taken to the National Museum in Chhauni (Coningham et al. 2015: 17). The two pieces were brought together, and the image was restored by a conservator using epoxy (Figure 5.2).

There were 20 locations where remains of collapsed monuments were piled up, mainly consisting of timber elements. It was only in December 2015 that a specific project was established coordinated by ICOMOS Nepal and funded by the UNESCO Kathmandu Office. The two main experts who were hired were the late Prof Mukunda Raj Aryal and the late Sukra Sagar Shrestha. To assist them and help reassemble doors and window elements, were master artisans Sushil Rajbhandari and Rakesh Birbal. It required ten months, in three phases, for the team to go through the salvaged artefacts. During this period the team got the artefacts and spread them out in one of the courtyards of the main HDPM, which was a secure location (Figure 6.2). "In a nutshell, salvaging and screening the artefacts, sorting them as per the monuments, inventorying them and storing them in a secure and systematic way was all that could be done within this phase" (Shrestha 2022: 191). The list of artefacts of the Kasthamandap that were salvaged, identified and registered are in the Table 6.1 provided at the end of the chapter.

On completion of the third and final phase of the project a stakeholder meeting was organized on 3rd October 2016. The discussions held during this meeting raised some important points which seemed to have been ignored by the government authorities, as well as the community campaign groups. The salvaged materials contained information on the monument, particularly in respect to sizes and iconography. The drawings prepared for the collapsed monuments needed to be checked based on these artefacts. Furthermore, planning was required for the reuse of the elements that were in acceptable condition. Even

the damaged elements needed to be either repaired, or then used as templates to reproduce new elements for the reconstruction of the monument (Figure 7.9). (ICOMOS Nepal 2016b: 14).

6.5.3 Archaeological investigations

Considering that very little research had been carried out on the foundations of monuments in the Kathmandu Valley, and the remains of the collapsed monuments would need to be studied in detail before reconstruction, this was the opportunity to carry out archaeological investigation. Even though extensive research has been carried out on all other aspects of the traditional architecture of the Kathmandu Valley, “little has been written on the monument’s foundations” (Coningham et al. 2016: 30). It was decided between the DOA, the UNESCO Kathmandu Office and the Durham University’s UNESCO Chair on Archaeological Ethics and Practice in Cultural Heritage to “excavate within the collapsed remains of the Kasthamandap in order to understand more about its foundations and construction sequence in advance of reconstruction” (ibid.: 30). Two seasons of excavations were carried out at the Kasthamandap by Durham University’s UNESCO Chair and University of Stirling, in collaboration with the DOA and ICOMOS Nepal. The international involvement will be discussed further in Section 6.6.3.

The findings of the archaeological investigations provided a major improvement in the understanding of the Kasthamandap, and overall, of historical monuments in the Kathmandu Valley. The findings also provided information on the age and condition of the foundations and the salvaged timber elements, which contributed to the dialogue on how to rebuild the monument. The investigation of the remains of the Kasthamandap also came across traces of activities that were going on when the monument collapsed, such as the blood donation camp, as well as the destruction caused during the search and rescue and the “clearing of the site by JCB [backhoe loaders] and bulldozer” (Coningham et al. 2015: 75).

A great wealth of information on the findings of the two seasons of archaeological investigations can be found in the reports and publications that have been prepared (Coningham et al. 2015, Coningham et al. 2016, Coningham et al. 2017, Coningham et al. 2019, Coningham et al. 2022). Some of this information still needs to be researched in respect to the history and chronology of built heritage within the Kathmandu Valley. Some of the findings have had immediate impact, contributing to the discourse on the significance of the Kasthamandap and on how to rebuild the monument.

(1) Dating

Before the archaeological research that was enabled by the collapse of the Kasthamandap, the earliest records of the monument were in the 12th century CE. As Slusser and Vajracharya wrote, “While we may almost certainly accept A.D. 1143, the first documented use of the name Kasthamandap, as the *terminus a quo* for the foundation of the *sattal*, [...] our first firm date appears two centuries later” (1974: 207). It was, therefore, quite a revelation when the monument foundations were dated to the seventh century CE. “[...] dates indicate that the Kasthamandap’s inner brick foundation wall, brick piers and exterior wall were originally laid out between the seventh and eighth centuries CE” (Coningham et al. 2022: 161). There were timber elements, such as a carved capital, which was dated to an even earlier period, raising question on the possibility of even earlier structures having existed in the area. “The sole remaining clue is the tantalising radiocarbon date from one of the lion-headed capitals within the Kasthamandap to between the fifth and sixth centuries CE [...]” (Coningham et al. 2022: 164).

These findings gave rise to increased interest in the monument. Interviewee A6 (para 28) thanked Durham University for the research since, “what we thought was from the twelfth century [CE], we found to be from the seventh century [CE]”. Interviewee A9 (para 14) explained how there was growing interest in the Kasthamandap once the reports on the archaeological investigations were circulated. In the publication on the Kasthamandap that was published in 2022, the results of these findings were quoted by practically all the contributors: Rajesh Shakya, Kai Weise (the researcher), Tri Ratna Manandhar, Gautama Vajra Vajracharya, Mahes Raj Pant, Yagyaman Pati Bajracharya, Sudarshan Raj Tiwari, Anie Joshi, Mary Shephard Slusser and Prem Nath Maskey. All the experts were contending with the impact of the latest findings, fitting this information into their understanding of the historical significance of the Kasthamandap.

(2) Design

The research led to various important findings on the design and detailing of the foundations and plinth of the Kasthamandap. The foundations did not have a stone rubble soling layer, as often found in later medieval structures, and was laid directly on a “prepared surface of alternating fine and coarser sediments” (Coningham et al. 2022: 155). The main interior walls were built of brick in mud mortar, stepped in three sets of 12 courses. The outer foundation and plinth walls were of three sets of eight courses. The saddlestones of the central posts were placed on top of independent brick piers, which were later connected by cross walls.

The construction of the cross-walls between the brick piers and the interior wall, and between each of the four piers themselves, thus resulted in the creation of a nine celled design and our excavations have suggested that each cell was filled with prepared deposits (Coningham et al. 2021: 157).

The fill material within the foundations was found to be specially prepared and filled in layers.

Between the foundations, brick piers and cross-walls, the carefully placed and prepared sediments have also been identified as engineered soils, with geoarchaeological analysis identifying a degree of liquefaction-proofing with the movement of water allowed through these sediments (Coningham et al. 2019: 63).

Remains of copper plates and shoes on the saddlestones of the four main posts indicated the introduction of copper as a protective measure for the base and tenon of the main posts. In addition to the above mentioned nine-pit foundation, the sacredness of the monument was indicated by the find of golden-foil mandala. “The monument’s symbolic attributes were reaffirmed through the discovery of gold foil discs with stamped mandala designs within the mortises of the four large central saddlestones” (Coningham et al. 2022: 166). These findings were particularly interesting for the technical team that was later responsible for the reconstruction of the monument which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

(3) Condition of foundations

“The exposed brickwork of the foundation walls, brick piers and cross-walls were extremely well preserved and showed little evidence of earthquake displacement, damage or distortion” (Figure 6.10) (Coningham et al. 2022: 167). This finding was critical in rejecting the proposed introduction of concrete and later timber piles to strengthen the foundations. As Interviewee A6 (para 28) states, “Many things became clear. We were able to observe the condition of the foundations. It was a big lesson”. These findings also supported the traditional procedures of reconstruction. Interviewee A1 (para 18) explains that “the whole question about strengthening the foundation, as per our understanding in Nepal, with the collapse of monument during earthquakes, [...] reconstruction is usually of the superstructure, and we usually do not touch the foundations”.

(4) Lack of maintenance and inappropriate interventions

The research on the plinth and the salvaged timber elements provided evidence of material deterioration, particularly of the timber posts on the ground floor, and inappropriate

interventions during past restoration works. Particularly alarming was the discovery that one of the main four central posts was not even sitting on the saddlestone. The research team hypothesised that “during the renovation, the conservators encountered a rotten tenon at the base of the large north-eastern central timber column, pushed this decayed element into the socket below and tiled it over” (Figure 6.10) (Coningham et al. 2022: 160). The senior structural engineer, Prem Nath Maskey notes: “The Kasthamandap pavilion, which survived the great Nepal Bihar Earthquake of 1934, collapsed completely in the Gorkha Earthquake of 2015” (2022: 177). Correlating to the findings on site, the reasons for the collapse provided by Maskey are the following: deterioration of materials, ageing of materials, lack of regular maintenance and repair and isolated alteration of structural elements and connections (ibid.: 182). Interviewee A1 (para 19) summarizes the concern that many had when the authorities proposed strengthening interventions. “[...] without having proper understanding of the structure, they say that it is not safe. It was not acceptable and that is why the community and experts in conservation were not happy”.

This was the first time that archaeological research was carried out on the foundations of a monument that had collapsed and was going to be reconstructed. There was the immediate impact of these findings being picked up by the activists who demanded that the monument be built back using traditional materials and technology which will be discussed in the Section 6.6.4. The findings also supported the reconstruction process which will be examined in Chapter 7.

6.5.4 The traditional artisans

There is no evidence of artisans being included in any of the discussions during the earthquake response and rehabilitation preparatory phase for the Kasthamandap. As mentioned above, master artisans were only used to carry out the sorting, identification and reassembling of the salvaged artefacts. The first time that artisans were contacted for the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap was on 4th January 2018. A meeting with the master carpenter Laxmi Bhakta Rajchal was held at Hanumandhoka to discuss means of organizing the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap, chaired by Rajesh Shakya, Member of the Provincial Parliament (Joshi et al. 2022: 211). This led to the successful commencement of the project in May 2016, to be investigated in detail in Chapter 7. However, this section will examine the neglect of the artisans during the rehabilitation preparatory phase before the 4th January 2018 meeting.

Artisans in the government’s post-disaster planning

The Post Disaster Needs Assessment (PDNA) was prepared sectorwise by the relevant government authorities with support from international agencies in preparation for the donor conference that was organized on 25th June 2015. This will be discussed further in Section 6.6.3. For the culture sector, artisans, or craftspeople, are mentioned several times, but not as a core necessity for the rehabilitation of cultural heritage, and therefore there was little support provided to them. The report states that “the DOA, restoration contractors, and private agencies rely on a network of excellent craftspeople (carvers, carpenters, masons, metal workers, etc.) [...] which will have a positive effect on revitalizing the trades [...] and transmission of knowledge” (Government of Nepal 2015 II: 67-70). The report also suggests “resource mapping of these artisans [...] and on-the-job training” (ibid.: 75). It also recommends “greater national recognition in the form of awards to master craftspeople, performers or bearers of traditional knowledge will raise their status and support the continued use of their skills” (ibid.: 76).

The PDRF, prepared by the NRA a year later, made a clearer statement:

Specialized master crafts-persons and artisans must be provided special recognition by the State as carriers of the skills and knowledge required for the rehabilitation of cultural heritage. The master crafts-persons and artisans need to be reimbursed for their skills accordingly. The inclusion of artisans must be ensured. This requires specific arrangements for the identification, promotion and training of artisans. In some countries there is a required minimum percentage of construction budgets reserved for artisans (Government of Nepal 2016a: 9).

Contractors and Artisans

One of the main issues raised against the government procedures to rebuild the Kasthamandap were the provisions of the Public Procurement Act to tender out the projects to the lowest bidding contractor (Public Procurement Act 2007, Article 25.5). This issue was already noted in the PDNA.

The reconstruction within the culture sector must be understood to be different from the reconstruction of contemporary structures and infrastructures. Regarding appropriate implementation, construction must be carried out by those who have the expertise and can ensure quality. Standard tendering procedures are not appropriate since specialized crafts-persons, materials, and procedures are required. Pre-qualification of contractors, identification of specialized artisans, and implementation

through user-committees must be assured. A basic criterion to be considered for hiring contractors could be devised for the DOA (e.g., they must provide employment to local people and qualified artisans, etc.) (Government of Nepal 2016a: 9).

The concern that if a contractor wins the bid to rebuild the Kasthamandap, the project might be carried out without considering traditional knowledge, materials and skills, was the reason why certain community groups voiced their disagreement to the government procedures. Interview C11 (para 2) explained that “if the work on the Kasthamandap would be given as a contract, quality would be lacking. That is why this must be done through the *amanat* (owner-built) process”.

The concern was raised by community members, as well as those in the bureaucracy dealing with the projects. As per Interviewee A5 (para 11), “Usually no one cares what the contractor does. In many places I have had the experience that the contractors that came did not know anything about heritage”. Interviewee A5 (para 12) further explains that even when the project is decided through a bidding process, it is possible to ensure that the traditional artisans are involved. “After bidding and before getting into a contract with that person, I tell them to bring their artisan”, so that the people who carry out the work, the masons and the carpenters, are interviewed. “I look at their experience. Only once I have looked at their work, only then do I finalize it”. This shows that it is not only an issue of tendering out projects, since the appropriate procedures, the hiring of traditional building craftspeople and the required quality can be achieved through proper contract documents and regular supervision.

6.6 The broader significance of the Kasthamandap in response to the earthquake

As with the collapse of the Dharahara, or Bhimsen Tower, the Kasthamandap became a symbol of the destruction caused by the Gorkha Earthquake and the struggle towards recovery (Hutt 2019: 567). The Dharahara was a symbol, disconnected from its historical significance, which was easy to replicate in miniature throughout the country. The tower that was initially built in 1832, was largely damaged during the 1934 earthquake, and again collapsed during the 2015 earthquake. The remains of the monument have been kept as a memorial, and a new tower in similar design has been built of reinforced concrete including a lift to take visitors to the viewing deck (Neupane 2016). The approach to reconstruction of the Kasthamandap was different, with locals and activists demanding that it be rebuilt using traditional materials and technology. This section will provide an overview of the media coverage of the collapse of the Kasthamandap and the following discussions on its

reconstruction. The activities of the activists will also be examined, who used social media and news media, to promote their stance on the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap. This section will further provide an overview of the broader national and international response after the Gorkha Earthquake, particularly focusing on its implications on the Kasthamandap.

6.6.1 Kasthamandap as a symbol

In contrast to other high-profile projects, such as the Dharahara and the Rani Pokhari, which were both later implemented by the NRA, the Kasthamandap remained the concern of the local community. As Abhas Rajopadhyaya states, “Pushing aside the historic, socio-cultural and economic significance of *Kasthamandap* [...], the Nepali national media desperately put ahead or enforced *Dharahara* as a symbol of national identity” (2019: 95). He goes on to state, “but, nevertheless, people are still divided over what should be prioritized *Dharahara* (an elite, commercial heritage) or *Kasthamandap* (a cultural, public one)” (ibid.: 97).

Possibly because the Kasthamandap remained a symbol related to the Newar building culture, and to the specific identity of the city of Kathmandu, there was less interest and interference from the government. Interviewee C3 (para 14) explained that the monument was not being given sufficient priority by the authorities, which was the reason for the local community to begin campaigning for its reconstruction. Interviewee C11 (para 5) states that the Kasthamandap is a symbol of Newar culture, of the Kathmandu Mandala, and therefore of the entire Nepal, therefore “in respect to who we should be calling a Newar, whoever believes in the heritage and culture of the Nepal Mandala is a Newar”.

Even after its collapse, the significance of the Kasthamandap was appreciated by the government by introducing the monument on the new five rupee note. The Nepal Rastra Bank, the national bank, issued the new note on Tuesday 15th August 2017, featuring the Kasthamandap instead of the Taleju Bhawani Temple located in Bhaktapur (*Onlinekhabar* 2017).

6.6.2 The national and international media

Both social media and news media played a major role in disseminating information on the damage caused by the Gorkha Earthquake. The internet continued functioning for several hours after the earthquake, possibly running on battery backup, allowing for people to send messages and images of what they were experiencing. These initial messages informed of great damage to heritage sites, which was picked up by the international news media (Fitzgerald et al. 2015).

The news media presented drone images of the destruction caused by the earthquake on large parts of the Kathmandu Valley World Heritage property. Satellite images were used, for example by the European Commission Copernicus Emergency Management Service to assess the damage (BBC 2015). Kathmandu Living Labs, a local tech company promoting open mapping, utilised volunteers to carry out surveys and rapid assessments using an app with geolocation and possibility of uploading images (Kathmandu Living Labs 2015). ICCROM, together with ICORP, prepared a damage assessment report on cultural heritage based on photos found on the internet and online crowd-mapping (ICCROM and ICORP 2015). Such international coverage of the destruction of the heritage sites greatly influenced the donor conference, and inclusion of culture as a separate sector in the Post Disaster Needs Assessment (Government of Nepal 2015 II: 67–77).

Concern specifically for the need to reconstruct the Kasthamandap was picked up soon after the disaster by the local media. On 9th May 2015 the article ‘Obituary of Kasthamandap: loss and continuity’ by Kai Weise (the researcher) (2015c) was published in *The Himalayan Times*, which provided initial considerations to ensure the continuity of the monument. In June 2015, Dipesh Risal, a biotech engineer and amateur historian based in San Diego, USA, set up the website ‘rebuildkasthamandap.com’ to initiate discussions and collect information. He also wrote regular articles that appeared in the ECS Magazine (2015a, 2016) and the artasia.com website (2015b), particularly focusing on the history and significance of the Kasthamandap. These articles were picked up by the local news and social media. An article in the *Nepali Times* in July by Sarthak Mani Sharma (2015) foreboded the ensuing struggle to coordinate the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap in respect to appropriate design, responsible authority and involvement of the experts and local community. The renowned cultural historian and expert on the Nepal Mandala, Mary Slusser also wrote an article which was published on the artasia.com website (2016).

The various forms of media had different objectives. The web media focused mainly on the technical papers (e.g., artasia.com). There would have been the intent of justifying the significance of the Kasthamandap, however, it was done by providing historical evidence. The news media, both in Nepali and English, generally presented on the ongoing circumstances and activities, in a relatively objective manner. The news media was in numerous occasions used to promote certain social and political positions (e.g., *Nepali Times*). The social media, both nationally and internationally, was initially used to express concern, but later was used to promote the viewpoint of activist groups and their activities (e.g., Rebuild Kasthamandap Facebook page).

6.6.3 International organisations and donor community

The international community responded immediately to the disaster, with the first search and rescue teams arriving within 18 hours of the tremor. There were 54 international search and rescue teams from 22 countries that were deployed in Nepal by 29th April 2015 (United Nations OCHA 2015). Of these, none were present within the Hanumandhoka area, particularly not at the Kasthamandap.

The role of coordinating all international involvement for the culture sector was given to the UNESCO Kathmandu Office. The first meeting was held at the UNESCO Kathmandu office on Thursday 30th April 2015. The decision was taken to set up the ERCO at the DOA, with support from UNESCO and ICOMOS Nepal (Weise 2015a: 10).

In preparation for the donor conference that took place on 25th June 2015, the PDNA was prepared, under the guidance of the UNDP and World Bank. This was the first time that a PDNA was carried out with a separate section dealing with culture, which was prepared by UNESCO for the DOA, along with technical support from the governments of India and Japan (Government of Nepal 2015 II: 67–77). The total cost for culture sector recovery and reconstruction was calculated to be USD 205,668,646, with over 80% being for reconstruction of physical assets (ibid.: 72). The unpublished detailed calculations included an estimated amount of 200 million Nepali Rupees for the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap, which was to begin in the fiscal year 2015/16 and be completed in four years.

Within a few months of the earthquake, a one million Euro pledge for the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap was announced from Italy, however, this was not followed up (Interviewee A8c: para 116). It became clear early on that there was a duplication of attempts to collect funds for Kasthamandap (Weise 2015b: 23).

The reconstruction of the various monuments, especially of the iconic Kasthamandap has become a politicized issue. Various donors have begun collecting funds for this task without the slightest understanding of the procedures which will be required to rebuild the monument (Weise 2015a: 17).

This then led to the growing concern, both at national and international level, which will be examined in the next section.

The international involvement at the Kasthamandap following the response period limited itself to the archaeological investigations carried out by Durham University's UNESCO Chair and the University of Stirling, working closely with the DOA and the ICOMOS Nepal. The first season in October and November 2015 was funded by UNESCO, while the second season

in 2016 was supported by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (UK) and the National Geographic Society (USA) (Figure 6.9). The outcome of the various archaeological investigations carried out after the earthquake led to an exhibition at Durham University's Oriental Museum and at the Dhukuti gallery of the Hanumandhoka Palace Museum, which was inaugurated by the Honourable President of Nepal (Figure 6.11). The significance of the findings has been presented in Section 6.5.3. The success of these activities can be assigned to the close collaboration between the international and national partners, while ensuring the highest level of scientific and ethical standards.

This was not always the case with activities carried out by international agencies within the Hanumandhoka Durbar Square area, particularly when activities were not coordinated with the local authorities. For example, the Japanese team from the Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties (TNRICP or often known as Tobunken) together with the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) cut unrecorded exploratory trenches around the Maju Dega Temple (Coningham et al. 2016: 49). The Chinese Academy of Cultural Heritage (CACH) working on the monuments around the Lohan Chowk, however, requested the subsurface investigations to be carried out by the DOA, not getting involved in these investigations. The success of these projects was dependent on this close collaboration with the local authorities, traditional craftspeople and in many cases the local community.

6.6.4 Activism and politics

There was concern shown by the citizens, that the Kasthamandap needed to be rebuilt, which was expressed through various activities that started already in June 2015, such as the painting of a huge mural of the monument on a highly visible retaining wall near Maitighar by Lalitkala Hatemalo Abhiyan (Figure 6.7), and the construction of a detailed wooden model of the monument (A. Joshi 2022: 114). There were mini-marathons and bicycle rallies organized, along with rounds of discussions on how to move forward with the reconstruction of the monument (ibid.: 114-115). A year after the earthquake, people commemorated the destruction by lighting lamps on Basantapur Square in the shape of the Dharahara and the Kasthamandap (Figure 6.16) (Taylor 2016).

The general concern for the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap turned into targeted activism over time. Numerous committees were formed, along with individual initiatives, to develop awareness and campaign for the prompt reconstruction of the monument (A. Joshi 2021:114-115). On 16th September 2015 an overarching committee was formed, chaired by the late Nabindra Raj Joshi, under the patronage of senior Congress politician Prakash Man Singh, which brought a political angle to the discourse. The late Nabindra Raj Joshi organized discussions, such as the public hearing at the DDC Hall in Babar Mahal on 2nd

February 2016, to review the structural design prepared by the consultant of the DOA, where local participants spoke up against the design (ibid.: 116).

The CRK was started under the leadership of Birendra Bhakta Shrestha, initially to raise awareness and pressurize the government to take the reconstruction of the monument seriously. It was only once he was asked by the NRA to coordinate the reconstruction work that he took on the challenge (Interviewee C11: para 2). As mentioned in his Facebook page (Shrestha 2017), he became a “Community leader with a purpose -- to rebuild Kasthamandap the way it should be, with the maximum possible public participation”.

The CRK gathered numerous young volunteers and began to arrange events and collect information (Figure 6.12). According to Interviewee C11 (para 2), “if the work on Kasthamandap would be given as a contract, quality would be lacking. That is why this must be done through *amanat* (owner built daily wage)”. This would require all the communities to participate. The concept was that the Campaign to Rebuilt Kasthamandap would raise the funds directly from contributions made by the local communities, then everyone would become stakeholders (Interviewee A9: para 19).

On 13th April 2017 the CRK formally submitted its registration as ‘Kasthamandap Punanirman Ko Lagi Abhiyan’ for it to function as a legal entity when carrying out the reconstruction work. On 25th April 2017, members of the campaign took an oath to rebuild the Kasthamandap retaining its ‘integral values’ (A. Joshi 2022: 117) at a public function at Hanumandhoka, in front of the Gaddi Baitak. On 12th May 2017, just two days before the local elections, an agreement was signed with the authorities, the NRA, the DOA and the KMC, giving the CRK the authority to carry out the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap (A. Joshi 2022: 117). As has been explained in Section 6.4.3, the elections for Mayor of Kathmandu, as well as the respective provincial and central government, were won by candidates of the CPN-UML. With the change in the political scenario, the newly elected CPN-UML members took on the challenge of getting the Kasthamandap rebuilt. This will be presented in detail in Section 7.4.

The diverse activism that took place around the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap used social media and news media to raise their concern on the procedures and methods the government proposed to follow (Interviewee A6: para 12, 25, A. Joshi 2022: 113-116). This attracted the attention of the younger generation who were savvy with social media and volunteered to participate in their activities. “In my free time, after office, I would always come and stay here till the evening and do what I could. I was so fresh [out of college] and

felt like ‘let us do something’. We need to stop them from building it out of concrete; that was the larger movement” (Interviewee A14: para 5).

It must also be noted that there was activism going on, not only where there was visibility through various forms of social and news media, but within the various community groups. Interviewee A2 (para 12) explained how there were those within the DOA who did not want the Kasthamandap to be handed over to the Municipality to be reconstructed through standard tendering procedures. Aruna Nakarmi, who was head the HDPMO of the DOA, and was later moved to Bhaktapur, explained in an interview that she had suggested to Rajesh Shakya, who then became the head of the Kasthamandap Reconstruction Committee (KRC), that the project should be carried out in a similar manner as was done for the Fifty-five Window Palace in Bhaktapur, by consulting with the traditional carpenters (A. Joshi 2022: 129). Sudarshan Raj Tiwari, a professor specialised in the history of architecture in the Kathmandu Valley, explained in an interview that he had also written an article ‘Thinking of rebuilding Kasthamandap? Love thy mud, wood and bricks!’ (ibid.: 121). The community members living in the neighbourhoods around the Kasthamandap also voiced their concern, first that the monument might not be rebuilt, and then later that it would be rebuilt using cement concrete and steel. When the Campaign to Rebuild Kasthamandap took on the prominent and visible role of allegedly representing the local communities, there were reactions such as expressed by Interviewee A8c (para 111), “I said that I will not allow people from outside to do anything [...]. Kasthamandap is not something to be rebuilt by an NGO”. Defining the various forms of activism, and the role of the activists in determining the outcome of the project will be further discussed in Chapter 8.

6.7 Conclusion

This chapter provides an overview of the Gorkha Earthquake, the collapse of the Kasthamandap and the immediate impact on the various related communities during the three-year period before reconstruction work could begin on the monument. The immediate response was in the form of search and rescue to save the lives of those who were buried under the collapsed structure. This then turned towards concern for whether the monument would be rebuilt, and if so, whether it was going to be done respecting the traditional technology and materials. The government authorities initially approached the projects through standard procedures, allowing contractors to bid and engineers to introduce strengthening interventions. However, this was not accepted by various community groups, hindering reconstruction works for the following three years. This chapter has met objective five, which is to determine how the Gorkha Earthquake directly impacted the governance system, the community and the monument.

The three-year period between the earthquake that struck on 25th April 2015 and the establishment of the KRC on 1st May 2018 was not only defined by activism, but of collaboration, research and dialogue. Though the users of the Kasthamandap were displaced, they continued to carry out their rituals and festivals, adapting to the circumstance. The community living in the surrounding neighbourhood, who were the first responders after the earthquake, continued to engage with the historic structure that defined the Maru square. The security forces immediately responded to the disaster and ensured security to the site of the collapsed structure. The authorities then began procedures to reconstruct this important monument, following standard procedures, which were not acceptable to the local communities and experts (A. Joshi 2022: 115-116). With the local and general elections in 2017, the newly appointed government officials, representing the people, took on the challenge and established the procedures to reconstruct the Kasthamandap using traditional materials and technology. Initially the traditional craftspeople, the bearers of the required knowledge and skills, were not consulted. The technical experts provided solutions to improve the reconstruction through modern technology and materials, however, there was opposition to these proposals. The delay in reconstruction allowed for archaeological investigations, included dating, of the foundations and salvaged timber elements to be carried out, greatly improving the understanding of the monument, providing essential information for planning the reconstruction. The Kasthamandap was one of the prominent structures that was a symbol for the post-earthquake rehabilitation efforts, ensuring the use of traditional materials, technology and skills. There was a lot of media coverage on this project, with activism and politics influencing this high-profile project.

It was only after the new Constitution of Nepal was promulgated and elections were carried out in 2017 that the elected government of the newly introduced provincial government took the responsibility to carry out the reconstruction in an appropriate manner. The following chapter is on the post-disaster rehabilitation of Kasthamandap, the community involvement during this phase and means of ensuring the monument's continuity. The next chapter will address the sixth objective to examine the post-disaster rehabilitation of Kasthamandap and the struggles to find the means to ensure its continued existence.

Table 6.1: ICOMOS Nepal assessment and inventory of salvaged elements from the Kasthamandap

KASTHAMANDAP (MARUSATA:)

<i>Particulars</i>	<i>Previously existing</i>	<i>Recovered</i>			<i>Remarks</i>
		Usable*	Unusable	Lost	
Wooden frieze carved with the Saivo Buddhist story in four pieces	4	4			Some pieces of balustrade are flaked off (605 cm). It seems that frieze piece is not lost to be replicated anew - old one to be sent to museum
Wooden images of Bhairav	48	48			2 are completely broken. Some are cracked and effaced. 35 pieces are in good condition
Stone Icon of Gorakhnath	1		1		Broken into two pieces - to be replaced
Stone icons of Ganesh	4		4		2 of the with broken arms to be replaced
Pillars					
Big	4	3		1	
Small	32?	30		2?	
Meth					
Big	?	16			
Small	?	135			In total
Deco. Piece	2	2			
Copper Inscription	?	3			Recorded Inscription in copper

* *Directly usable or usable after repair.*

Source: ICOMOS Nepal 2016b: 18

When the shaking stops: an evaluation of post-earthquake rehabilitation of the
Kasthamandap in Hanumandhoka Durbar Square



Figure 6.1: Rescue of people who were buried under the Kasthamandap (Image Maciej Dakowicz).



Figure 6.2: Salvaged material was stored inside the palace courtyards (Image Manindra Shrestha).



Figure 6.3: Moving material during search and rescue efforts at the Kasthamandap after its collapse (Image Maciej Dakowicz).



Figure 6.4: Backhoes at the Kasthamandap site on 26th April 2015 (Image Kai Weise).

When the shaking stops: an evaluation of post-earthquake rehabilitation of the
Kasthamandap in Hanumandhoka Durbar Square



Figure 6.5: Community event organized on the 45th day after the earthquake at Kasthamandap in memory of people who lost their lives (Image Maru Twa Pucha Tole Sudhar Samiti June 2015).



Figure 6.6: the mound of debris at the Kasthamandap is still being used by various communities (Image Kathmandu Post 30th December 2018).



Figure 6.7: The mural of the Kasthamandap at Maitighar July 2015 (Image Bhishan Rajbhandari).



Figure 6.8: The Gorakhnath statue which was broken into two pieces during the earthquake (Image Griha Man Singh).

When the shaking stops: an evaluation of post-earthquake rehabilitation of the
Kasthamandap in Hanumandhoka Durbar Square



Figure 6.9: End of the archaeological excavation in December 2016 carried out by a team led by Durham University's UNESCO Chair (Image Anie Joshi).



Figure 6.10: The brick in mud mortar foundations piers in perfect condition and the deteriorate base of a central post missing a tenon, and the saddlestone covered with flooring tiles (Images UNESCO Chair, Durham University).



Figure 6.11: Exhibition 'Resilience within the rubble' at the Dhukuti Gallery of the Hanumandhoka Palace Museum inaugurated on 25th April 2018 (Image Anie Joshi).



Figure 6.12: Community interaction programme organized by the CRK on 30th October 2017 (Image CRK).

When the shaking stops: an evaluation of post-earthquake rehabilitation of the
Kasthamandap in Hanumandhoka Durbar Square



Figure 6.13: The drawings prepared by the DOA were displayed at Basantapur for public review, April 2016 (Image *The Kathmandu Post*).

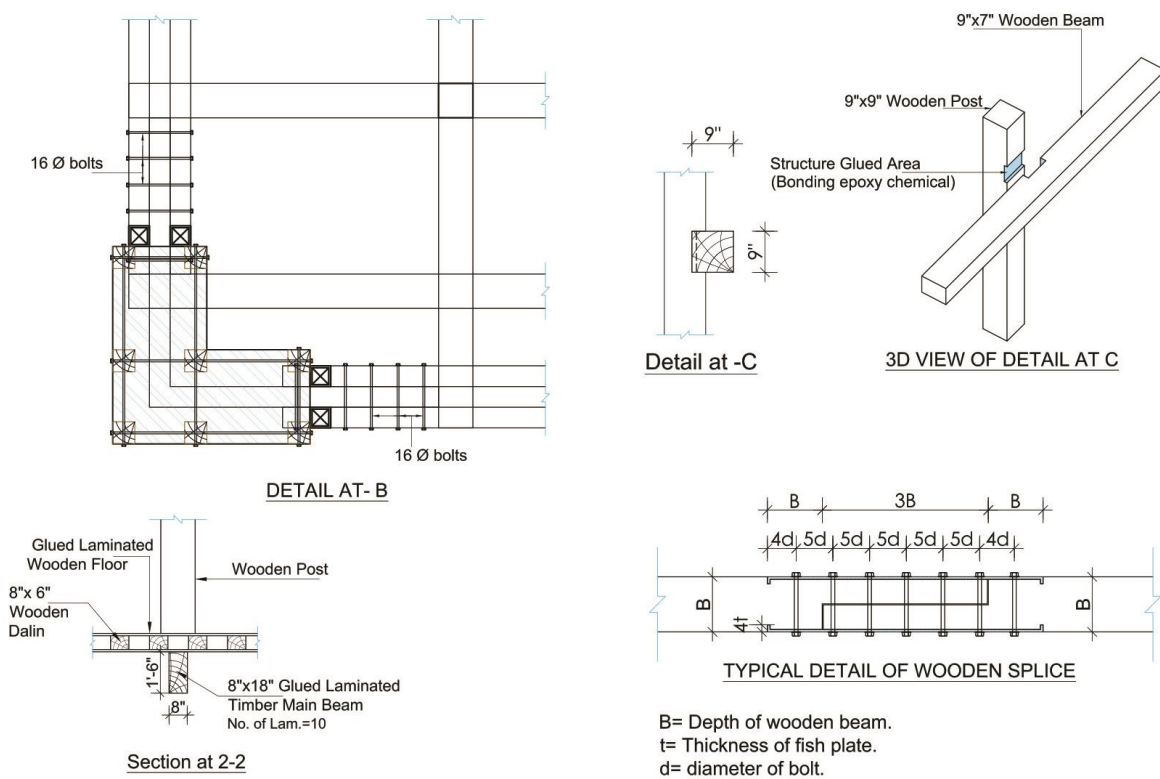


Figure 6.14: Example of strengthening details proposed by MRB Associates including the use of steel ties, steel joints, laminates and the use of epoxy (Images courtesy MRB Associates).



Figure 6.15: Commemoration of the ten persons related to the blood donation camp who lost their lives, 25th April 2019 (Image Anie Joshi).



Figure 6.16: Commemorative event on the eve of the first-year anniversary of the Gorkha Earthquake: Candles depicting the Kasthamandap and the Dharahara the iconic monuments that collapsed (Image Julian Bound)

Chapter 7: Post-disaster Rehabilitation

7.1 Introduction

The KRC was established on 1st May 2018 (Shakya 2022: vii), ending three years of uncertainty on who should take the responsibility and under what modality the Kasthamandap should be reconstructed (A. Joshi 2022: 118). This has been studied in detail in Chapter 6. Based on the new Constitution of Nepal, promulgated on 20th September 2015 (Government of Nepal 2015), local elections and general elections were carried out in 2017, which included electing members for the newly established provincial government. Rajesh Shakya won the elections to become the Member of the Provincial Parliament representing the area that included the Kasthamandap. In his election manifesto, he had declared that if elected, he would rebuild the Kasthamandap (Shakya 2022: vi). With the Prime Minister of Nepal, the provincial MP and the Mayor of Kathmandu, all being from the CPN-UML, it was possible to coordinate at all three tiers of government: central, provincial and local.

Rajesh Shakya explains how he established the KRC and the various sub-committees (ibid.: vii-viii), which was critical to ensure inclusion of all those relevant to the successful implementation of the project. Over a hundred people were incorporated in the various subcommittees, groups and teams, which will be explained later in the chapter, however, the six-member board of the KRC and the eight-member Expert Team were the ones directly responsible for guiding the reconstruction process. In addition to these honorary positions, a technical team of four members, as well as four administrative and office staff were hired to carry out the daily monitoring and support of the construction site. Possibly the most critical decision was taken on identifying the head carpenter, Laxmi Bhakta Rajchal, who led the construction process on site, guiding the work of all the craftspeople (Joshi et al. 2022: 211-213).

When the reconstruction process began, most communities had to step back and allow for work to move forward. The users of the monument and the surrounding urban community observed the reconstruction of the monument from outside the construction site. The authorities also got organised to support the work of the KRC, which was carried out by the 'custodians', the building craftspeople, under the supervision of the technical team and experts. Many of the key people were included as members of one of the many sub-committees that were set up. The involvement and position of each of these communities will be examined in this chapter.

The KRC, supported by the Expert Team, came to the agreement that the rehabilitation of the Kasthamandap was to be exemplary, both in respect to procedure, as well as technology and materials (Ibid.: 215). The concern was not only how the monument was going to be reconstructed, but also its continued maintenance and management (Weise 2022: 335). The reconstruction of the monument and the overall rehabilitation process from 2018 to 2022 will be described in this chapter, along with the efforts made to establish a *Continuity Plan* to be implemented by establishing a Kasthamandap Management Guthi.

There was relatively smooth progress throughout the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap. Even during the Covid-19 pandemic, provisions were made to continue working while ensuring safety on site. However, the political scenario adversely changed with the Parliament being dissolved on 20th December 2020, leading to a coalition government led by the Congress Party coming to power on 13th July 2021. The political support for the project also changed, with the removal of the CPN-UML government at the central level, as will be further explained in Section 7.6.3. This chapter will also examine the challenges of handing over the monument to a management that ensured the continued maintenance and appropriate use of the monument, including religious devotees and informal visitors, after it was reconstructed.

The previous chapter examined the period between the collapse of the monument and the commencement of physical reconstruction of the Kasthamandap, which took three years, while various community groups argue over the procedures and the specifications. This chapter provides an overview of the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap and the formulation of a *Continuity Plan*. This chapter will meet objective six, which is to examine the post-disaster rehabilitation of Kasthamandap and the struggles to find the means to ensure its continued existence.

7.2 The users of the Kasthamandap during rehabilitation

During the reconstruction period of the Kasthamandap, the traditional users of the monument, including the religious community, the devotees and the informal visitors, had to adjust themselves to the circumstances. As a construction site, it was not possible to allow continued activities, however, the main annual festivals carried out by the related *guthis* were accommodated. Without the stone images of Gorakhnath and Ganesh, the frequency of the devotees to enter the site was less. Passing devotees were seen standing on the east side, next to Bhutisatta, bowing and praying in the direction of the Kasthamandap. The commercial activities around the monument on the Maru Square continued, with the flower

vendors displaying the garlands by hanging them on the metal barrier around the construction site.

From the category of users of the monument, a new community gained in prominence through their involvement and activities related to the rehabilitation of the Kasthamandap, the Vajrayana priests of Sikhamu Baha. Yagyaman Pati Vajracharya, the head *gurju* of Sikhamu Baha, was the sole responsible advisor to the KRC on all aspects of required rituals (Joshi et al. 2022: 291).

This section will examine the changing involvement of user groups during the reconstruction period. This section also examines the *Continuity Plan* for the Kasthamandap, which provides a *Calendar of Events* (Table 7.1) defining the activities that would be allowed, and in certain cases even promoted, in the newly reconstructed Kasthamandap (Weise 2022: 335).

7.2.1 The religious community during reconstruction

As was the case during the years following the Gorkha Earthquake, which was explained in the previous chapter, the annual rituals of the Ta Chatan Guthi and the Sa Guthi continued to be carried out. The rituals were adapted to the circumstances of the main location having been turned into a construction site. During the initial stages, the Ta Chatan Guthi cooked the rice and held the Panchadan, the offering rituals, outside the Kasthamandap (Figure 7.2). Once the ground floor was constructed and there was sufficient space within the construction site, the traditional activity of cooking rice was carried out within the Kasthamandap, towards the northeast corner of the central hall. However, the storage of the cooked rice and other rituals objects was done in the safety of the Piganani quarters until the storage space under the corner pavilions were reconstructed (A. Joshi 2022: 207).

Interviewee B16a (para 11) commented that even though these rituals continued in the aftermath of the earthquake, during the pandemic in 2020, to their knowledge, it was the first time that the rituals were not carried out at all. They resumed in 2021 within the practically completed structure of the Kasthamandap.

Similarly, the Sa Guthi continued to boil the wheat within the construction site of the Kasthamandap (Figure 7.1), and at the request of the *guthi* members, the wheat was stored overnight in the safety of the Maru Ganesh Dyochhen. The traditional rituals continued to be carried out at Bhutisatta and Marudabali, located to the east and south of the Kasthamandap (Interviewee B14: para 5). When it came to unfurling the ritual flag, it was carried to the highest possible position on the structure that was under construction (A. Joshi 2022: 204). It

was carried higher every year, until it was possible to fix the flag to the *gajur*, the pinnacle of the Kasthamandap, in January 2022.

The involvement of the Nath Sampradaya was, however, transferred to the Hanumandhoka Palace, where the broken image of Gorakhnath was restored and set up, as has been explained in the Chapter 6. Throughout the construction period, the Nath community was not involved in any manner. They were only consulted in respect to the installation of the Gorakhnath image. The controversy arising due to the replacement of the old image with a new image of the Gorakhnath will be examined in detail in Section 7.3.

7.2.2 The rituals related to the reconstruction

The rituals that were carried out related to the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap can be placed under two categories. The first category encompasses the standardized rituals carried out at certain intervals of the construction process, involving the building craftspeople. The second category consisted of “a special set of rituals” that was “researched and developed for the Kasthamandap by the Vajrayana priest Mr Yagyaman Pati Bajracharya” (Joshi et al. 2022: 291).

Traditionally, there are a series of rituals that are carried out during the construction process, which are followed even today, particularly for religious and community structures. As Interviewee A15 (para 10) explained, special rituals are carried out before starting on the foundations, when erecting the first main post, when setting the first main beam, when inaugurating the main doorway, and finally, the consecration of the *gajur*, the pinnacle of the roof.

A particularly important ritual that takes place before any major reconstruction work is carried out on an existing religious or community structure is the Chema Puja. This is a ritual to ask forgiveness of the gods for the intrusion, and for protection during the reconstruction. As soon as the KRC was formed, the Chema Puja was performed jointly by a Vajrayana priest and a Hindu priest, with the patrons being Rajesh Shakya, the committee chair and Tej Ratna Tamrakar, a senior committee member. This was carried out in the presence of Literary Centenarian and ‘living heritage’ the late Satya Mohan Joshi, the Minister for Culture (MOCTCA), the Director-General of the DOA and the Mayor of KMC, as well as community members and artisans (Joshi et al. 2022: 292). The rituals that were carried out by both Vajrayana and Hindu priests were directed toward the gods, but the event also established and approved the patrons, and exhibited their political validation.

The next ritual was for the foundations. Since the original foundations of the Kasthamandap were still intact, the foundations rituals were carried on the southeast corner of the damaged

plinth after the remaining rubble and loose materials were cleared. The Vajrayana priest performed the ritual on the tools and implements of the artisans, as well as the construction materials, bricks and mud mortar. Before starting the reconstruction work, the artisans, led by mason Krishna Rajchal, carried out their own ritual of Samay Baji Hologu, to appease the deities and protect the site (ibid.: 293). Here it must be noted that the artisans carried out their own rituals, which were not done through a priest.

As per tradition, the next set of rituals were carried out before erecting the main posts, which commenced the reconstruction of the superstructure. The reconstruction process will be explained under Section 7.5, with only the rituals and the related communities examined here. There were two parts to this event that took place on 20th February 2019, coinciding with the auspicious day of Basanta Panchami, the celebrations in preparation of spring and honouring the Goddess Saraswati. The first part of the ritual took place on site where one of the posts had already been positioned next to the north-western saddlestone, ready to be hoisted. The rituals that focused on the saddlestone and main post were carried out by a Vajrayana priest, together with the chair of the KRC and the head carpenter, in the presence of a small group comprising of committee members and the technical team. This was a Kalasha Puja, which included the sanctification of the gold mandalas to be placed in the mortise of the saddlestone, under the four main posts (Joshi et al. 2022: 293). This was based on the findings of the archaeological investigations, when the gold mandalas were found in the mortices of the central saddlestones. Four new gold mandalas were reproduced, one for each central saddlestone.

This was followed by a festive event on the main square, on the plinth behind the Kalbhairav, where a Vajrayana and a Hindu priest, with the Mayor and Deputy Mayor, sanctified the remaining three central posts of the Kasthamandap, in the presence of human representations of Kumari, Bhairav and Ganesh, as well as representatives from 18 *bahals*, and the four surrounding municipal ward communities, along with a large crowd of spectators (ibid.: 239). The posts were then carried by groups of volunteers to the Kasthamandap along with a grand process (Figure 7.5). This celebration was organized to get all the communities and stakeholders involved in the reconstruction project.

The installation of the main beam provides stability to the structure. It is therefore considered to be an important step in the construction process, which guides the work that follows. Therefore, the artisan community perform rituals after installation of the first beam with an animal sacrifice. This ritual is to ensure that all hindrances to the construction process are removed. However, “this was not performed and there was dissatisfaction among many of

the artisan and technical team members that this ritual was not performed” (Interviewee A15: para11).

Even though there are no doors to enter the Kasthamandap, the rituals related to the main entrance, the Lukha Puja (Figure 7.3), were carried out after fixing the doorway to the storage space below the north-eastern corner pavilion. This ritual was carried out by the head carpenter and the head mason, together with the chair of the KRC, in the presence of artisans, labourers and the technical team. Offerings were made to the doorframe, the threshold and the artisan’s tools, ensuring that all negative spirits were expelled and would not enter again (Joshi et al. 2022: 294). As is customary after such an event, all the participants and attendees were provided a feast, *chwela baji*.

A further ritual that was carried out at the Kasthamandap was the Pali ciyegu Puja, before starting on laying the *jhingati* roof tiles, by the Awale. The rituals were done on the various components of the roof: the tiles, the corner tiles, the ridge tiles, the clay and the artisan’s tools (ibid.: 294). This was the last of the rituals done by the artisan, since the rituals on the *gajur* were not carried out, respecting the legends that the Kasthamandap was never completed to ensure that the gods who were there to observe the construction never leave (Wright 1877: 211), as has been explained in Chapter 5.

Though the traditional rituals carried out mainly by the artisans were curtailed, a second set of rituals was prepared specifically for the Kasthamandap by the Vajrayana priest Yagyaman Pati Bajracharya, comprises of traditional and newly created rituals. Yagyaman Pati Bajracharya states that he is proud to have been given the responsibility to carry out the intangible activities related to the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap (2022: 62). He recounts two main motivations for his involvement. The first was his belief that his ancestor, Leelavajra originally constructed the Kasthamandap in the seventh or eighth century CE. The second motivation was to carry out research on Vajrayana Buddhism, since there were no documents explaining the principles followed in constructing the Kasthamandap, which he believed were based on the Vajrayana concepts of the *mandala* layout, and *heruk*, the void (ibid.: 64).

The following rituals were performed during the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap: Kalash Puja (Figure 7.4), Dasa Paramita Puja, Chakra Pujas (Chitta and Vak), Pancharakshya Path, Asta Bhairav Puja, Trayodasha Bhumi Awahan Puja, Gajur Puja, Ganachakra Mul Puja and the Yogini Puja. Several of these rituals, such as the Kalash Puja, are regularly performed, and have been described by Locke (1980: 95) and Gellner (1992:148). However, the Dasa Paramita Puja was devised since there happened to be ten joists above the four main central beams defining the space of the central sanctum area (Joshi et al. 2022: 295). The

dasaparamita, are the ten “perfections which must be practiced by the *bodhisattva*” (Locke 1980: 86fn). Yagyaman Pati Bajracharya linked the ten joists with the ten *paramitas* to create a ritual, with the five Vajrayana priests representing the Pancha Buddhas sitting above the ten joists in their respective directions and reciting the *Pragyaparamita* and the *Pancharakshyasutras* (Bajracharya 2022: 63, Joshi et al.: 2022: 295). The opportunity was also taken to train interested people from all over the Kathmandu Valley on “worship procedures, academic knowledge, initiation, the procedures for granting initiations, 24 *peeths*, 37 wings to awakening (*bodhipaksha*), *chhatravirvireswar*, *charya* songs, *charya* dances etc.”, which even included on-line classes during the Covid-19 pandemic lockdowns when everyone had time to spare (Bajracharya 2022: 68). Considering that the KRC funded not only the expenses for the rituals, but also items such the headgear that the Vajracharya priest wore (Figure 7.4), further points towards *gurju* Bajracharya’s revival drive of Vajracharya Buddhism.

7.2.3 The rehabilitation of the cultural objects

The user communities of the Kasthamandap, as explained in Sections 5.2 and 6.2, included those who visited the monument regularly, to get the blessing of the various deities, or to carry out rituals or give offerings. Such activities were related mainly to the central stone, the Gorakhnath image and the four Ganesh images. People also came to rub their back against the post below the staircase, which was said to heal back pains. Local community members also used to visit the Maru Pwa, the small shrine on the western plinth. The Thaso Hiti, the stone spout erected upright on the southeast corner of the monument was also an object of veneration, particularly at the end of the Khadgasiddhi Jatra. The location of these elements has been provided in Figure 5.1. All these cultural objects needed to be rehabilitated to allow the user communities to continue their respective activities, as documented in the *Calendar of Events* presented in Section 7.4.5. The rehabilitation of these objects by the restorers, stone carvers and terracotta manufacturers will be described in Chapter 7.5. Though no major complaints were made by any community on the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap, towards the end of the project, a lawsuit was filed by a public interest litigator against the replacement of the old Gorakhnath image with a new one. This will be examined in detail in Section 7.6.3.

7.2.4 Calendar of Events

To ensure that the various activities that have been carried out in and around the Kasthamandap over the centuries are respected and supported, and that they would

continue to be performed after the Kasthamandap was reconstructed, a *Continuity Plan* was prepared by the KRC, which included a *Calendar of Events* (Weise 2022: 333-335). The *Calendar of Events* (Table 7.1) has six categories of activities that are considered: daily activities within the Kasthamandap, daily activities around the Kasthamandap, annual festivals and rituals linked to the Kasthamandap, annual festivals taking place around the Kasthamandap, occasional activities within the Kasthamandap, and possible or allowed planned activities. These activities have been described in Section 5.2, and the *Calendar of Events* provides room for new activities to be planned. “However, activities for personal gain, negatively impact the structure or that offend others, will be restricted” (ibid.: 333). To implement and enforce such plans, it was necessary to establish an authority for the continued management of the Kasthamandap, which will be examined further under Section 7.4. It must be noted that due to political changes in the government and the lawsuit against the new image of Gorakhnath, the adoption of the *Calendar of Events* has not yet taken place.

7.3 The urban community around the Kasthamandap during rehabilitation

As explained in Chapter 6, those initially involved with the Kasthamandap, such as the activist groups, promoted the concept of the local community being involved in the funding or physically assisting in the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap (Interviewee A9: para 27). This debate continued during the establishment of the KRC, which will be examined in this section. During the entire reconstruction period of the Kasthamandap, the urban community living or working in the area or transiting Maru Square were able to observe the process. The site was fenced off to mitigate accidents and to control encroachments and theft. However, during the work hours from nine to five, except during the refreshment break between 14:00 and 15:00, the gates were open for people to wander in and inspect the ongoing work (Interviewee A15: para 4). Furthermore, the commercial activities in Maru Square, around the construction site, remained vibrant (Interviewee B9: para 9). The surrounding area was also cleared to ensure the continuity of the cultural and religious activities. The involvement of the local community was an issue that was raised throughout the response period, as explained in Chapter 6. In this section, the way the communities from the neighbouring areas were involved during the reconstruction period will be examined.

7.3.1 Community contributions to the reconstruction

As described in Chapter 6, the involvement of the community directly in funding and physical labour on site was one of the main demands of the CRK. As Interviewee A9 (para 19) explained, raising public funds would have developed community ownership, which was the

biggest agenda of the campaign, something that the Reconstruction Committee had promised but did not implement. Even if it was just 1000 rupees, a bond would have been created, a legacy that would have continued through the generations. Interviewee A13 (para 13) further explained that the idea was also to call for volunteers to work on activities requiring less skill. Anyone could help carry materials, or they could be taught how to sand wood, and this would also be a means of teaching the community about traditional building technology. As per Sumana Shrestha, who was involved with the CRK and later advised the KRC to formulate their '*adhar patra*', or guiding document, the approach consisted of three components: "reconstruction by local artisans using traditional materials with the community engagement; financial funding from local government and community; and implementation via locally formed committees to manage and oversee the work" (2021: 1). This was later to be promoted as the 'Kasthamandap Model', but during implementation, some of the points were dropped. As Rajesh Shakya, chairperson of the KRC, explained, there were differences in opinion within the Committee on how to collect the money for the project, however, finally the contract was signed with the KMC to fund the entire project (2022: viii). It was argued that the funds from the KMC came from the tax-payer, and therefore they were indirectly contributing to the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap (Joshi et al. 2022: 211).

Beyond the funding, as mentioned above, there was also the discussion on getting volunteers to contribute on site, while providing them training. To ensure the quality of the work, the KRC was quite clear that the work would be carried out by the most experienced team of craftspeople led by Laxmi Bhakta Rajchal (Shakya 2022: vii), which will be further examined under Section 7.5. The project needed to be implemented by the traditional building craftspeople, the carpenters and masons (Figures 5.7 and 5.8), and voluntary involvement of the unskilled community had to be confined to non-critical labour activities (Joshi et al. 2022: 211). The training of volunteers was not a priority of the project, which was attributed to time constraint (Shrestha 2021: 5).

The involvement of the local community was carefully choreographed by the KRC board. Community members either directly participated on site or were one of the over 100 persons included in the various committees related to the project (Joshi et al. 2022: 306-307), which will be explained further in Section 7.4. The preparatory activities, such as sorting out the salvaged timber elements was carried out with the help of the army and youth volunteers. But when the time came to move the four enormous main posts from the workshop to the site and then raise them into position, it was decided not to use a crane, but get the support of the community. As the Committee Chair Rajesh Shakya explained, "during Indra Jatra, the *yoshi*, a pole that is approximately 40 feet long, is hoisted by the Manandhars [...] without

using any machinery” (2022: x). So, it was decided that the raising of the main post of the Kasthamandap would be organized as a festival on the auspicious day of Basanta Panchami, when the arrival of spring is celebrated, “in the presence of the Ganesh and the Bhairav of Indra Jatra, the Kumari from Makhantole, the heads of the 16 *bahis* and 18 *bahals*, and *thakalis* of the 64 *toles*” (ibid.: xi). The posts were carried by community members from the four *toles*, or neighbourhoods, around the Hanumandhoka Durbar Square accompanied by traditional musicians, ensuring the participation of the community members and authorities (Figure 7.5) (Joshi et al. 2022: 238). Interviewee C4 (para 17) described the enthusiasm of the community members: “we also joined in with the rituals. Then we came here. At the time they said only one post would be erected, but then we all got together and decide to erect all four of the main posts”.

The community members were invited to visit the site and to observe the various rituals that were carried out, as explained in Section 7.2.2, however, it was only towards the end of the project that an appeal was made to community groups to assist in moving the roofing materials to the various roof levels (Shakya 2022: xi). There were 23 community groups of between 20 and 50 members who volunteered, and they made human chains around the site and up the bamboo scaffolding to move the mud and *jhingati* roof tiles into place for the roofing experts to carry out their task (Figure 7.6) (Joshi et al. 2022: 301). For the community to help with roofing works has always been a local tradition (Interviewee A15: para 4).

7.3.2 Informal monitoring by the community

The urban community living or working in the area or transiting Maru Square, as has been described in detail in Section 5.3, were able to observe the reconstruction process. Some local community members living nearby, visited the site regularly. Interviewee C4 (para 17) explained that the local community regularly observed how much work was completed, what quality stone was being used and the type of bricks that were being supplied. They were happy that the monument was being rebuilt in the traditional manner, without using machines, and that the Kasthamandap would be rebuilt as it was previously. Interviewee C2 (para 19) explained that when they were young, they often wondered how it had been possible to build such a huge structure, but now they could see how it was done. It was with great pride that they watched the monument being reconstructed and could not wait for it to be completed.

We saw it collapse, and we see it being rebuilt. [...] It is a question of pride. We used to think, when we were small, how did they possibly build such a huge temple? Now,

we see it right in front of our eyes. It really is something to be happy about
(Interviewee C2: para 19).

Critical comments were also made, which generally reflected the issues raised by the Rebuild Kasthamandap Campaign as described in Chapter 6. Birendra Bhakta Shrestha, the chairperson of the CRK, criticised the project under Rajesh Shakya, that the larger community was not being involved and no capacity building was being conducted for the community (Joshi 2022: 125).

Interviewee A9 (para 18) observed the lack of transparency in respect to providing information through a website or social media or having regular community briefings.

Interviewee A13 (para 7) mentioned begin disappointed for two reasons, that the community's voice was not heard and that the training of the next generation of artisans was lacking. However, in respect to the overall reconstruction of the monument, the members of the former activist groups, who might have felt side-lined, accepted the situation magnanimously, until it came to the Gorakhnath image, which will be explained in detail in Section 7.6.

7.3.3 The interface between the Kasthamandap and Maru Square

The changing physical interface between the Kasthamandap and the Maru Square was an important indication of the relationship between the historical monument and the surrounding urban context. Community structures, such as *sattas*, generally remain accessible to the public, particularly the ground floor (Slusser and Vajracharya 1974: 180). In the case of the Kasthamandap, as examined in Chapter 5, the monument was restored in 1966 by the government authorities, clearing out the 45 families who had established themselves within the monument, along with their shops and stalls (Thapa 1968: 43). A picket fence was installed for the protection of the newly rehabilitated monument (Weise and Joshi 2022: 81). Considering this to be a recent intervention, the expert team debated whether the picket fence needed to be reinstalled after the reconstruction. It was decided by the expert team that the fencing was required for the security of the monument, to “ensure that the monument is not misused, defiled, damaged or threatened” (Weise 2022: 331). Local community also were in favour of the fencing as they believed it did restrict misuse of the monument, as was expressed by Basanta Shrestha in an interview (A. Joshi 2022: 123).

Since no traditional examples of fencing designs were found, it was decided that the design of the 1966 fencing, though foreign, would be followed. Since the foundations of the picket fence posts had already damaged the remains of the old brick street paving below (Joshi et

al. 2022: 220), by keeping the same design, the previous postholes could be reused (ibid.: 225).

The monument, including the projecting roof, needed to be protected from, not only the inappropriate activities within, but also from the traffic on the square, with the threat being most acute at the southeast corner. To provide this protection, the outermost stone plinth was enlarged to extend to the roofline, with a corner stone being erected on the southeast corner (ibid.: 225). This was to keep not only the motorised vehicles, but also the various chariots that are pulled passed the monument during festivals, from damaging the monument.

The successful reconstruction of the Kasthamandap also raised questions about the appropriate rehabilitation of the other *sattals* within the square, particularly Singha Sattal and Kabindrapur Sattal, as well as address the state of the Maru Square itself. The *Continuity Plan* prepared by the KRC recognised the need for an appropriate urban context, with urban infrastructure and services adapted to the historic identity of the place, the promotion of the vibrant commercial activities, and the phasing out of vehicular traffic (Weise 2022: 332).

7.3.4 The commercial community

The commercial activities around the monument on Maru Square continued throughout the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap. Once the metal fencing was set up around the construction site, the vendors established themselves as close to their allocated space as possible. Where the bamboo scaffoldings extended out beyond the fencing, the vendors sat underneath, between the bamboo posts. In the mornings, the flower vendors displayed their garlands on the metal fencing. In the evenings, the fruit and vegetable vendors set up their stalls right outside the fencing. Once the construction works were completed and the fencing and bamboo scaffolding were removed, the picket fence appeared on a narrow slightly raised plinth, as explained in the previous section. This slightly raised plinth, some 25 cm wide, became the perfect seat for the vendors, and others who were waiting around in the square (Interviewee B9: para 7).

The vendors gather around the square in the mornings and evenings, providing the square with its characteristic vibrancy of a market area. The streets are packed, and as Interviewee A8c (para 33) explained, the morning and evening traffic, along with the market stalls cause congestion, but this also seems to be the reason for everyone wanting to come to Maru Square. Interviewee B9 (para 7) commented that the Kasthamandap was rebuilt very nicely, that it was even better than what it was before the earthquake, however there was a bit of a difference. The plinth was different, since now it is slightly raised, which makes it easier to sit

on. Interviewee B9 (para 8) also commented that it would hardly have been the Municipality, since they would have been displeased if they found out it was more comfortable for the vendor. The question that everyone kept asking was why the Kasthamandap was not opened, since it would have been good for visitors to be allowed in.

7.4 The authorities of the Kasthamandap during rehabilitation

Three years after the earthquake, through the general elections of 2017, the CPN-UML candidates won at all levels of government relevant to the Kasthamandap, the post of Prime Minister, the Mayor of KMC and the responsible member of the Provincial Parliament. This meant that even the responsible Minister of Culture was from the same political party. This has been explained in Section 6.4. The strong unified elected government provided the political basis to take the required decisions to establish the KRC. The various authorities and their roles in the reconstruction, and overall rehabilitation of the monument will be examined in this section. This section will also examine the impact of political change, particularly towards the end of the rehabilitation process. It was, however, possible to organise a *lokarpan* or dedication programme on 4th April 2022, graced by the President of Nepal Bidhya Bhandari, which was the ceremonial end of the project (Figure 8.1).

7.4.1 The Kasthamandap Reconstruction Committee (KRC)

The KRC was established on 1st May 2018. The events leading to the establishment of the KRC that ended the struggle between the authorities and the campaigners during the response phase, has been described in Chapter 6. In the preface of the publication on the Kasthamandap prepared by the Reconstruction Committee, Rajesh Shakya explains how the various members were selected, ensuring involvement of all the various groups, despite the strong political support from his party, the CPN-UML, at all levels of government (2022: vii-viii). Table 7.3, provided at the end of this chapter, gives an overview of the various sub-committees, teams and groups that were established. The Executive Committee, Group of Patrons, Advisory Committee and the general members of the KRC provided the broader political and social protection, while the board of the Reconstruction Committee and the Technical Team provided administrative and technical guidance to the construction work.

The chairpersons of the wards adjacent to the Hanumandhoka, were allowed to recommend the office-bearers of the Reconstruction Committee. The chairpersons of wards 19 and 20 were from the Congress party, and they chose the Deputy Chair and Treasurer respectively. The chairpersons of wards 23 and 24 were from the CPN-UML party and they recommended

the posts of secretary and joint-secretary respectively. Furthermore, a procurement advisor and an additional 41 members were included in the KRC (Shakya 2022: vii).

Rajesh Shakya also explained that in respect to the Expert Team members, he got the advice from his friend at the DOA, Aruna Nakarmi, who had recently taken on the position of Director at the HDPM and Chief of the HDPMO (ibid.: vii). Of the eight members, five were chosen for their technical expertise in their respective fields, two had political affiliations with the CPN-UML party, and the expert on rituals was a Vajracharya priest who determined the rituals carried out during the reconstruction, as described in the previous section.

The establishment of the various committees, teams and groups allowed for over 100 persons to be affiliated with the project. As Interviewee A6 (para 32) explained, the members of the Campaign (CRK) wanted the newly established Committee (KRC) to acknowledge them. The board of the KRC, however, did not want to be considered a replacement or continuation of the CRK, and did not want to accept the *Decoding Kasthamandap* report, cited in Section 6.5.1 (Interviewee A9: para 2) and the one lakh that was received from Cycle City (Interviewee A6: para 32) from the CRK. Nevertheless, as Birendra Bhakta Shrestha the chairperson of the campaign explained, despite these differences, no one wanted to hinder the project that had at last begun three years after the earthquake (Joshi et al. 2022: 124).

The KRC was established as per the provisions of the Public Procurement Act, “construction works may be caused to be carried out by users’ committee or beneficiary community”, if hereby the “economy, quality or sustainability is increased” or “to create employment” (Public Procurement Act: Article 44). However, through decisions taken at Cabinet level, numerous exceptions were made to the conditions prescribed in the regulations (Public Procurement Regulations: para 97), including the scale of the project, as well as procedures for material procurement and contracting traditional building craftspeople (Shrestha 2021: 4-5).

7.4.2 The government authorities involved in rehabilitation

Once the KRC was established, the relevant government authorities were included in the organisational set-up as members of the Executive Committee. These included the mayor of KMC, the chairs of the surrounding four wards 18, 19, 20, 21, as well as wards 12, 17, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, representatives of the NRA and the DOA, and the Member of Parliament of Bagmati Province, as chair of the Reconstruction Committee (Joshi et al. 2022: 306).

Bagmati Province

The provincial government was only involved through the personal initiative of Rajesh Shakya, elected as the Member of the Provincial Parliament from Bagmati constituency 8A,

covering the area of Hanumandhoka. As Rajesh Shakya stated, “in my election manifesto, I declared that should I win, I would reconstruct the Kasthamandap, which I committed openly to the public” (2022: vi). Various members of the Provincial Parliament were included in the Advisory Committee, and respective Chief Ministers of Bagmati Province, Mr Dormani Poudel and Ms Asta Laxmi Shakya visited the site, but there was no further involvement at this level of government (Joshi et al. 2022: 303).

Kathmandu Metropolitan City (KMC)

A key role was played by the KMC as the government funding agency. As mentioned in the previous section, the decision taken by the Mayor to fund the entire project undermined the proposal to allow the community to contribute to the project financially. By funding the project, as well due to the increased powers given to the local government through the Local Government Operations Act 2074 (2017 CE), the Mayor assumed ownership of the monument (Local Government Operations Act 2017). Interviewee A9 (para 19) expressed concern that this would lead to the Municipality possibly even charging entrance fees or putting up billboards on the monument to recover the funds, and the local community members would be side-lined.

The KMC provided four payments adding up to 115 million Rupees (Joshi et al. 2022: 309), which was slightly less than 60 percent of the initial estimate done by the DOA and adopted by the KMC. The financial closing of the project must be approved by the KMC, as the funding agency, and this has not yet been done even though the formal handing over of the monument took place with the *lokarpan* event on 4th April 2022, graced by the President of Nepal Bidhya Bhandari, which was the ceremonial end of the project (Figure 8.1). The KRC is still in possession of the new material stocks which have not been handed over to the KMC. As Interviewee A15 (para1) explained, at the end of the project some of the work that was planned, such as electrification and the installation of a structural health monitoring system was not completed, the reasons for which will be discussed in Section 8.3.

In the meantime, the local elections have taken place and a new Mayor has been elected, Balen Shah, a 32-year-old structural engineer and musician, originating from Mahottari, outside the Kathmandu Valley, whose manifesto included the commitment to preserve the cultural heritage of the city. It also must be mentioned that the Deputy Mayor, Sunita Dangol, is a 29-year-old heritage conservationist, Newari language activist, and beauty pageant title holder, who ran for the CPN-UML party (*The Himalayan Times* 26 May 2022). The outcome of these elections showed that there has been a change in sentiment, and voting was done

against the status quo of party politics. A non-Newar independent candidate won the elections to become Mayor of the KMC.

Department of Archaeology (DOA)

The role of the DOA was limited to the responsibilities as the statutory body for the protection of cultural heritage. Based on the various earlier drawings of the Kasthamandap, a new set of drawings was prepared by the members of the Technical Team, which were approved by the DOA on 5th July 2018 (Shakya 2022: ix). The structural assessment report produced by technical consultants was later also approved by the DOA. The Expert Team understood these to be guiding documents rather than detailed designs for implementation. The continued involvement of Aruna Nakarmi of the DOA in the Expert Team, even after she was transferred from Kathmandu to Bhaktapur, ensured continuity in the liaison between the reconstruction activities going on at site and the DOA (A. Joshi 2022: 129). It was only once a lawsuit was filed against their replacement of the Gorakhnath image that the DOA was implicated, which will be further discussed in Section 7.6.

As has been mentioned in Section 6.4.1, the salvaged objects from the collapsed Kasthamandap were handed over to the Hanumandhoka Palace Museum managed by the DOA. There was material found during the archaeological investigations, as explained in Section 6.5., such as the remains of the copper and the gold foil, which were also handed over to the DOA. Various objects that were found during the reconstruction process, such as a stone inscription, were handed over to the DOA (Joshi et al. 2022: 311). Furthermore, the remaining original materials after reconstruction are also planned to be handed over to the DOA to be exhibited at the National Museum in Chhauni. This will include the remaining timber, stone, metal and terracotta (ibid.: 310-315). These items have been listed in Table 7.2, provided at the end of this chapter.

Other authorities

The other members of the Executive Committee, the ward chairpersons and the representative of the NRA, were even less involved with the reconstruction process. Interviewee A6 (para 33) mentioned that the chair of Ward 20, within which the Kasthamandap is located, was not happy that the chairs of other wards were included. He was from the Congress Party. Considering the significant involvement of the NRA in signing an agreement with the CRK just a few days before the local elections in 2017, they however did not get further involved in the project.

Another responsible authority would have been the Guthi Sansthan, however, they were not invited to be represented in the Executive Committee. As per Interviewee B8 (para 3), the

Guthi Sansthan, having been ignored by the DOA for many years, and with the limited available resources, was only responsible for providing support for intangible activities. There is no evidence of their involvement in the maintenance of the Kasthamandap after the initial restoration project in 1966, as described in Chapter 5.

The authorities responsible for the supplying of timber

The supply of large timber elements in the Kathmandu Valley seems to have been a challenge even in the past. When restoring the Swayambhu Mahachaitya in the early 1750s, the main central shaft, the *yoshi*, was provided by Prithvi Narayan Shah (Gutschow 1997: 90), who at the time had not yet conquered the Kathmandu Valley but controlled the surrounding hills, which meant he controlled the supply of timber. It is also interesting to note that one of the main central beams of the Kasthamandap was of pine (Joshi et al. 2022: 230), indicating the replacement of a hardwood with a softwood, possibly due to complications with supply during a past restoration.

Similarly, a critical role was played by the authorities who provided the support to acquire the required timber for the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap. Due to the high demand for local *sal* (*shorea robusta*) timber and, with dwindling jungles and restricted supply, the procurement of such timber was difficult. Furthermore, the project required sizes of timber that were large and not as per standard sections (Joshi et al. 2022: 213). The devolution of powers to the provinces as per the new Constitution required the additional consent of the provincial government, and there was little interest for one province to provide timber for another province (Shakya 2022: ix). This was an enormous challenge even for the chair of the KRC, Rajesh Shakya, Member of the Provincial Parliament, with close political connections to the ruling party, and despite a Cabinet decision that the Timber Corporation of Nepal (TCN) would provide the timber at a concessional rate. As Interviewee C3 (para 15) explained, if it had not been for Rajesh Shakya, with his determination and personal involvement, backed by his political status and connections, it would not have been possible to obtain the required wood for the successful reconstruction of the Kasthamandap.

Higher central government authorities

The KRC was established with the support of the Minister (MOCTCA) Rabindra Prasad Adhikari (CPN-UML), who continued to provide encouragement during the construction period (Shakya 2022: viii). However, when Minister Adhikari died in a helicopter crash on 27th February 2019, a period of instability followed with ministers changing in quick succession: Yogesh Bhattarai, Bhanu Bhakta Dhakal, Uma Shankar Aragriya, Lila Nath

Shrestha, and Prem Ale, followed by the incumbent Jeevan Ram Shrestha since 30th June 2022 (Sijapati 2022).

Similarly, the KRC was established with the blessing of Prime Minister Khadga Prasad Sharma Oli (CPN-UML) and his support during the construction period was important. As Rajesh Shakya explained, the enthusiasm of the members of the Reconstruction Committee increased when Prime Minister Oli visited the site on 25th April 2019 (2022: ix). Political turmoil led to a split with coalition partners, as well as within the party, until Oli resigned from office on 13th July 2021. He was replaced by Sher Bahadur Deuba, from the Nepal Congress Party who built a coalition government of the opposition parties and a splinter group of the ruling UML party (Giri 2021). This political turmoil, though it did not cause a delay in construction, did cause a delay in finalising the project, and arranging for the completion ceremony. It was, however, Oli who was invited to visit the Kasthamandap site on 19th November 2021 (Joshi et al. 2022: 303). The implications of Oli's visit will be examined further in Section 7.6.

The Honourable President Bidya Devi Bhandari also played a key role in the political backdrop to the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap. She visited the site on 8th February 2020 to inspect the ongoing reconstruction work (Shakya 2022: ix). She was invited to again visit the Kasthamandap for the *lokarpan* or dedication programme that was organised on 4th April 2022 (Figure 8.1), to hand over certificates to the key actors in the reconstruction process and, as has been previously mentioned, to hand over the ceremonial key to the Mayor of KMC. As Interviewee A16 (para 9) explained, the President stands above party politics, however, Bhandari joined active politics after her husband, a former CPN-UML leader met with a fatal accident, and she won the ensuing by-elections in 1994. Obviously her close affiliation with the CPN-UML remained, despite her resignation from the party on being elected President of Nepal in 2015. Considering the change in the political scenario, the only remaining option was to invite the Honourable President to preside over the ceremonial end to the project.

7.4.3 The management committee to ensure continuity

There were various reasons for the Expert Team to be concerned about the future management of the Kasthamandap after the completion of its reconstruction. As was revealed during detailed investigations carried out after the collapsed of the Kasthamandap of the foundations and plinth, the timber elements, and inspection of old photographs, the structure was not adequately maintained and interventions were inappropriate (Coningham et al 2022: 117, Weise and Joshi 2022: 87). There was also concern shown by the Expert

Team that once the monument was handed over to the Municipality, there would be a lack of maintenance and monitoring by the local authorities, and possibly the introduction of inappropriate activities. A major concern was the possible restriction of access to the local communities (Interviewee A9: para 7). Furthermore, it was decided by the Expert Team to introduce a system of 'Structural Health Monitoring' for the Kasthamandap, with the installation of sensors, requiring regular technical assessment (Weise 2022: 332). It must be noted that this has not yet been carried out, awaiting the completion of the reconstruction project and the establishment of a monitoring body, as will be discussed in Section 8.4.

The Expert Team recommended the preparation of a *Continuity Plan* which would provide the terms of reference for the management of the Kasthamandap, along with guidelines and a *Calendar of Events*. According to the *Continuity Plan*, a new authority was to be established to manage the Kasthamandap, which would be based on the traditional concept of a *guthi* but be adapted to the contemporary circumstances. The Kasthamandap Management Guthi would be registered and funded through the KMC but would ensure the involvement of the relevant communities: the *guthis*, the craftspeople, the conservation professionals, local community representatives, as well as the government authorities at federal, provincial and local level (ibid.: 329).

The *Continuity Plan* was finalised by the Expert Team, with acknowledgement of the KRC board (Interviewee A16: para 10). The implementation was stalled due to the tense relationship between the Committee Chair and the Mayor; however, it was agreed that the proposal would be presented in the project publication (Weise 2022: 325-335). This will be an issue that will need to be followed-up on in future and will be discussed in Chapter 8.

7.5 The custodians of the Kasthamandap during rehabilitation

The custodians of the Kasthamandap during the rehabilitation period have been defined here as all those involved in the actual planning and implementation of the reconstruction project, within the broader framework of the KRC. The overall structure of the KRC has been detailed in Section 7.4.1. The custodians of the Kasthamandap during the reconstruction phase can be presented under three categories: the Expert Team, the Technical Team and the traditional building craftspeople and labourers (Joshi et al. 2022: 306-307). The reconstruction project was implemented through the collaboration between these three bodies, coordinated by the board of the KRC, balancing the involvement of the theoretical experts, the supervisors and the traditional craftspeople. This section will examine the

involvement, the various activities and the challenges faced by those making technical decisions, those supervising and managing the site, and those who implemented the work.

This involvement of the technical professionals and building craftspeople ended with the completion of the reconstruction project. However, there was the need for continued monitoring and maintenance of the monument, which could only be accomplished if respective provisions were made. A *Continuity Plan* was prepared as a proposal for the long-term management of the Kasthamandap (Weise 2022: 331-332). This section will also explain the proposed involvement of technical experts and skilled craftspeople in the continued management of the monument.

7.5.1 The Expert Team

When Rajesh Shakya was elected to the provincial parliament and received the mandate from the government to reconstruct the Kasthamandap, he first discussed the challenge with a friend, Aruna Nakarmi, who had just been transferred to the HDPM as director and head of the HDPMO, representing the DOA (Shakya 2022: vii). During the following months, from December 2017 until May 2018, when the KRC was established, several meetings were organized by Rajesh Shakya at the HDPM to bring together the technical team and clarify the modality for reconstructing the Kasthamandap. The initial meeting was organised by Rajesh Shakya with Anie Joshi and Kai Weise (the researcher), both architects who were already involved with the Master Plan for the palace museum, and the restoration of various sections damaged by the Gorkha Earthquake. Kosh Prasad Acharya, a former Director-General of the DOA, joined the discussions. As Aruna Nakarmi explained in an interview, she was involved in the restoration of the Fifty-five Window Palace in Bhaktapur, that was carried out between 2000 and 2008, where the traditional carpenters were consulted, and a similar approach would need to be taken for the Kasthamandap (A. Joshi 2022: 129). She suggested that a Users' Committee be formed (Shakya 2022: vii). Senior architect Prof Sudarshan Raj Tiwari and senior structural engineer Prof Prem Nath Maskey were contacted, since both were involved with the restoration of the Fifty-five Window Palace in Bhaktapur. As Tiwari explained, after rejecting various proposals by foreign experts, the project in Bhaktapur was successfully completed using "Nepali funds, expertise, traditional knowledge and technology and skilled workers" (2009: 46). The discussion on national pride will be further examined in Section 7.6.

When the Expert Team was finally established (Figure 7.20), there were eight members, and Rajesh Shakya as the chair. Five members were from those involved in the initial discussions, while two engineers with political affiliations were added, Kul Bhakta Shakya

and Padma Sundar Joshi, along with a Vajrayana priest Yagyaman Pati Bajracharya responsible for the rituals during reconstruction (Joshi et al. 2022: 306). As explained in the previous section, the Expert Team was one of the components of the KRC. The Expert Team was responsible for all major architectural and structural decisions that needed to be made and specifying the quality of materials used for the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap. However, it must be noted that the Vajrayana priest never attended the meetings, and the planning of rituals was never discussed during the Expert Team meetings (Interviewee A15: para9).

As soon as the Expert Team was established, a set of basic principles were agreed upon for the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap. The first basic principle was that the monument would be rebuilt using traditional skills, material and construction techniques. The second principle was that the monument would be rebuilt without alterations and interventions, however, rectifying possible defects, as found appropriate to the best of our knowledge. The third principle was to support traditional beliefs and procedures during the reconstruction process. The fourth principle was to ensure continued protection and maintenance of the monument, and the associate intangible heritage (Joshi et al. 2022: 215). These principles were adopted for the Kasthamandap to set an example for other restoration projects, to show that even large monuments can be reconstructed through local means and, in respect to design, without introducing additional strengthening measures (Weise 2022: 335).

Analysing the composition of the Expert Team and its performance, most members are Newars, however there are several non-Newars included (Joshi et al. 2022: 306). This will be analysed in detail and discussed in Chapter 8. In respect to performance, the communication between the Expert Team, the Technical Team and the traditional craftspeople was meagre, but sufficient to ensure that work on site was kept under control. Some of the important discussions and decisions will be explained later in Section 7.5.4.

7.5.2 The Technical Team

The Technical Team was responsible for site supervision, documentation and reporting, as well as liaising between the Expert Team and the building craftspeople. The all Newari-speaking team consisted of Manindra Shrestha, an architect as site manager, Amrit Shakya, a site engineer who had worked many years with the DOA, and two conservation architects, Binita Magaiya and Anie Joshi (Joshi et al. 2022: 213). Close collaboration was required between the Technical Team and the traditional building craftspeople, to ensure that materials were supplied in time and technical details were provided, where required. When

standard details were not sufficient to resolve a given situation, the Expert Team needed to be approached.

For the Technical Team (Figure 7.20), liaising between the Expert Team and the craftspeople on site was the most challenging. As Interviewee A15 (para 13) explained, despite the lofty principles agreed upon at the beginning of the project, the Expert Team members did not have any direct discussions with the craftspeople. This will be discussed further in the following sections.

7.5.3 The traditional building craftspeople

The construction of the Kasthamandap was led by the head carpenter, Laxmi Bhakta Rajchal from Bhaktapur (Figure 7.7). He was selected early on for his experience with various projects, including the Fifty-five Window Palace (Shakya 2022: vii). He had a team of carpenters who assist him. Some of them were specialised and carry out detailed carving work. As Aruna Nakarmi pointed out, the project was also an opportunity for learning, with three generations of carpenters working together (Joshi et al. 2022: 129). Tushi Ram Makhasya was the head mason (Figure 7.8), assisted by a team of masons, who were all from Bhaktapur. They worked on the brick masonry in mud mortar, a skill that is slowly dying out. Other traditional craftspeople who were involved in the project include the copper smiths from Patan, stone masons and stone carvers (from Bhaktapur), and roof-tile layers (from Patan) (ibid.: 304). To assist them, there were labourers from various ethnicities who came from all over the country: Tamang, Magar, Limbu, Tharu, Newar, Brahmin, Chetri, as well as minority groups such as Yakkha, Bhujel, Majhi and various Dalit castes (Figure 7.19) (ibid.: 307).

There were several issues that arose in respect to the traditional craftspeople. As has already been explained in the previous section, the communication between the technical experts and the artisans needed to be facilitated by the technical team on site. The caste hierarchy also played a role, since the artisan and masons, who are often farmers, are placed in the lower half of the table, below the administrators and traders (Gellner 1992: 44) (Table 3.7). This hierarchy still remains today, making the craftspeople reluctant to argue against those who would be considered their superiors. Interviewee A15 (para 15) explained how the craftspeople complied with orders given by the supervisors, even though they knew it is wrong. This unquestioned acceptance of authority came partially from the caste hierarchy, and partially from the loss of pride in their crafts, from the necessity of having to work for contractors who are more intent on cutting costs than providing quality work.

Another issue that was raised concerning the craftspeople was in respect to the rituals. As explained in Section 7.2.2, a Vajrayana priest was responsible for managing all the rituals. Particularly important for the Hindu artisans would have been the ritual for the main beam, and as per their customs, a goat would have needed to be sacrificed, followed by a feast for the entire team. Interviewee A15 (para12) explained that the building craftspeople were dissatisfied that their beliefs were ignored. When a *puja* and feast was organised in Bhaktapur for the craftspeople, very few board members, expert team members, technical and office staff attended.

7.5.4 Important technical discussion during the reconstruction

The Expert Team meetings were held throughout the reconstruction period, often as regularly as once a week, to discuss construction procedures, technical details and material quality. The main achievement of the Expert Team was to steer the project as per the principles formulated and agreed upon at the beginning of the project. There were times when critical decisions were needed beyond the purview of the building craftspeople. Some of these discussions will be summarised below. The discussion on the rehabilitation of cultural objects will be discussed in the Section 7.5.5, while the discussion on whether to replace the fencing has been presented earlier in Section 7.3.3.

Retaining the foundation

Investigations by structural engineers in preparing the design previously commissioned by the DOA, as explained in Chapter 6, proposed strengthening by introducing piles (A. Joshi 2022: 115). The archaeological investigations carried out by the team led by Durham University's UNESCO Chair, identified the foundations constructed of brick in mud mortar to date back to the seventh and eighth centuries CE (Coningham et al. 2022: 161) and the foundations to be extremely well preserved (ibid.: 167). This was the basis to keep the original foundations without any interventions and to justify the resilience of brick in mud mortar.

Use of bamboo scaffolds

An issue that was discussed at length was how to lift the four main posts into position. The final decision was taken by the Chair of the KRC to use bamboo scaffolds and pull the posts into position manually (Shakya 2022: x). The bamboo scaffolds were flexible, easy to move around as per site requirements (Joshi et al 2022: 234). This set the precedence for all other

work on site, and an example for other projects, such as the restoration of the Shiva Parvati Temple in Hanumandhoka Square.

Use of copper for protection of timber

The archaeological investigations carried out by the team led by Durham University's UNESCO Chair also identified that copper plates and shoes were used to protect the base of the central posts (Coningham et al. 2022: 167). The decision was taken to use copper shoes and bands to protect all the timber post on the ground floor from rot and insect infestation (Figure 7.13) (Joshi et al. 2022: 231).

Quality of material

A major responsibility of the Expert Team was to check material quality. Soil needed to be an acceptable mix of sand, silt and clay, with the clay component not exceeding 20% (ibid.: 244). The head mason checked quality by rolling the wet mortar into a ball and pressing it with the thumb to see how it cracked. The reuse of salvaged timber was tested using a resistograph (ibid.: 261), something the head carpenter checked by the sound emitted when knocking on the wood. Bricks were ordered specially for the project as per the original size, and the minimum compressive strength of 6.75 megapascals (MPa) (ibid.: 186). The quality and design of the *jhingati* roof tiles, the *dhuri chang*, the stacked ridge tiles and the *kun-pa* corner piece were also provided (ibid.: 281).

Structural strengthening

The discussion on the structural strengthening of the monument in respect to the components of the superstructure constructed of brick in mud mortar was possibly one of the most critical. As the senior structural engineer, Prof Prem Nath Maskey explained, the challenge was to understand how the Kasthamandap withstood the Great Nepal Bihar Earthquake of 1934. Its collapse was not due to the traditional design being lacking, but due to deterioration, aging, the lack of maintenance and repair and due to alterations of structural elements (2022: 182). Structural analysis also showed that earthquake loads were resisted by the L-shaped brick quoins (ibid.: 183). After lengthy discussions it was agreed that horizontal ties would be introduced, with slender timber posts in corners (Figure 7.10) (ibid.: 186), to create confinement of the brickwork of the brick quoins. Interviewee A15 (para 17) explained that when questioned, the head carpenter agreed with the solution of inserting the limited number of posts on the edges of the brick masonry, as such practice was also found in certain older structures.

7.5.5 The restoration of the cultural objects

The Kasthamandap is characterised by a “stark geometry, limited application of carvings on wooden elements, absence of struts supporting overhanging roofs and balcony formations on ground, first and second floors, come together to give the architecture a look of austere mystery” (Tiwari 2022: 71). Slusser described the Kasthamandap as being “austere and ponderous, it was but little ornamented” (2016: 135). Within this stark structure there are various components that can be categorised as cultural objects, which have symbolic, artistic or religious significance, which needed to be carefully rehabilitated. This section will examine how each of the cultural objects were either restored, reinstalled or replaced.

Main structural elements

Most of the wooden posts and brackets were salvaged after the collapse of the monument (Shrestha 2022: 195). Detailed inspection of these elements was carried out by the head carpenter, followed by resistograph tests, to check the quality of the wood throughout the section. The results were that only a few posts were considered to be in a good enough condition to be reused (Figure 7.18), while many of the brackets were found to be in reusable condition, as shown in Table 7.2 provided at the end of the chapter (Joshi et al. 2022: 311-312).

Of the main structural elements, the most prominent are the four main central posts crowned with a double layer of wooden brackets. The central timber posts measure 35 by 35 centimetres in section and about 5.6 meters in length (excluding the tenons). The wooden brackets, consisting of two layers, each with two interlocking elements, were decorated with a floral design and as per Slusser, a lion-head (Slusser 2016: 135). Radiocarbon dating was carried out by Stirling University. Measurements from the outer part of one of the central posts, which was located on the northeast side, indicated dates between the ninth and tenth centuries CE (Coningham et al. 2022: 156), while the other three posts and one of the central crossbeams were dated to between the eleventh and twelfth centuries CE (ibid.: 158). Surprisingly, one of the lion-headed capitals was dated to between the fifth and sixth centuries CE (ibid.: 164), making it the oldest dated timber element in Nepal (Joshi et al. 2022: 270). Of the four central posts, one of them has been reused on the south-eastern side. Of the 16 main brackets, ten of them have been reused, including the one dated to between the fifth and sixth centuries CE (Figure 7.17) (ibid.: 311-312). As Interviewee A15 (para 19) explained, these elements were reused in the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap, “to preserve the historical narration” of the monument.

The central stone

The most important symbolic object within the Kasthamandap is the round stone positioned in the centre of the ground floor (Tiwari 2022: 72). The round stone of 20-centimetre circumference sits in the centre of a slightly depressed square pit of 80 by 80 centimetres (Figure 7.15). An additional round stone was placed towards the northwest corner. As Interviewee B1 (para 6) explained, no ritual of Gorakhnath is complete without performing *puja* to Bhairav and “at the centre of the Kasthamandap there are two representative stones, the central one is Bhairav and the corner one is Kali”. This central sanctum was beautified with marble tiles in cement mortar during the 1984-85 restoration (Weise and Joshi 2022: 83-84).

The central round stone was not affected by the collapse of the monument. However, the rectification of the sanctum became a long-drawn discussion. After long deliberations it was decided to carefully remove the marble tiles, which revealed the original *telia* tile paving inside the pit around the central stone (A Joshi et al. 2022: 220). The second stone, on the northwest corner of the square pit, was found to have only been placed on the marble tile finish, and was removed and stored in the KRC office for possible future reuse (ibid.: 313).

The Gorakhnath image and the Ganesh images

As was explained in Chapter 6, the Gorakhnath image was broken in two parts when salvaged a day after the collapse of the Kasthamandap. The Gorakhnath image was later restored by senior conservator Griha Man Singh (Figure 6.8). It must also be noted that the pedestal on which the Gorakhnath image stood, which was covered in marble tiles was removed, however, other than for a few photographs, this was not properly documented and therefore the possibility of retrieval of any further information was lost (Interviewee A15: para 3).

The Gorakhnath statue took on a very prominent position, sitting on a raised pedestal to the west of the central sanctum, facing east (Figure 7.16). Being one of the few anthropomorphic statues of Gorakhnath, for he is usually symbolically presented with his footprints, the *paduka*, it was important to replace the broken one. The salvage report prepared by the ICOMOS Nepal, implemented together with the DOA and funded by UNESCO, states that it is to be replaced (Shrestha 2022: 195). The cost estimate that was prepared by the DOA took into consideration the need for new images of Gorakhnath. Community members and even the Gorakhnath priests believed the broken image needed to be replaced following due process (Interviewee A15: para 3). Interviewee B1 (para 7) explained that the Prana Pratishan ritual of the new idol of Gorakhnath should be done by the Kanphatta Yogis, and all the 12 Panti Naths should participate in this ritual.

Similarly, it was decided that the four slightly damaged Ganesh images that were salvaged and kept in the HDPM would be replaced. Interviewee A16 (para 7) explained that the members of the Manandhar Guthi had been identified in Ta Bahi, to the south of Marutole.

A traditional stone sculptor was commissioned to carve the new images of the Gorakhnath and the four Ganesh based on the original ones. This was difficult particularly since many of the details were eroded away due to the ritual practice of touching and applying vermilion paste. Naresh Maharjan, the sculptor explained that for the Gorakhnath, it required a lot of research to ensure that the image was correctly reproduced, since there were no others to compare with (Figure 7.16) (Joshi et al. 2022: 277). The pedestal for the Gorakhnath image was reconstructed in the same location in brick with mud mortar covered in a stone slab, and the image was reinstalled, ready for the Prana Pratishan, the consecration rituals. The four Ganesh images were fixed into niches built in the four corners as per the original design. The original images remained in the Hanumandhoka Palace Museum. However, a series of events halted the full rehabilitation of the Gorakhnath and four Ganesh images, hindering the completion of the entire project. This will be examined further in Section 7.6.

The *gajur*

The *gajur* is the pinnacle placed on the roof above a sacred space, a temple or shrine (Figure 7.14). *Sattals* usually do not have a *gajur* unless housing a shrine, and the *gajur* is then placed right above this location, “linking the heavens with the sanctum at the centre of the monument” (Joshi et al. 2022: 285). On the topmost roof, the *gaju-si*, or kingpost connects all the rafters that fan out from the centre. This is then covered with the various parts of a *gajur*, which is usually of copper, to ensure the protection from rain infiltrating into the structure (Joshi et al 2022: 279, Tiwari 2022: 74). The *gajur* consists of five components which are the *bhangi*, *ghantakar*, *amalakha*, *kalasha* and *chudamani* which represents the *pancha tatva*, the five elements of water, earth, fire, air and space. In previous restorations the *bhangi*, the base, and the *ghantakar*, the main bell-shaped component, had been constructed of brick masonry, while the *amalakha*, the lotus, and the *kalasha*, the water vessel, were of terracotta. All the brick and terracotta elements were lost when the Kasthamandap collapsed, but the *chudamani*, the egg-shaped jewel of gilt copper, along with the *gaju-si*, the kingpost, were salvaged. The entire *gajur* had to be replaced, with the inner timber structure, including the *gaju-si*, the *bhangi* and the *ghantakar*, being prepared by the carpenters. This was then entirely covered with folded copper sheeting, with new copper *amalakha* and *kalasha*, manufactured by metal craftspeople from Patan. Only the salvaged gilt copper *chudamani* could be reused (Figure 7.14) (Joshi et al 2022: 285).

Because of its significance, the Expert Team and the Technical Team had lengthy discussions on the detailing of the *gajur*. As Interviewee A15 (para 18) explained, there were several issues that were debated, such as the shape of the *ghantakar*, whether it was like a bell, or as per Yagyaman Pati Bajracharya, a Buddhist *stupa* (2022: 66). There were also debates on whether the entire *gajur* would need to be gilded. These different positions on such issues were determined by the different opinions on the identity of the Kasthamandap, such as the importance given to the central sanctum as a shrine. Finally, it was decided that other than the previously gilded copper *chudamani*, the remaining parts of the *gajur* were not going to be gilded (Interviewee A15: para 19).

As previously mentioned, the final rituals to complete the construction were not carried out to respect the legends, that the construction of the Kasthamandap should never be completed. However, Yagyaman Pati Bajracharya carried out various rituals on the wooden elements forming the *ghantakar* and the final rituals on the copper elements. It is important to note that “such *pujas* can be done for specific Buddhist monuments only, which show the qualities of a *mandala*” (Anie et al. 2022: 297).

Other objects of veneration and significance

Beyond the images and the *gajur* mentioned above, there are some very important objects that were salvaged and reinstalled during the reconstruction. There were the various less obvious elements of worship and protection, such as the 48 carved wooden Bhairav images integrated into the balustrades of the corner pavilions. Of the 48 carved wooden Bhairav images that were integrated into the balustrades of the corner pavilions, two were completely broken and several were cracked (Shrestha 2022: 195), but only one had to be replaced. Fragments of the decorative terracotta frame of the Maru Pwa shrine located on the southern plinth were salvaged and used as the basis to reproduce this element to restore the shrine (Joshi et al. 2022: 275). The Thaso Hiti, the upright stone spout on the southwest corner, which is regularly worshipped and plays an important role in the Khadgasiddhi Jatra, was slightly damaged but the Expert Team decided to retain it as found in its original position (ibid.: 220).

The frieze that was fixed under the north-eastern pavilion balustrades was salvaged in four pieces (Shrestha 2022: 195) and was reinstalled in its original position (Figure 7.12), with the carpenters providing an additional timber plank support from the back (Joshi et al. 2022: 272-273). It must be noted that Slusser assesses the frieze from the seventeenth century as “non-sectarian in content and despite strong references to Buddhism, is likely primarily Saivite” (Slusser 2016: 136), clearly indicating how closely Buddhist and Hindu narratives were intertwined. Three of the ten copper inscriptions which were nailed to the beams above

the timber colonnade when entering the central hall from the east, were recovered (Joshi et al. 2022: 314). The marble inscription of the inauguration of the 1966 restoration by King Mahendra (Tamot 2022: 15) was lost. It was decided by the KRC that the text of the lost inscriptions, the seven copper plate inscriptions and the marble inscription, “would be recorded on copper plates, clearly indicating that the originals had been lost” (Interviewee A16: para 5), which would then be installed in the Kasthamandap, alongside the originals.

There was a round timber post, connected to the staircase leading up to the first floor, though not an object of veneration, it was a general attraction, since an aching back was said to be healed by rubbing against it. This round post was found (Shrestha 2022: 195) and was reinstalled in the original position, to continue its healing function.

7.5.6 Continued monitoring and maintenance

The KRC, with the various sub-committees, teams and groups, technical and administrative staff, as well as the building craftspeople and labourers, was established for the reconstruction period. The question that was raised early in the Expert Team meetings was how the project would end and who would take over the future responsibility. Concern was shown by various community members such as Interviewee A9 (para 6), who suggested that, in future, the ownership of the Kasthamandap should be with the *guthis*, and the local government would be involved on a second level. Considering that under the responsibility of the DOA and the KMC, the lack of maintenance and various inappropriate interventions was the cause for the collapse of the Kasthamandap (Maskey 2022: 182), a different system was required.

The Expert Team proposed a *Continuity Plan*, with the establishment of a Kasthamandap Management Guthi, that “the monument would be protected from long-term degradation and from sudden negative factors, while ensuring that appropriate activities, rituals and festivals can be carried out” (Weise 2022: 329). This would allow all the related *guthi*, local community groups, the various levels of government authorities, as well as craftspeople and technical experts to participate in the continued management of the monument. They would function within the guidelines proposed in the *Continuity Plan* (ibid.: 330). This proposal has not yet been adopted and the Kasthamandap Management Guthi has not yet been established, since the formal negotiations with the municipal authorities, where it would need to be registered, have not yet taken place. This has been further delayed due to the local elections that were held on 13th May 2022, as has been explained in Section 7.4.2.

7.6 The broader significance of the Kasthamandap during rehabilitation

Once the KRC was established, there was a general acceptance that no one would cause problems during the rehabilitation period. There were various complaints made, such as Interviewee A6 (para 44) and Interviewee C11 (para 16), who raised the concern that too much new wood was being used and the politicisation of the entire reconstruction process. However, as Rajani Tamrakar stated in an interview, “whoever takes the responsibility of rebuilding the Kasthamandap, we as local community and members of Ta Chatan Guthi would be providing our support in any possible way” (A. Joshi 2022: 127). This section will examine the pride of the local community, the response of activists and the possible implications of the restoration of the Kasthamandap on the World Heritage property of Kathmandu Valley and approaches to heritage conservation in general.

The Kasthamandap became a symbol of post-earthquake activism, as has been explained in Chapter 6. The project was to set an example of how such a large monument can be reconstructed through local resources, technology and management (Shakya 2022: xi). The proposed Kasthamandap Management Guthi was to set an example of how monuments need to be managed over time (Weise 2022: 326). The comprehensive publication on the Kasthamandap (Weise and Joshi eds. 2022) was to highlight the achievements of the project. Even though the monument has been reconstructed, and a *lokarpan* or dedication programme has been carried out signalling the completion of the project, the monument has not yet been opened to the public and various formalities are still pending. This will be examined further in this section.

7.6.1 Kasthamandap as a national example

In Chapter 6, the nationwide response to the collapse of the Kasthamandap was described, leading to widespread concern and activism, to ensure that reconstruction would be carried out using traditional design, materials and technology. This delayed the reconstruction of the monument by three years, but the regular media coverage heightened the interest of the public. The site visits during reconstruction by the President and Prime Minister showed the national importance of the project (Joshi et al. 2022: 303).

The Kasthamandap was an A-grade national monument as per the inventory prepared by the DOA, the responsible authority, and was listed in the World Heritage nomination dossier (Government of Nepal 1979: 6). There was great pride that the Kasthamandap was being restored, not only as a Nepal heritage, but much more specifically as Newari heritage. As Interviewee A15 (para 20) pointed out, there was a priority given to have Newars involved, wherever possible. Within the various sub-committees, groups and teams of the KRC, only

three members were explicitly non-Newars, all within the Expert Team, while four positions were undefined as representatives of authorities and associations. Non-Newars were also involved through the army, as labourers, in assisting in purchase of timber in the Terai, as well as two technical volunteers (Joshi et al. 2022: 306-307). The thin line between pride and communalism will be discussed further in Chapter 8.

During the reconstruction period, representatives from various restoration projects visited the site and requested the KRC for guidance. Local community members from the Mahadev Temple in Madhyapur Thimi Municipality and the Degutale in Lalitpur, came to enquire about the modality of the project (Interviewee A16: para 11). The precedence set by the Kasthamandap also paved the way for the restoration of the Matsyendranath Temple in Bungamati to be wrested from the contractors and allowed to be carried out by a local Users' Committee (NRA 2020).

7.6.2 The Kasthamandap, World Heritage and international involvement

The Kasthamandap is located within Hanumandhoka Durbar Square monument zone of the Kathmandu Valley World Heritage property. The implications of this before the Gorkha Earthquake and during the three-year response phase has been explained in Chapters 5 and 6 respectively. With the Fifty-five Window Palace restoration project being taken as the example to follow, where numerous international proposals were abandoned for local technology and resources, as has been explained in Section 7.5.1, the reconstruction project of the Kasthamandap followed suit. This meant that no international support was invited.

Acknowledgement of International involvement was directed towards the highly successful archaeological investigations led by Durham University's UNESCO Chair and the important dating carried out by the University of Stirling, in close collaboration with the DOA, as has been explained in Chapter 6. The results of these investigations guided various decisions taken by the Expert Committee as has been explained in Section 7.5.4. Of the recommendations that were made based on the findings of these investigations (Coningham et al. 2022: 169-170), all the relevant points for the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap were followed, and are summarised here, indicating the relevant recommendation in brackets. This was the first time that detailed scientific research was carried out on the foundations and the salvaged materials of a collapsed monument in Nepal, which improved the understanding of the monument, as well as the reason for its collapse (A2, A4, A5). The reconstruction of the Kasthamandap followed the proposed procedures, wherever possible using traditional methods and equipment (A1, A8). The foundations that were found to be in good condition were retained, and as much as possible of the salvaged materials was

reused in the reconstruction of the monument (A3, A12). The design retained the traditional structural system, while introducing minimum timber elements to the brickwork in mud mortar, justified through material testing and structural modelling (A6, A7). The entire reconstruction process was carried out engaging the various communities and working towards establishing a long-term management through the proposed *Continuity Plan* that included all the relevant stakeholders (A14).

Contributions that were acknowledged from international experts included those that were included in the final publication of the Kasthamandap, published by the KRC, edited by Kai Weise (the researcher) and Anie Joshi. The contribution of the team from Durham University and University of Stirling have been documented in the publication (Coningham et al. 2022: 149ff). Dr Mary Shepard Slusser's paper written in 2016 and revised in 2017, 'On the Loss of Cultural Heritage in Quake-Ravaged Nepal', that examines particularly the frieze, has been reprinted (Slusser 2016: 131). Furthermore, the contribution of Wolfgang Korn has been acknowledged through an interview that includes a section drawing of the Kasthamandap where he has inserted some key measurements (Joshi et al. 2022: 128). Others that need to be acknowledged are the various international visitors who contributed their images, particularly during the post-earthquake response phase.

There was further interest shown by international researchers on the response and reconstruction of the Kasthamandap. One such example was research carried out from 2017 and 2020 under the project, 'After the Earth's Violent Sway: The Tangible and Intangible Legacies of a Natural Disaster' funded by the UK's Global Challenges Research Fund through the Arts and Humanities Research Council, grant number AH/P003648/1, and included in the publication 'Epicentre to Aftermath, Rebuilding and Remembering in the Wake of Nepal's Earthquakes', edited by Michael Hutt, Mark Liechty and Stefanie Lotter (Lotter 2021: 253-277). The complexity of the reconstruction process and the involved communities does not seem to have been fully understood, and conclusions that have been drawn, of "the rejection of 'outsiders'", "the use of political coercion as a measure to achieve politically motivated heritage decisions" and that activism has "changed the field of heritage reconstruction" (ibid.: 276-277) are all statements that reflect only part of the situation. This will be further discussed in the next section.

7.6.3 Politics and activism

Historic monuments are often referred to in respect to the king who had the project commissioned. Within the Hanumandhoka Durbar Square, we have examples such as the Taleju Temple that was "built by King Mahendra Malla in 1564" and the Kageshvar Temple that was "built by Queen Bhuvanlakshmi in 1711" (Hutt 1994b: 95-96). The Kasthamandap

was believed to have been constructed by King Lakshmi Narsingh Malla in the seventeenth century, though the monument existing much earlier, and he possibly only carried out major restorations to the monument (Manandhar 2022: 10). The credit for the 1966 restoration of the Kasthamandap went to King Mahendra, with the inscription on a marble slab presenting him as “the propounder of Panchayat democracy, great patron of the Nepali culture, connoisseur of the arts, virtuous His Majesty King Mahendra Bir Bikram Shahadev” (Tamot 2022: 30). The opportunity to reconstruct the Kasthamandap after its collapse in 2015 was of great prestige value, which led to disputes. The project would have also been financially attractive with an estimated cost of 192 million rupees (A. Joshi 2022: 116). The project was completed at about 115 million rupees (Joshi et al. 2022: 308), which meant there would have been a huge margin, but the prestige of carrying out the project sincerely was even more important.

As has been described in Chapter 6, during the initial three years after the Gorkha Earthquake, the involvement at the Kasthamandap was mainly politicians aligned to the Congress Party, such as the late Nabindra Raj Joshi (A. Joshi 2022: 115) and the chair of the CRK, Birendra Bhakta Shrestha (Joshi et al. 2022: 124). That the CRK was politically aligned became obvious when Interviewee C11 (para 19) had to explain that even the daughter of a communist politician volunteered for the campaign. This changed dramatically after the local and the general elections, both taking place in 2017 and leading to the CPN-UML party coming to power. Rajesh Shakya, in his election campaign for the provincial parliament, included the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap in his manifesto (Shakya 2022: vi). Birendra Bhakta Shrestha, in a published interview later complained that the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap under Rajesh Shakya was politicised, and the involvement of the broader community was missing (Joshi et al. 2022: 124-125). Such criticism, though straightforward, belied the deep rift between the parties, when the CPN-UML was removed from government and was replaced by a Congress Prime Minister, as has been explained in Section 7.4.2.

The activism that took place to counter the standard government approach to the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap has been examined in Chapter 6. It is interesting to note that the activism stopped with the establishment of the KRC, as did the political discourse surrounding the process and involvement in the reconstruction of the monument. With the change in government, Interviewee A15 (para 2) mentioned that there were local activists who had made remarks that problems were going to arise at the Kasthamandap.

On 20th November 2021, Bhusan Dahal, a media personality, sent a Tweet (Dahal 2021a) with photographs of the old and new Gorakhnath images, stating that the KRC was installing the fake image of Gorakhnath instead of the genuine one. A response by the KRC chair was published in *The Himalayan Times* on 22nd November 2021, “New idol of lord Gorakhnath to be installed soon” (*The Himalayan Times* 22 November 2021). A further tweet by Bhusan Dahal on 26th November was copied to Minendra Rijal, a politician affiliated with the Congress Party (Dahal 2021b).

On 29th November 2021, Sanjay Adhikari, Public Litigator, sent a letter to various people, including the President and the Prime Minister, explaining why the genuine image needed to be reinstalled (Adhikari 2021). As per *The Rising Nepal*, a lawsuit was filed by Adhikari on 13th January 2022 and on 18th January 2022 the Supreme Court gave an interim order not to install the new image of Gorakhnath in the Kasthamandap (*The Rising Nepal* 28 June 2022). The authorities responsible for the protection of heritage, particularly the DOA and UNESCO (as per personal communications, who chose to remain anonymous), as well as the responsible priest for the Gorakhnath image (Interviewee B1: para 7), supporting the replacement of the broken image, however, the activists continued their legal campaign. The first hearing was scheduled in March, which was postponed to August (*The Rising Nepal* 28 June 2022) and was again postponed (Interviewee A16: para 8).

The court case took a further turn after the *lokarpan* or dedication programme was organised on 4th April 2022 at the Kasthamandap, graced by the President of Nepal. On the very same day, Advocate Sanjay Adhikari submitted a contempt of court case against the Chair of the KRC Rajesh Shakya, Mayor of KMC Bidya Sundar Shakya, Director-General of the DOA Damodar Gautam and head of the HDPMO Sandeep Khanal (Adhikari 2022).

7.7 Conclusion

The process of rehabilitation of the Kasthamandap could only start once there was political clarity, with the outcome of the local and general elections that were carried out in two phases in 2017. Moving forward with the mandate given to the representatives elected by the people, the KRC was formed, chaired by Rajesh Shakya, MP of the newly formed provincial government. To placate the many interest groups, over a hundred people were included in various sub-committees, teams and groups, with the critical decisions being taken by the board of the rehabilitation committee and the Expert Team. Following strict principles respecting traditional knowledge, skills and technology, the traditional craftspeople carried out the work of reconstruction under the guidance of Master Carpenter Laxmi Bhakta Rajchal. Rituals were performed as per traditional procedures, with the additional Vajrayana

rituals carried out as devised by Gurju Yagyaman Pati Bajracharya. A *Continuity Plan* was proposed, with a Kasthamandap Management Guthi that included relevant stakeholders and followed set guidelines to ensure the long-term maintenance and proper use of the monument. The final ceremony, *lokarpan* or dedication programme, was graced by the President of Nepal. The project was carried out in a manner that would be exemplary, and this was documented in a publication that was published in English, Nepali and Newari (Figure 8.2).

This chapter has provided a detailed study of the process of reconstruction of the Kasthamandap, as explained above, but also the many intricate details of how it was not as straightforward as it seems. The political, religious and personal rivalries defined many of the decisions that were taken. Procurement of materials and technical decisions were major challenges. The Kasthamandap has been rebuilt, but some final work remains, such as the electrical installations, the replacement of the copper inscriptions, and the printing of the publication translated into Nepali and Newari. The final handing over of the remaining artefacts to the National Museum, and the establishment of a display has not yet taken place. Arrangements for the continued management and maintenance of the Kasthamandap have not been established. The court case filed against the replacement of the Gorakhnath image, and the Ganesh images, has brought the project to a standstill.

This chapter has fulfilled the sixth objective, to document the post-disaster rehabilitation focusing on the struggle of the communities to find appropriate procedures. The next chapter will address the seventh objective of documenting discussions on issues related to communities and their involvement in post-earthquake rehabilitation, resilience and sustainable development based on the lessons learned from the assessment of the case study of the Kasthamandap.

Table 7.1: Calendar of Events for the Kasthamandap

Daily activities in Kasthamandap

- 1) *Puja* to the four Ganesh images
- 2) Nitya *Puja* to the Gorakhnath image
- 3) *Puja* at the Maru Pwa
- 4) Recitation of religious texts by Brahmin priests
- 5) Singing of *bhajans*
- 6) Socialising by the young and old

Daily activities around Kasthamandap

- 7) Maru Ganesh *puja* and associated activities
- 8) Selling of flowers and objects for *pujas* (morning)
- 9) Selling of vegetables and fruits (evening)

Annual festivals linked to the Kasthamandap

- 10) Rituals of the Sa Guthi on Magh 1 (mid-January)
cooking and storing of wheat, Pata Chayegu are inside
- 11) Panchadan of the Ta Chatan Guthi – Bhadra *dwadasil trayodasi* (coinciding with Indra Jatra)
(August/September)
recitation of *Pragyaparamita* and cooking of rice
- 12) Twelve-year Khadgasiddhi Jatra– (next 2080-81)
SW corner stone (Thaso Hiti) circumambulation
- 13) Annual festival of Pachali Bhairav – [discontinued]
Hathu-haye-gu on eastern side of Kasthamandap (offering rice beer)

Annual festivals taking place around the Kasthamandap

- 14) Buddha Jayanti – Buddha statue carried past the Kasthamandap
- 15) Gai Jatra – Processions passes the Kasthamandap
- 16) Indra Jatra / Kumari Jatra – chariot passes from eastern side
Baumata procession starts from southern side
Upaku procession ends at Bhutisata
Dagi procession passes from western side
- 17) Annapurna Jatra - Processions passes the Kasthamandap on western side
- 18) Matsyendranath Jatra – chariot passes from eastern side
Palanquin returns passed the Kasthamandap

Occasional activities within Kasthamandap

- 19) Handing over city keys to dignitaries
- 20) Temporary exhibition and events on first floor
- 21) Blood donation campaigns
- 22) *Bhai-tikka* by Anjali-didi
- 23) Homa

Possible / allowed planned activities

- 24) Exhibition of Kasthamandap artefacts on first floor
- 25) Guided tour on first floor

Note: this is a list prepared as a proposal for the Kasthamandap Management Guthi and was the basis for discussions but is not an adopted calendar.

Table 7.2: The salvaged timber objects from the collapsed Kasthamandap, indicating those that were reused.

Item	Total	Salvaged	Reused	Notes
Central timber posts	4	4	1	
Other posts on ground floor				
Timber posts on first floor				
Timber posts on second floor				
Capitol on main posts	16	16	10	
Capitols of other post on ground floor				
Capitols of post on first floor				
Capitols of post on second floor				
Blind windows (under upper floor balcony)	20	parts	0	Only parts salvaged
Windows on corner pavilions	8	parts	0	Replaced
Doors on corner pavilions	4	parts	0	Replaced
Gaju-si (timber structure of <i>gajur</i>)	1	1	0	Deteriorated condition
Brackets				
GF 1st layer	4	4	1	
GF 2nd layer	32	29	2	1*
GF 3rd layer	28	19	4	
GF 4th layer	36	29	0**	5
1F 1st layer	4	4	2	
1F 2nd layer	32	31	19	
1F 3rd layer	28	28	9	5***
2F 1st layer	4	4	0	
2F 2nd layer	20	20	2	
2F struts	20	20	8	
Total brackets	208	188	47	

Source: Shrestha 2022: 189-195, Joshi et al. 2022: 310-315

* 1 has been repurposed from a damaged post

**all replaced due to structural requirement to change 5"x5" to 7"x7".

***these were repurposed from timber of GF 4th layer posts

Table 7.3: Table of sub-committees, teams and groups of the KRC

Committee, Team, Group	Notes on chair and members	Number
Reconstruction Committee	Chaired by Member of the Provincial Parliament, Rajesh Shakya	
Board	Through selection process	7
Members	the active local community member from the surrounding wards and the <i>guthis</i> directly associated to the Kasthamandap	41
Executive Committee	Chaired by the Mayor with ward chairs and representatives of the relevant government authorities	16
Group of Patrons	Chaired by Literary Centenarian the late Satya Mohan Joshi including senior experts and intellectuals concerned with heritage conservation	22
Advisory Committee	Mainly members of the federal and the provincial parliaments	11
Expert Team	Experts from various fields: Architecture, Engineering, Construction Management, Archaeology, Rituals, Heritage Management	8

Source: Joshi et al. 2022: 306



Figure 7.1: Sa Guthi members cooking wheat in the original location despite the collapse of the Kasthamandap, January 2019 (Image Anie Joshi).



Figure 7.2: The Ta Chatan Guthi members carrying out rituals next to the northwest pavilion which partially survived during the collapse of the Kasthamandap, August 2018 (Image Shailesh Rajbhandari).



Figure 7.3: A ritual was performed by the head carpenter and head mason during the installation of the door on the northwest pavilion (Image Anie Joshi).



Figure 7.4: A Vajrayana priest carrying out Kalash Puja rituals (Image Anie Joshi).



Figure 7.5: A main central post of the Kasthamandap being carried from the workshop to the construction site by the Sa Guthi members (Image Anie Joshi).



Figure 7.6: The community volunteers participating in transporting the traditional *jhingati* tiles (Image Anie Joshi).



Figure 7.7: The head carpenter supervising labourers in arranging the main central beams (Image Anie Joshi).



Figure 7.8: The head mason working on the brickwork integrating timber elements held in place with *chukuls* or pegs (Image Anie Joshi).



Figure 7.9: New wooden brackets being carved using old ones as templates (Image Anie Joshi).

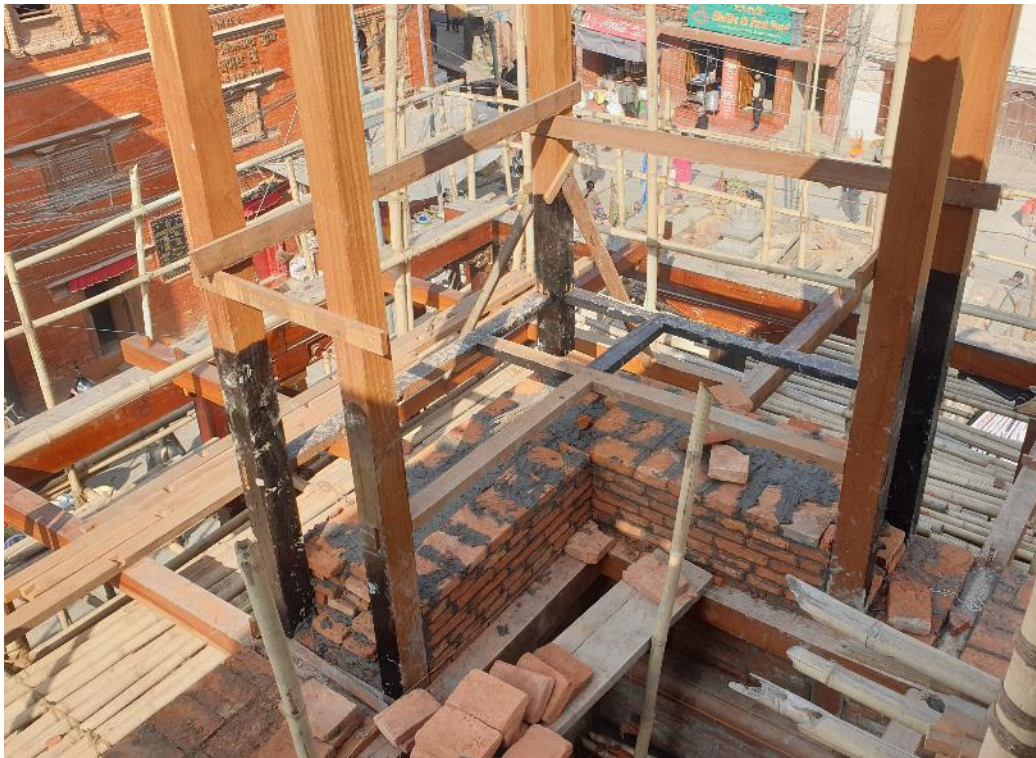


Figure 7.10: Additional timber ties added to the brickwork to improve shear strength of brick work in mud mortar (Image Anie Joshi).



Figure 7.11: Traditional timber joint (Image Anie Joshi).



Figure 7.12: Fixing the fries connected below the pavilion balustrades (Image Anie Joshi).

When the shaking stops: an evaluation of post-earthquake rehabilitation of the
Kasthamandap in Hanumandhoka Durbar Square



Figure 7.13: Fixing copper shoes to the main timber posts (Image Anie Joshi).



Figure 7.14: The salvaged gilded *chudamani* being fixed to the newly installed *gajur* (Image Anie Joshi).



Figure 7.15: The central shrine on the ground floor (Image Anie Joshi).



Figure 7.16: The new Gorakhnath image (Image Anie Joshi).



Figure 7.17: Reused fifth to sixth century CE timber bracket (Image Anie Joshi).



Figure 7.18: Reused tenth to eleventh century CE central post (Image Anie Joshi).



Figure 7.19: Group photo of craftspeople and labourers (Image Anie Joshi).



Figure 7.20: Group photo of Expert Team and Technical Team members (Image Prakriti Bhandari).

Chapter 8: Discussion

8.1 Introduction

The communities involved with the Kasthamandap have been broadly categorised as the users, urban community, authorities, custodians and those providing a broader significance to the monument. Within each of these categories, there are several groups, creating a complex network of people involved with the Kasthamandap in various ways. As has been examined in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, the involvement of the communities changed when the Gorkha Earthquake struck on 25th April 2015. New tasks arose, such as for the first responders, and then those involved in facilitating the reconstruction of the monument. The negotiations that followed between various community groups delayed the reconstruction for three years. The elections in 2017 of, first the local government, followed by the provincial and central government, provided the mandate to the winning political party to take on the responsibility for rebuilding the monument. However, it still required a careful balance to be maintained between the various communities, to create a consensus. This changing involvement of the various communities will be discussed in this chapter under Section 8.3.

This chapter further examines the resilience of the communities. As has been explained in Chapter 2, major earthquakes have affected the Kathmandu Valley every 80 to 100 years. The resilience has been developed over the centuries, learning from the recurring natural hazards. The discussions will touch upon the possibility that changes and related uncertainties in the involvement of the various communities in the monitoring and maintenance of the monument was the cause for the collapse of the Kasthamandap. The monument did not collapse during the $M_w 8.2$ Great Nepal Bihar Earthquake of 1934 but could not withstand the $M_w 7.8$ Gorkha Earthquake. Section 8.4 will examine how the changes to the communities involved with the Kasthamandap affected the resilience of the monument, and possibly the communities themselves. This section will also examine the linkages between the various communities, particularly focusing on the challenges of communication.

Furthermore, in Section 8.5 the relationship between the protection of cultural heritage and sustainable development in respect to the Kasthamandap will be discussed. The research on the communities related to the Kasthamandap will be examined in respect to a broad understanding of sustainable development, as defined by the Brundtland Commission in 1987: “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of

future generations to meet their own need” (Brundtland Commission 1987: 41). The discussions will also link to the SDGs, particularly focusing on Goal 11: “making cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable”, and Target 11.4: “to strengthen efforts to protect and safeguard the world’s cultural and natural heritage” (United Nations 2015a). The deeper understanding of why the Kasthamandap collapsed and how the communities negotiated its reconstruction, reflects the efforts required to achieve sustainable development, particularly as it has been defined in the SDGs.

The points mentioned in the introduction of the thesis, under Section 1.4 on significance and contributions, will be revisited. This chapter will meet objective seven, to discuss issues related to communities and their involvement in post-earthquake rehabilitation, resilience and sustainable development based on the lessons learned from the assessment of the case study of the Kasthamandap.

8.2 Discussions on aim and objectives

The aim

The aim of the thesis was to map and evaluate the success of heritage rehabilitation approaches to a single monument in Kathmandu, the Kasthamandap, and the extent to which each intervention altered linkages with its communities. To achieve this aim, a timeline was established within which the community activities in and around the Kasthamandap were studied. To study the involvement of the communities with the Kasthamandap, as has been explained in Chapter 4, the communities have been placed under the five broad categories of users, urban community, authorities, custodians and those who provide the broader significance to the monument. Research has been carried out to document the more recent activities of the related communities, particularly focusing on the period beginning with the major restoration in 1966, the collapse of the Kasthamandap and the response after the 2015 Gorkha Earthquake, and the activities related to the reconstruction of the monument. This period is defined by major political and social changes that have occurred, which have affected the communities related to the Kasthamandap. Politically, Nepal has changed from an absolute monarchy to a constitutional monarchy and more recently to a republic. Accordingly, the Constitution of Nepal has changed, with the most recent Constitution having been ratified after the Gorkha Earthquake, on 20th September 2015, leading to elections in 2017 and the formation of a provincial tier of government. Furthermore, during this period the involvement of *guthis* has diminished, leading to the distancing of the *guthiyars*, and those living nearby, and using the monument. The Gorkha Earthquake of 2015 and the collapse of the Kasthamandap challenged the related

communities, raising concern and awareness among them. There was a period of three years, between 2015 and 2018, when the communities negotiated their position among themselves, until a viable arrangement was agreed upon. This allowed the Kasthamandap to be successfully rebuilt. The volatile balance between the communities could, however, not be constantly maintained, leading to a final conflict that arose concerning the replacement of the Gorakhnath image. As per the aim of the thesis, detailed mapping of the activities of the communities involved with the Kasthamandap between 1966 and 2022 was carried out, and the relationships between the communities, which brought about the successful reconstruction of the Kasthamandap were examined. Section 8.3 will further discuss how these communities played a particular role at a given time, before, during and after the earthquake.

The objectives

To achieve the aim of the research, seven objectives were formulated.

The first two objectives were to provide the background and context, which were presented in Chapters 2 and 3 respectively.

An overview of heritage rehabilitation and community engagement in recent disasters along the Himalayas has been provided. The geophysical, political and historic context of the Kathmandu Valley has been defined. This was the background and context required to introduce the Kasthamandap. In the discussions on natural hazards, as has been presented in Chapter 2, there is a clear tendency of these recurring at regular intervals, which means communities will have had to respond to these in the past and will have developed techniques and procedures to improve resilience of their built structures, as well as of their overall livelihoods. As Prem Nath Maskey explained, “these structures were built with the best available technology and materials at the time of the construction” (2022: 180). The inherent knowledge obtained from past hazards will be further discussed in Section 8.4.

The specific location of the Kasthamandap within the Kathmandu Valley, as described in Chapter 3, highlights the importance of the local context, both in respect to location, as well as within the chronology of history. As the late Satya Mohan Joshi explained, the Kasthamandap is located in the centre of the Valley and provided the identity for the entire city of Kathmandu (2022: iv). Furthermore, the monument, which was found to have been built in the seventh century CE, with elements dated to the fifth century CE (Coningham et al. 2022: 165), spans the entire known history of the Kathmandu Valley, as has been described in Chapter 3.

The third objective was to define the methodology including the historic chronology verses community matrix. Three questions were raised in respect to the involvement of communities over time with the Kasthamandap. How did the Kasthamandap remain relevant to the communities over time? How did the communities involved with the Kasthamandap change over time? How did the Kasthamandap survive over all these centuries? These questions will be raised again and discussed in Section 8.3 based on the research presented in the Chapters 5, 6 and 7. Secondary sources were consulted to provide a broader understanding of the Newar community and the history of Kathmandu and the Kasthamandap. However, there is a dearth of information on the monitoring and maintenance of monuments within the Kathmandu Valley. To understand the communities related to the Kasthamandap, particularly during the timeframe which the research focused on, i.e., after the 1966 restoration, it was necessary to carry out interviews to document the views of individuals within the relevant communities. The research is mainly based on qualitative assessments.

The following three objectives sought to address the main research on the communities related to the Kasthamandap before, during and after the 2015 Gorkha Earthquake.

The fourth objective was to document the changing historical and political circumstances before the earthquake and the impact on community involvement in the Kasthamandap. The communities that were involved with the Kasthamandap were examined during the period between the restoration project in 1966 and the 2015 Gorkha Earthquake, as has been presented in Chapter 5. The period between 1966 and 2015 saw Nepal change from an absolute Monarchy under King Mahendra to the first people's movement and the establishment of a constitutional monarchy in 1990, and the second people's movement and the establishment of a republic in 2008. This had far-reaching effects on the governance system and the involvement of communities in the decision-making process. With the decline in the involvement of the *guthis*, the government, represented primarily by the DOA, took over the responsibility of maintaining the monument, as will be further discussed in Section 8.3.

The fifth objective was to determine how the Gorkha Earthquake impacted the management system, the communities and the monument. The communities that were involved with the Kasthamandap were examined during the collapse of the monument when the Gorkha Earthquake occurred on 25th April 2015, the immediate response and the following period of negotiations between 2015 and 2018 on how to reconstruct the monument, as has been presented in Chapter 6. This period, defined by the collapse of the Kasthamandap, attracted great interest in the monument, by residents and activists, while the authorities struggled to address the disaster, which will be further discussed in Section 8.3.

The sixth objective was to document the post-disaster rehabilitation focusing on the struggle of the communities to find appropriate procedures. The communities involved in the reconstruction process between 2018 and 2022 have been examined, as has been presented in Chapter 7. The reconstruction was carried out by the KRC, under the leadership of the newly elected Member of the Provincial Parliament, attempting to carefully balancing the interests of various community groups. The reconstruction of the Kasthamandap was carried out beginning in May 2018, with most of the work being completed by the end of 2021, and a *lokarpan* or dedication ceremony was organised on 4th April 2022 in the presence of the President of Nepal (Figure 8.1). Even after the completion of the project, the handing over of the project and the establishment of a long-term management system has been a challenge. The project has not ended due to an ongoing court case against the replacement of the Gorakhnath image. In the meantime, the political changes, including the election of a new mayor on 13th May 2022, has further created uncertainty in the process of handing over the project and establishing a proposed *Continuity Plan* (Weise 2022: 335), as has been explained in Chapter 7 and will be further discussed in Section 8.3.

The seventh and final objective was to discuss issues related to communities and their involvement in post-earthquake rehabilitation, resilience and sustainable development based on the lessons learned from the assessment of the case study of the Kasthamandap. This objective has been met through the following sections of this chapter. Section 8.3 provides the discussions on the changing involvement of communities. Section 8.4 provides the discussions on resilience through traditional knowledge and cultural continuity will be discussed. Section 8.5 provides the discussions on cultural heritage and sustainable development. Hereby, all seven objectives of the thesis have been met.

8.3 Discussions on changing involvement of communities

As has been explained in Section 8.2 under the aim of the research, a specific timeframe has been selected, and the communities involved with the Kasthamandap have been identified under five categories. Even though the monument itself has a history that spans over 1500 years, to carry out a detailed investigation of communities involved with the monument, particularly during a disaster, the timeframe has been limited to a period spanning from the restoration in 1966, to the end of May 2022. This timeframe has been divided into three parts: before the earthquake from 1966 to 2015, the earthquake response phase from 2015 to 2018 and the rehabilitation phase from 2018 to 2022, which have been dealt with in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 respectively. In each of these periods, the involvement of

communities has been examined under the five categories of: users, urban community, authorities, custodians and those giving the monument broader significance. Within each of these categories, there are several groups, each interacting with those in the same category, but also with those in other categories. This provides a complex network of relationships which in certain cases support each other or are competing to gain supremacy over a certain aspect of the monument.

This section will discuss how the position of the various communities towards the Kasthamandap changed under differing circumstances. The circumstances were defined by political changes such as the Peoples' Movements and new constitutions, socio-economic changes such as the decline in the functioning of the local *guthis*, and physical changes such as due to the destruction caused by the earthquake. Each of the community groups were affected in different ways by these changes and therefore responded differently. The political process, such as elections, provided a certain group with increased powers, allowing them to take decisions which they previously could not do. The decline in the function of *guthis* was due to both economic, as well as cultural changes. Another factor that needs to be considered is the struggle between the various community groups, castes and religious aspirations, which has also had a defining role in the rehabilitation process of the Kasthamandap.

These changes also impacted the monument which is dependent on communities using and maintaining the structure. That the Kasthamandap could withstand the 8.4 magnitude Great Nepal Bihar Earthquake but collapsed during the 7.8 magnitude Gorkha Earthquake raises various points for discussion. Firstly, that the monument did not collapse in 1934 points to a structural system that is resilient to the forces of even very strong earthquakes. Secondly, that the monument collapsed in 2015 was due to lack of maintenance and inappropriate interventions. Thirdly, the informal care and maintenance of the users in 1934 was sufficient to ensure the structural integrity of the monument, which was not the case in 2015, when the responsibility of the monument was taken over by the government authorities. This critical relationship between the various communities will be discussed in this section. An overview of the changing positions of the various community groups have been mapped and presented in Table 8.1.

8.3.1 The users

The users of the Kasthamandap have been categorised under *guthis*, devotees and miscellaneous uses of the monument, which might be organised activities or informal visits. Throughout the long history of the monument, it would have catered to many needs of the

communities, as a resting place, accommodation for visitor, and possibly even as a town hall (Slusser and Vajracharya 1974: 208). For this research, the timeframe has however been set beginning in the 1960s. For each user community, their involvement before, during and after the Gorkha Earthquake will be examined, as well as their possible future involvement in the Kasthamandap, summarizing the outcome of sections 5.2, 6.2 and 7.2.

The *guthi* communities

There were numerous *guthis* related to the Kasthamandap, however, since the 1960s, many have stopped functioning. This was due to depreciation of income from the *guthi* lands, and in many cases, the nationalisation of the *guthis* under the Guthi Sansthan, and the Land Reform Act of 1964 giving half of the ownership to the tillers, as has been explained in Section 5.4.3. However, several *guthis* have persisted over time.

The Ta Chatan Guthi of the Tamrakar community of Piganani has continued the annual rituals of Panchadan, of offering rice. But it has been difficult to find people who could read the *Pragyaparamita*, which is written in three different scripts, and this has been discontinued (A. Joshi 2022: 207). The cooking and offering of rice have continued even after the earthquake, adapting to the circumstances and storing the cooked rice in the Piganani Area until the Kasthamandap was rebuilt.

A similar situation can be observed with the Sa Guthi of the Maharjan community. Over the years adaptations were made to the various rituals: the cooking of wheat within the Kasthamandap (Figure 7.1), as well as the rituals at Bhutisatta, to the east and on the Marudabali to the south of the Kasthamandap. The involvement of the Manandhars in raising the flag next to the *gajur*, on the top tier of the Kasthamandap, was discontinued, and the Maharjans have had to carry this out themselves. The Sa Guthi also continued their annual ritual, adapting to the circumstances, storing the cooked wheat in the nearby Maru Ganesh Dyochhen. The flag has been hoisted near the centre of the site, and at the highest point of the monument, as it was being reconstructed.

The Nath Sampradaya, though removed from living within the Kasthamandap in 1966, continued to be present as the priest taking care of the Gorakhnath image, carrying out the daily Nitya Puja, as well as the annual Jogichakra. After the earthquake, the broken Gorakhnath image was taken to the Palace Museum where it was restored, and the priest continued carrying out the daily rituals. As required by traditions, the broken image of Gorakhnath was replaced with a new one. However, a court case was submitted by certain

activists (refer to Section 8.3.5) to stop the installation of the new image, which has further prolonged the consecration of the image of Gorakhnath within the Kasthamandap.

An interesting development that took place during the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap was the slow domination of Vajrayana practices carried out by *gurju* Yagyaman Pati Bajracharya, who was given full responsibility to deal with the 'intangible aspects of reconstruction'. As has been examined in Section 7.2.2, numerous rituals were carried out, many devised by the *gurju* himself, and directly linked to trainings he carried out in the process of reviving Vajrayana practices. The implication was that a ritual including the sacrifice of a goat that is usually carried out by the local craftspeople, who are mainly Hindu, when the main beam is installed was not performed. Here, it must be noted that the caste hierarchy also played a role between the craftspeople, who come from the lower middle level, and the Vajracharya *gurju* and Shakya chair of the Reconstruction Committee, both from the highest level of Buddhist hierarchy (Table 3.7).

The continued involvement of the *guthis*, including the *guthi* involved with the Panchali Bhairav Jatra that takes place every 12 years, is essential for the rehabilitation and continuity of the Kasthamandap.

The devotee community

The devotees entering the Kasthamandap would have initially been only for the Gorakhnath shrine. However, immediately after the 1966 restoration, four Ganesh shrines were established on the four corners of the central space on the ground floor of the Kasthamandap (refer to Section 5.2.2). This has attracted devotees who pass by after visiting the more important Maru Ganesh shrine to the north of the Kasthamandap.

After the collapse of the Kasthamandap, as with the Gorakhnath image, the Ganesh images were moved to the Palace Museum. They have also been replaced with new stone images. However, due to the ongoing court case, which has also implicated these images, the Kasthamandap has remained closed to the public. The regular visit of devotees to the Kasthamandap to pay homage to the Gorakhnath and the four Ganesh images can only be re-established once the court case has been resolved.

The communities related to miscellaneous uses

The Kasthamandap has been used for numerous formal and informal activities over the years. The commercial activities were removed in 1966. However, the monument has in the past been used for people to gather, to sell basic rations, to distribute citizenship certificates, for local children to play and for festival organisers to prepare, sing hymns and recite stories from the great epics. On the day of the earthquake, a blood donation camp was going on

and ten organisers were killed. During the following years of response and reconstruction, such activities did not continue. However, once the monument is opened to the public, a *Calendar of Events* has been proposed to ensure that formal and informal activities are revived.

8.3.2 The urban community

The urban communities around the Kasthamandap have been categorised under those residing around Marutole, those carrying out commercial activities, as well as those who regularly transit through the area. These communities might also belong to other communities, such as users and custodians, however, they also create the specific context within which the monument is located. Even though the urban community usually takes on a passive role, for example during emergencies, they become the first responders. For each urban community, their involvement before, during and after the Gorkha Earthquake will be examined, as well as their possible future involvement in the Kasthamandap, summarizing the outcome of Sections 5.3, 6.3 and 7.3.

The residential community

The residential community living around Marutole have been associated with the Kasthamandap in various ways. The Tamrakars of Piganani have had close links to the monument through the Ta Chatan Guthi. Many of the community members living around Marutole remember having played within the monument during their childhood. When the Kasthamandap collapsed, the resident community became the primary first-responders. As described in Section 6.3.2, local community members got involved in the search and rescue, while others provided water and food. At night they set up a tent to ensure the security of the site. This involvement, however, did not get any recognition later, neither by the authorities, nor the activists. As Interviewee C3 (para 7) explained, they initially got involved in the discussion on rebuilding the monument, and clearly differentiated themselves from the activists. During the reconstruction phase, many of the key local community members were included in various groups, teams or subcommittees of the KRC, though only a few were actively involved. The local communities did get involved in various planned activities such as carrying and helping raise the main central posts, and towards the end of the project help transport the roofing materials to the respective tiers. Many of the local members visited the site regularly and monitored the ongoing construction. In future, it will be essential for the KMC to ensure that the resident community around Marutole get involved in monitoring, and in certain cases directly managing the monument.

The commercial community

The commercial community used to have stalls inside the Kasthamandap until they were removed during the 1966 renovations. They again moved in during the 1980s but were again removed. However, the activities around the monument have continued. In the morning the vendors sell flowers for various rituals or for offering to shrines around the square. In the evening the vendors sell vegetables. The vendors continued selling flowers and vegetables even after the earthquake. Instead of hanging the garlands of flowers on the picket fence, they did so on the chain-link fence around the construction site. As Interviewee B9 (para 3) explained, people always need flowers, either to offer to the deities or for the death rites. The vibrant commercial activities may continue around Marutole, possibly even revive further what has been lost, even if it is not allowed within the Kasthamandap.

The transiting community

With the Kasthamandap being located in the centre of the historic city of Kathmandu, many people pass through Maru square daily. This is also a commercial hub where people visit in the morning and evening, commuting to and from work. Since the Earthquake took place on a Saturday, just before noon, there were few people around the square. The square was covered with debris after the collapse of the monuments. There was a rush by the authorities to clear the rubble from the site to again allow traffic to pass through the square. Heavy machinery was used to clear the site, damaging the remains of the monument, even cutting into the plinth, and not distinguishing between the importance of material originating from historic monuments and other rubble (Cunningham et al. 2022: 151). The *Continuity Plan* proposes that in future traffic will to be controlled, allowing only pedestrian movement, which will improve the commercial activity, as well as help protect the monuments.

8.3.3 The authorities

The authorities related to the Kasthamandap have been categorised under those of the central government, those of the local government and the more recent addition of the provincial government. In the past, the authority was vested in the monarchy, and the 1966 restoration was carried out by DOA and the Guthi Sansthan as a model project directly under the patronage of King Mahendra (Interviewee B3: para 7). With the political change from monarchy to constitutional monarchy in 1990 and republic in 2008, the authorities also changed. With the promulgation of the new Constitution in 2015 new provisions of government were established based on federalism and the introduction of provincial governments. Additional provisions of the NRA were made to deal with the aftermath of the Gorkha Earthquake. For each authority, their involvement before, during and after the

Gorkha Earthquake will be examined, as well as their possible future involvement in the Kasthamandap, summarizing the outcome of Sections 5.4, 6.4 and 7.4.

The central government and the Department of Archaeology (DOA)

The DOA and the Guthi Sansthan took a strong stance in 1966 to clear the Kasthamandap of its illegal residents and restore the monument to show the original beauty of its design. As per Interviewee B3 (para 6), this was to give the monument back to the people. The Guthi Sansthan soon declined and only funded the annual Jogichakra feeding ritual (Interviewee B8: para 4). The DOA continued to carry out maintenance work, which will be discussed in Section 8.3.4.

In the immediate response phase, the security forces got involved in search and rescue and securing the site. The DOA was overwhelmed but did fulfil its role in officially receiving salvaged cultural elements to be stored within the safety of the Palace Museum. As soon as the DOA staff managed to organise themselves, they moved forward quickly to prepare drawings, structural assessments and tender documents. However, the proposed design was heavily criticised and despite the efforts to push through the tendering process, it was not successful (A. Joshi 2022: 117). The direct role of the DOA diminished, though as the statutory authority for cultural heritage, the DOA continued being consulted throughout the process of reconstruction.

A new authority was established in December 2015, the NRA and, as has been explained in Section 6.4.2, they got involved in inciting one group of activists to take on the responsibility of rebuilding the monument, even going as far as signing a contract with them just two days before the local elections. The 2017 local elections, and the following general elections, totally changed the political scenario, bringing the CPN-UML to power at all levels of government.

The local government and the Kathmandu Metropolitan City (KMC)

The local government became more independent after the first people's movement and the Constitution of 1990, particularly with the adoption of the Local Self Governance Act in 1999. Under the elected mayors, the Kasthamandap continued to be used for official functions, such as the handing over of the key to the city to foreign dignitaries. With the growing political unrest and the civil war that ensued, the 2002 elections were not possible, and the local government was run by the bureaucrats. Once the DOA had prepared the drawings and cost estimates, these were handed over to the KMC on 31st March 2016, giving the Municipality the responsibility to carry out the project. As has been explained, these designs

that included major interventions in modern technology and materials, were considered to be contentious and protests by activists followed.

It was only after the 2017 local elections, when the elected Mayor of the CPN-UML party took office, that a clear statement was made that the KMC would take the responsibility of rebuilding the Kasthamandap. However, the Municipality ended up being the authority to fund the project. The KMC will have an important role to play in future, though they will need to collaborate with the other authorities and all the relevant communities to ensure continued monitoring, maintenance and management of the monument.

The provincial government and the Kasthamandap Reconstruction Committee (KRC)

Based on the provisions of the 2015 Constitution of Nepal, provincial governments were established, and the members were elected during the 2017 general elections. From the constituency around the Kasthamandap, the CPN-UML candidate won the seat for the Member of the Provincial Parliament, who then established the KRC that carried out the reconstruction of the monument. It must be noted that practically all the members of the various committees, teams and groups were from the Newar community. Only three members were explicitly non-Newars, all within the Expert Team, while four positions were undefined as representatives of authorities and associations. Even on site all the craftspeople and volunteers were Newars, with only the labourers and soldiers who assisted being from diverse ethnic groups. Non-Newars were also involved in the procurement of timber in Province 2.

The continued relevance of the provincial government in managing the Kasthamandap is uncertain and will depend on the individual person who is elected to the post.

8.3.4 The custodians

The communities of custodians related to the Kasthamandap have been categorised under the *guthis*, the authorities, the craftspeople and the technical experts. As will be explained in Section 8.4, the resilience of the Kasthamandap depended on its structural and functional integrity being maintained over the centuries, particularly ensuring restorations being carried out after earthquakes. The involvement of the custodians was critical, which became obvious with the collapse of the Kasthamandap during the Gorkha Earthquake. For communities of custodians related to the Kasthamandap, their involvement before, during and after the Gorkha Earthquake will be examined, as well as their possible future involvement in the Kasthamandap, summarizing the outcome of Sections 5.5, 6.5 and 7.5.

The *guthis* as custodians

Traditionally, the *guthis* have been the custodians of public monuments, as has been explained in Section 5.5.2. The members of the Nath Sampradaya even lived in the Kasthamandap till 1966. The Sa Guthi of the Maharjans carried out the annual ritual which included fixing a flag on the *gajur* of the Kasthamandap, requiring them to climb on the roof, which was also when the roof was cleared of vegetation and the roof tiles were realigned. This was originally done by the Manandhars, the oil merchants, and as per Interviewee A9 (para 4) they poured oil on the roof to improve protection, but they stopped and handed the responsibility to the Maharjans. The *guthis* have lost their capacity and as Interviewee A14 (para 6) explained, when the Sa Guthi was asked to carry out the restorations in 1966, they declined due to the lack of resources. The Sa Guthi, the Ta Chatan Guthi, as well as the Nath Sampradaya have continued to carry out their rituals, however, have not been involved in the maintenance of the monument. During the response phase, as well as the following discussions on the process of reconstruction, the *guthis* did not get involved, leaving such matters to the government authorities. As has been proposed in the *Continuity Plan* prepared by the KRC, in future, the *guthis* need to be more involved in the management of the monument.

The authorities as custodians

Since 1966, the DOA took on the main role as custodians, along with the Guthi Sansthan and the HDPMO, which was initially a separate office reporting to the royal palace. The restorations and maintenance work carried out in 1966, 1975, 1986 and 1999 showed a gradual decline in quality of work and appropriateness of interventions, to which the collapse of the Kasthamandap can be ascribed to. This has been examined in Section 5.5.3 and 5.5.4. This then led to the lack of confidence towards the authorities, initially that they might not rebuilt the monument at all, and later that, if they did, it would be done in an unacceptable manner.

None of the other community groups, the *guthis*, the surrounding urban residence, nor the activists were able to mobilise themselves, and it was left to the newly elected local and provincial government, to carry out this work. The Member of the Provincial Parliament who took responsibility for the reconstruction, was from a nearby neighbourhood. The responsibility for the continued management of the Kasthamandap will depend on the authorities, mainly DOA and KMC, however, the involvement of local community members and other stakeholders will be critical.

The traditional craftspeople as custodians

The traditional craftspeople built the Kasthamandap, and they were the ones who restored the monument over the centuries. They have, however, never been mentioned in the many documents and descriptions of the Kasthamandap. Some traditional craftspeople were involved in the earlier restorations of the Kasthamandap, but due to the lack of provisions in the government procedures, contractors have been using cheaper builders without knowledge of traditional technology and materials. This led to the decline in quality of work and appropriateness of interventions as mentioned above.

Even during the reconstruction planning carried out by the authorities after the collapse of the Kasthamandap, the traditional craftspeople were not considered. It was only once the Member of the Provincial Parliament took on the responsibility, that he immediately discussed the arrangements with architects, and involved a master carpenter (Shakya 2022: vi-vii). This led to the successful reconstruction of the Kasthamandap, respecting traditional materials, skills and technology. The traditional craftspeople will need to be involved in the continued maintenance of the Kasthamandap.

The technical experts as custodians

The technical experts, such as architects and engineers, have taken over the role of the traditional *naike* or head craftsperson. Traditionally, the *naike* would have translated the wishes of the patron and donor into a design for a structure, and then led the team that carried out the construction. The system of implementing public construction projects has changed, requiring design drawings and structural calculations to be prepared, which are then handed over to the contractor who carries out the work. For the appropriate reconstruction, restoration and even maintenance of traditional structures, the technical experts who are involved, need to be able to communicate with the traditional craftspeople. As explained by Interviewee A1 (para 45), the traditional process of construction begins at a certain point and expands step by step until the structural is completed, not by planning, but by following construction principles. However, modern construction requires planning, and detailing and examines the entire structure before detailing things out. This difference in approach, and language, was a challenge faced during the entire earthquake reconstruction process, and, as has been explained in Section 7.5.2, required the Technical Team on site to liaison between the Expert Team and the traditional craftspeople. Further scientific research is required on traditional technology and materials, while establishing a separate building code for traditional structures. This challenge has been taken on by the newly established Nepal Heritage Research Centre, which will be further discussed in Section 8.4.

8.3.5 The broader significance

The communities providing broader significance to the Kasthamandap have been categorised under national, international, as well as those involved in the neglect, politics and activism related to the monument. Before the earthquake, the Kasthamandap was just one of the many monuments on the Hanumandhoka Durbar Square. However, after the collapse during the 2015 Gorkha, the Kasthamandap became a symbol for the struggle to rebuild monuments using traditional materials and technology, leading to activism and political squabbling between the many related communities. For each community providing broader significance to the Kasthamandap, their involvement before, during and after the Gorkha Earthquake will be examined, as well as their possible future involvement in the Kasthamandap, summarizing the outcome of Sections 5.6, 6.6 and 7.6.

The international community

The involvement of the international community with the cultural heritage of the Kathmandu Valley was defined by various activities and research carried out in the 1970s that then led to the seven monument zones being inscribed on the World Heritage List. The Kasthamandap catered to international visitors, such as a *yogi* from Bengal in 1465, as described on a copper plate inscription, and Queen Elizabeth II in 1986. The handing over of the ceremonial key to the city of Kathmandu continued into the 1990s. After the collapse of the Kasthamandap, there was little international involvement. No international search and rescue teams arrived. An Italian donation of one million Euros never materialised (Interviewee A8c: para 116). However, two seasons of archaeological research were carried out successfully in 2015 and 2016, led by Durham University's UNESCO Chair. The results of the research were astounding, pushing back the chronology of the monument from the twelfth century to the seventh century CE, with a timber bracket being dated to the fifth to sixth century CE, which will be further discussed in Section 8.4. The research also identified previous inappropriate interventions and lack of maintenance as the potential cause for the collapse of the Kasthamandap (Coningham et al. 2022: 168). This information was important for the continued reconstruction planning of the monument. International support in future research will be essential, particularly in respect to further dating of materials, research on materials, as well as structural modelling and calculations.

The national community

The city grew around the Kasthamandap and was named after the monument, and the city became the capital of unified Nepal in the late eighteenth century. As the late Satya Mohan Joshi states, the Kasthamandap marked the centre (2022: vi). The monument was chosen for the first restoration project carried out by the DOA and Guthi Sansthan in 1966. The

monument was also given importance by being illustrated on two sets of stamps that were issues in 1987 and 1996. The monument was mistreated and neglected leading to its collapse. The Kasthamandap again gained prominence after its collapse, the findings of the archaeological research, and the media coverage caused by the activism surrounding its reconstruction. The reconstruction that was carried out was exemplary, greatly appreciated by the local communities, however, the monument was again highlighted due to the court case filed against the replacement of the image of Gorakhnath.

The activists

Based on a study on activism in Nepal, Gellner and Karki state that though there are many forms of activism, these can be summarized under four areas: “politics, religion, ethnicity/culture, and society” (2007: 365). The activism that arose in response to the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap brought together all these factors. This has been presented in Sections 6.6.4 and 7.6.3 and will be summarised here.

The activism associated with the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap began with numerous activities, such as painting a huge image of the monument on a retaining wall at Maitighar, building a wooden model, arranging marathons and bicycle rallies, setting up websites, writing articles and carrying out discussions on how best to ensure the appropriate reconstruction of the Kasthamandap, as has been explained in Section 6.6.4. The various movements were initially consolidated by the local Member of Parliament from the Congress Party, and then taken over by the CRK, registered as ‘Kasthamandap Punanirman Ka Lagi Abhiyan’. The leaders of the CRK welcomed all members, however, as Interviewee A11 states “whoever believes in the heritage and culture of the Nepal Mandala, is a Newar” (para 23). Furthermore, Interviewee A11 also states that they did not differentiate political affiliation and even allowed “the daughter of a Communist” to participate in their activities (para 19).

Though professing not to be political, there was a leaning towards the Congress Party. When the activists registered and signed a contract to carry out the reconstruction work, encouraged by the NRA, there were many who questioned their intent. Even members of the community living around the Kasthamandap clearly stated that they did not support the campaign (Interviewee A8c: para 112). The political nature of the activism became clear through the court case against the replacement of the Gorakhnath statue, as has been explained in Section 7.6.3. This court case has delayed the opening of the Kasthamandap to the public. If the various parties had been concerned about resolving this issue, discussions between all the relevant communities should have been organised. In future, a means of conflict resolution needs to be established, which dissuades the politicisation of cultural

heritage, by establishing and officially adopting procedures for the protection and management of all forms of tangible and intangible heritage.

8.4 Discussions on cultural continuity and traditional knowledge as a basis for resilience

The foundations of the Kasthamandap were dated and the mean OSL age estimate of the foundation sediment was between 600 and 660 CE (Coningham et al 2022: 162). This meant that the brick foundations in mud mortar were 14 centuries old and, despite regular earthquakes, were still in good condition. This is an example of resilience. However, structural engineers who analysed the foundations found them to be insufficient and proposed strengthening through concrete piles (A. Joshi 2022: 115). Even though there was evidence that the foundations did not show any form of uneven settlement, even after 14 centuries, the theoretical calculations and related norms, showed it to be insufficient. This raises numerous questions such as whether the traditional materials and technology is insufficiently understood, whether 'modern' theory cannot contend with traditional structures, and whether the safety norms set for 'modern' structures are relevant for historic monuments such as the Kasthamandap.

Historical buildings that still exist must be understood to have managed to retain their structural and functional integrity over time. The archaeological research carried out on the Kasthamandap between 2015 and 2017 by a team led by Durham University's UNESCO Chair, revealed a wealth of information which still needs further interpretation (Coningham et al: 2015, 2016, 2017, 2019, 2022). There are two themes that emerge from this research which are important in respect to cultural continuity and traditional knowledge: the timeline of the construction activities on the Kasthamandap and the resilience of traditional material and technology over time.

A timeline was established after carrying out OSL dating on foundation sediments and radiocarbon dating on timber elements of the Kasthamandap (Coningham et al. 2022: 162-163). The area where the Kasthamandap stands today was cleared of woodlands around eleventh century BCE, with agricultural activities being carried out until urbanisation began in the first century CE. The main foundations of the Kasthamandap, including the central piers and two concentric square strip foundations, built of brick in mud mortar, were found to be from the seventh to eight centuries CE. This establishes the basic structure of the Kasthamandap, in its present form, to originate from the seventh century CE. However, a timber bracket of a central post was dated to the fifth to sixth centuries CE, indicating that

already at that point material was reused, either as an element from an earlier structure, or as repurposed wood. One of the central posts (C1) was dated to the ninth to tenth centuries CE, indicating an initial restoration.

This was followed by the remaining three central posts (C2, C3, C4), a central beam (B1) and the replacement of the base of the earlier post (C1) being dated to the eleventh to twelfth centuries CE. Here again a major restoration was carried out, with the post C1 being fixed and reused, and which possibly included the addition of inner cross walls and the resetting of the central saddlestones (ibid.: 156). It must also be noted that geological evidence has been found to assume an earthquake around 1100 CE in the central Himalayas (Lavé et al. 2005: 1302), which roughly correlates with the dates of these restorations. It was during this period that the prominence of the Kasthamandap seemed to have grown, since the entire city was referred to as Kasthamandap in various manuscripts, the earliest being the colophon of a palm-leaf manuscript of the *Namasangiti* of 1143 CE (Coningham et al. 2022: 165, Manandhar 2022: 11, Tamot 2022: 15). Further research is also required to determine dates for the remaining three central beams, since one of them has been identified to be of softer pine wood, which is available in the hilly regions, rather than the stronger *sal* wood that needed to be obtained from the lower foothills and the plains (Joshi et al. 2022: 233).

There is only scant evidence of maintenance and restoration being carried out during the following centuries. The 585 NS (1465 CE) copper plate inscription, that hung within the Kasthamandap, but was lost after the earthquake, described the visit of a *yogi* from Bengal, who resided within the Kasthamandap and donated land to fund the annual Jogichakra, a feeding ritual (Tamot 2022: 22). This was the earliest mention of the Nath community linked to the Kasthamandap and could have been the period when the Gorakhnath image was installed in the Kasthamandap, since the inscription “describes Kasthamandap as a temple decorated with a gold banner and always having great yogis residing in it” (Pant 2022: 48). The *vamsavalis* state that the Kasthamandap was built during the reign of King Narsingh Malla (r. 1621 – 1641 CE), which is not correct, though a major restoration might have been carried out at the time (S.M. Joshi 2022: iii, Thapa 1968: 41). The Nath community continued to occupy and possibly maintain the monument until they were removed during the 1966 renovation.

The communities living within the Kasthamandap along with their “accretionary structures” were removed and “the original lines of the older structure were thus exposed, and their worn-out parts comprising the wooden balconies, and the tiled roofs resting on wooden rafters and purlins were extensively repaired by replacement wherever necessary” (Thapa

1968: 43). A picket fence was erected, and the government took on the responsibility of the monument (Weise and Joshi 2022: 81). Maintenance work was carried out on the monument in 1975 for the coronation of King Birendra, in 1986 for the visit of Queen Elizabeth II followed by other dignitaries, and in 1999 for the SAARC summit, which was postponed to 2002 (ibid.: 87). As has been explained in Section 5.5.3, the work that was carried out was inappropriate and of substandard quality. It was noted that the base, including the tenon, of the main post on the northeast had been cut and flooring tiles had been set between the post and the saddlestone, while several saddlestone mortices were filled with cement mortar, “exacerbating the impact of the earthquake on the structural integrity of the monument” (Coningham et al. 2022: 160). The structure that did not collapse during the M_w 8.2 Nepal Bihar Earthquake, collapsed during the 7.8 magnitude Gorkha Earthquake, and this was due to the lack of sufficient and appropriate maintenance (Maskey 2022: 182).

The traditional structure of the Kasthamandap integrated various basic principles of seismic design such as having regular and symmetrical plan, thick walls and extensive use of timber, and the “basic concept of load path, load transfer and earthquake resistance design was well understood and followed in the construction” (ibid.: 180). The main posts are connected to the beams using tenons, while the rafters and joists are held together using traditional wooden pegs. These flexible joints (Figure 7.11) dampen the seismic forces, but as pin joints, the overall structural system requires the brick walls to provide lateral bracing (Joshi et al. 2022: 259). The archaeological research on the building materials of the Kasthamandap identified further aspects of the highly developed technology based on traditional knowledge. The soil infill in the foundations were found to be ‘engineered’, “respecting traditional practices while giving a degree of liquefaction proofing by allowing water movement through the sediments” (Coningham et al. 2019: 63). Furthermore, the discovery of copper oxide around the mortice of the four main saddlestones and a copper shoe within the mortice of the northeast saddlestone, indicated the traditional use of copper to protect the wooden member from rising damp, as well as from termite infestation and biological growth (Coningham et al. 2022: 158).

The review of the overall chronology of maintenance and restorations and the traditional technology that was used, as described above, points towards the direct correlation between the resilience of the monument and traditional knowledge. The change in the system of monitoring and maintaining the structure following the 1966 restoration by the central government showed flaws in the system. As has been examined in Sections 5.5.3 and 5.5.4, the standard procedures do not consider the need to ensure continuity through traditional knowledge and the involvement of the relevant communities. To ensure that these lessons

are converted into a plan for the continued appropriate maintenance and management of the monument, a *Continuity Plan* has been prepared (Weise 2022: 335). A new *guthi* has been proposed, with membership of all the related communities being represented. The management will be following guidelines that address usage, management, monitoring and reporting, maintenance, security, protection and safety, electrical system and lighting and structural health monitoring. Additionally, a *Calendar of Events* has been prepared which considers daily rituals and annual festivals, as well possible planned activities. The *Continuity Plan* also recommends the preparation of an inventory of all objects related to the monument, particularly those that were not reused and are to be exhibited or stored in the National Museum. The *Continuity Plan* also proposes the creation of a forest where *sal* trees (*shorea robusta*) are grown, which would be large enough for use for restorations when the next big earthquake strikes in 80 to 100 years. These plans have been agreed upon by the KRC and have been published (Weise and Joshi 2022: 325-335), however, due to the political circumstances explained in Section 7.6.3, the proposals have not yet been implemented.

This discussion has been taken seriously by the members of the KRC Expert Team. Under the leadership of senior structural engineer Prem Nath Maskey, and members Sudarshan Raj Tiwari, Kosh Prasad Acharya, Kul Bhakta Shakya, Goutam Dongol, Anie Joshi and Kai Weise (the researcher), the Nepal Heritage Research Centre has been registered to continue research on traditional technology and materials, building on the knowledge collected during the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap. The first meeting was held on 29th June 2022 and the responsibilities of the research centre were discussed, focusing on ensuring the continued monitoring and maintenance of the Kasthamandap and to carry out the required research to improve the understanding of traditional materials and structure. Furthermore, the research centre has also taken ownership of the publication prepared by the KRC (Figure 8.2) (Weise and Joshi 2022).

8.5 Discussion on cultural heritage determining post-disaster rehabilitation and sustainable development

The destruction of cultural heritage following the Gorkha Earthquake was extensively covered by the social media. The news of monuments collapsing, shown with visual coverage of drone shots, was quickly picked up by the national and international news media. Even within the Kathmandu Valley World Heritage property, there were 33 monuments that collapsed and 137 that were partially damaged (Government of Nepal 2020: 6). As has been examined in Section 6.6.2, the Kasthamandap was one of the monuments that was highlighted. The international donor community, led by UNDP and the World Bank,

organised the preparation of a PDNA for the donor conference that took place on 25th June 2015. As has been mentioned in Section 6.6.3, this was the first time that a PDNA included a separate section for culture. A decision was taken by the international community that the post-earthquake recovery in Nepal required special focus on the culture sector. This is possibly one of the first cases where the culture sector has been given such prominence by the international donor community in rehabilitation and development planning.

Here, two important documents need to be referred to, the *Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015-2030* and *Transforming our world; the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*, which are closely interlinked. The first document, the *Sendai Framework*, focuses on disaster risk reduction between 2015 and 2030. The framework, in para 5 states that it is “urgent to anticipate, plan for and reduce disaster risk in order to more effectively protect persons, [...] their cultural heritage, [...] and thus strengthen their resilience” (United Nations 2015a: 3-4). Under the Priorities for Action, cultural heritage is also mentioned under para 24(d) and 30(d), to ensure documentation and protection respectively. The document also prioritises “preparedness for effective response and to ‘Build Back Better’ in recovery, rehabilitation and reconstruction” (ibid.: 16), however, insufficiently explaining what ‘better’ stands for, particularly in respect to cultural heritage. The second document focuses on sustainable development, defining 17 goals and 169 targets. Under these, cultural heritage is mentioned once, under Target 11.4, to “strengthen efforts to protect and safeguard the world’s cultural and natural heritage”, which comes under Goal 11, “making cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable” (United Nations 2015a: 21-22). There is also mention of culture and cultural diversity in targets 8.9 and 12b, which are linked to sustainable tourism promoting local culture. Target 4.7 addresses education “to acquire knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including, among others, [...] through appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture’s contribution to sustainable development” (ibid.: 17).

The research carried out on the communities related to the Kasthamandap before, during and after the Gorkha earthquake contributes to achieving Target 11.4 of the *2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development* (United Nations 2015a: 26) and para 4 of the *Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015-2030* (United Nations 2015b: 10). The research carried out on the communities related to the Kasthamandap shows a diversity and a complexity which is difficult to address through a global approach. In respect to disaster response, the PDNA assessed the damages, losses and recovery needs, to mobilise resources for recovery and reconstruction. In Nepal this focused only on tangible losses and the financial requirements for reconstruction (Government of Nepal 2015 II: 71-73). The

Sendai Framework for risk reduction mentions the need to protect, among other things, cultural heritage to strengthen the resilience for communities. The Agenda for Sustainable Development also mentions the need to strengthen efforts to protect cultural heritage. However, none of these global tools identifies the need for the communities to be given time and support to negotiate their role in post disaster recovery, as well as the longer-term sustainable development. The example of the process of reconstructing the Kasthamandap, particularly during the response phase, led to negotiations between the numerous communities on how to rebuild the Kasthamandap. As examined in Chapter 6, the standard procedures established through the government, with support from the international agencies, were not acceptable to many of the users, custodians and neighbouring urban community. The negotiations led to a generally accepted procedure of utilising traditional craftspeople, while ensuring that the reconstruction is carried out with traditional materials, technology and skills.

The example of the various segments of the communities engaging themselves to ensure the appropriate reconstruction of the Kasthamandap, shows a level of confidence in their ability to carry out such a project. The bearers of the knowledge and skills required to rebuild such monuments, the building craftspeople, are still available. Furthermore, the required political willpower and the economic commitment was also mobilised. This can be taken as an example of UNESCO's approach to culture being an enabler of sustainable development (UNESCO 2016: 1), and hereby contributes to the implementation of the SDGs.

It is worthwhile to refer to the definition of sustainable development formulated by the Brundtland Commission in 1987: "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own need" (Brundtland Commission 1987: 41). The discussion on the needs of the present and future generations is closely related to the perceptions and the identity of communities, which is defined by their culture, and often expressed through their tangible and intangible cultural heritage. The expression of the need itself, as a basis for post-disaster rehabilitation and sustainable development, is deeply rooted in the culture of the relevant communities. This is expressed, for example, through the apprenticeships of trades and the passing on of skills and knowledge from generation to generation. As was the case with the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap, the communities related to the monument need to negotiate their roles and an acceptable procedure among themselves.

8.6 Conclusion

These discussions have focused on the involvement of the communities with the Kasthamandap as circumstances change, before, during and after the 2015 Gorkha Earthquake. The conclusions that arise from these discussions have been presented, addressing the involvement of each community under the categories of users, urban community, authorities, custodians and those providing a broader significance to the monument. Each of these communities had a specific role to play, and this was challenged by the earthquake, and in many cases the roles were changed, became stronger or weaker, as the phases of response, preparation and reconstruction progressed. An overview of the involvement of the various communities has been provided in Table 8.1. The possible future roles for each of the communities have also been touch upon.

It has also become apparent that further research is required, particularly focusing on the chronology of the monument and its parts, as well as on the traditional technology, materials and overall structure of the Kasthamandap. In this respect some of the members of the Expert Team and the Board of the Reconstruction Committee have established a research centre to build on the experience and knowledge gained from the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap, to continue the research and provide advice on future projects. Furthermore, the proper maintenance and management of the monument needs to be carried out once the monument has been handed over to the local authorities. In this respect a *Continuity Plan* has been prepared providing the institutional, legal and resources frameworks for the continued management of the Kasthamandap, however, this has not yet been implemented.

Culture has been promoted by UNESCO as being an enabler of sustainable development, and the protection of the world's cultural and natural heritage is target 11.4 of the SDG. Furthermore, the *Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction* has also noted the need to effectively protect cultural heritage to strengthen resilience (United Nations 2015b: 10). The point has been raised that in both these cases, for sustainable development and disaster risk reduction, it is necessary to have the local communities negotiate their roles and find an acceptable procedure among themselves on how to get involved. As was the case with the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap, this period of negotiation is critical, since it also provides time to carry out research, prepare and ensure an agreement is reached between all the communities. Herewith, the seventh and final objective has been addressed, of documenting discussions on issues related to communities and their involvement in post-earthquake rehabilitation, resilience and sustainable development.

Table 8.1: Overview of communities and their involvement in the Kasthamandap over the time periods before, during and after the 2015 Gorkha Earthquake.

		Before Earthquake		Earthquake Response		Rehabilitation and Future	
		< 1966	1966-2015	2015	2015-2018	2018-2022	2022 <
USERS	guthis	fully	rituals	rituals	rituals	rituals	active
	devotees	Gorakhnath	+ 4 Ganesh				continue
	miscellaneous	commercial	various use				continue
URBAN CONTEXT	residents	observer	observer	responder	observer	observer	active
	commercial	continue	continue	responder	continue	continue	continue
	transit	continue	continue	clear road	continue	continue	non-vehicle
AUTHORITIES	DOA and HDPMO	x	restoration	salvage	design	permission	authority
	Guthi Sansthan	x	restoration				
	Security forces			responder			
	NRA	x	x	x	discussions		x
	KMC and Wards		active 90s	clearing	discussions	funding	mgmt
	KRC / Province	x	x	x	x	reconstruct	active
	Mgmt Guthi	x	x	x	x	x	main
CUSTODIANS	guthis	fully					active
	authorities		inappropriate			support	maintenance
	craftspeople					reconstruct	
	technical experts				proposals	support	monitor
	archaeologists				research		research
	cleaning / security		some				involve
BROADER SIGNIFICANCE	national		stamps, etc.	symbol	media	observation	support
	international		ceremonies	media	research		collaboration
	activists				main act	Court case	

Based on information from Chapters 5, 6 and 7

Note: Management has been abbreviated to mgmt.

	main action
	actively involved
	involved
	not involved

When the shaking stops: an evaluation of post-earthquake rehabilitation of the
Kasthamandap in Hanumandhoka Durbar Square



Figure 8.1: Honourable President of Nepal at the *lokarpan* or dedication ceremony at the Kasthamandap on 4th April 2022 (Image Republica).

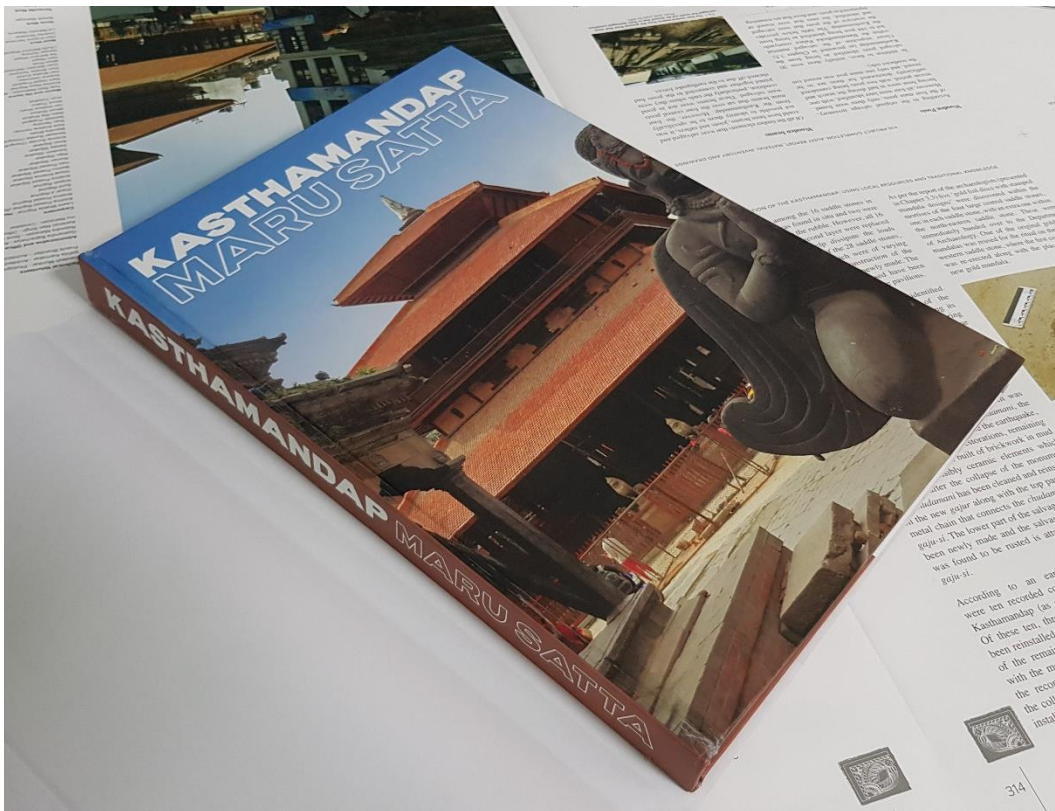


Figure 8.2: The Kasthamandap publication (Image Kai Weise).

Chapter 9: Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

The Kasthamandap, the eponym of Kathmandu, collapsed during the 2015 Gorkha Earthquake. The various communities related to the monument negotiated over a period of three years how best to rebuild the monument. The options were whether to introduce modern technology and materials to provide added strength and then tendering it out to the building contractors to implement, or by hiring traditional building craftspeople and implementing the project using traditional materials and technology. During the process of negotiations, numerous studies and research were carried out, allowing for the development of a deeper understanding of the origins, adaptations and use of the Kasthamandap over the centuries, as well as of the traditional form, structure and building techniques. The ever-changing political circumstances and the interest of various individuals brought about the final solution of establishing the KRC, bringing together over 100 members representing the related community groups, and hiring a master craftsman to lead the reconstruction project.

Having provided the main points of discussion in the previous chapter, this section provides the conclusion, reviewing the thesis and affirming that all the objectives have been accomplished. This section will further provide an explanation of how this thesis contributes to research, arguing that it presents new information on how diverse communities are involved with historical monuments in varying circumstances, particularly when tested by a major earthquake, and the subsequent negotiations and changing positions of the communities over time. The strengths and limitations of the research will also be provided, explaining that the comprehensive approach of addressing all relevant communities focusing on a period starting in 1966 with the major government restoration, including the Earthquake and the reconstruction of the collapsed monument and ending with the most recent events, provides an understanding of communities during a critical period of the monument's history. However, this focused timeframe, and wide spectrum of communities also leaves various issues only superficially addressed. The chapter will end with a statement on future prospects for research. As will be presented, these research activities have already been planned and a research centre has been established.

9.2 Review of thesis

This research examined the communities related to the Kasthamandap before, during and after the 2015 Gorkha Earthquake, along with the discussion on how communities will continue to be associated with the monument in future. This refers to the aim of the thesis, which was ‘to map and evaluate the success of heritage rehabilitation approaches to a single monument in Kathmandu, the Kasthamandap, and the extent to which each intervention altered linkages with its communities’.

To establish the background to this research, comparative studies were carried out in Chapter 2 on heritage rehabilitation and community engagement in recent disasters along the Himalayas. The $M_w 8.2$ 1934 Great Nepal Bihar Earthquake, occurring 81 years before the Gorkha Earthquake, and had a major impact on the Kathmandu Valley. As has been mentioned, at the time the Kasthamandap did not collapse. Comparisons were also made to the Kashmir Earthquake of 2005 and the Sikkim Earthquake of 2011, studying the fatalities, destruction and response, as well as the lessons learned from traditional building construction. A further section on community engagement with disaster examined multi-hazards and traditional knowledge, as well as community vulnerabilities to recent earthquakes along the Himalayas. Chapter 3 then provided an introduction of the Kasthamandap, and an overview of the physical context, as well as the history of the Kathmandu Valley. Further sections introduced the unique culture of the communities of the Kathmandu Valley and the historic urban context of the city of Kathmandu.

In Chapter 4, the methodology of the thesis was explained. The aim of the thesis was to map and evaluate the changing involvement of communities related to the Kasthamandap before, during and after the 2015 Gorkha Earthquake. To achieve the aim and the objectives of the research, the approach that was employed was to collect qualitative data from both primary and secondary sources. Ethical approval was obtained to carry out interviews with representatives of the various communities, ensuring anonymity. The interviews have been provided in a separate volume as an annexure, organized under three categories: (A) interviews that were recorded and transcribed mostly requiring translation from Nepali to English which was done by the researcher himself, (B) interviews that were not recorded but notes were taken directly in English and (C) recorded interviews that were carried out for a publication, *Kasthamandap Marusatta*, published by the KRC (Figure 8.2) (Weise and Joshi 2022), which were then fully transcribed and translation from Nepali to English for this thesis by the researcher himself.

In the following three chapters, Chapters 5, 6 and 7, the communities involved in the Kasthamandap have been examined during the period before the earthquake from 1966 to

2015, during the earthquake response phase from 2015 to 2018 and during the rehabilitation phase from 2018 to 2022, respectively. In each of these periods, the involvement of communities has been examined under the five categories of: users, urban community, authorities, custodians and those giving the monument broader significance. Within each of these categories, there are several groups, each interacting with those in the same category, but also with those in other categories. This provides a complex network of relationships which in certain cases support each other or are competing to gain supremacy over a certain aspect of the monument. These discussions on the changing dynamic of the communities have been provided in Section 8.3, with an overview provided in Table 8.1. The discussion on the resilience of the communities and the relationship between the protection of cultural heritage and sustainable development, in respect to the Kasthamandap have also been discussed in Sections 8.4 and 8.5 respectively.

The response to the collapse of the Kasthamandap and its subsequent reconstruction entailed the engagement of numerous community groups in various capacities, which transformed depending on the circumstances. Under the extreme circumstances of post-earthquake response, the community boundaries dissolved, and people had to cope with the situation as best as they could. As the emergency phase ended, definite community boundaries began to appear. Under certain circumstances, various communities were unified by political affiliation, as was the case when the elections in 2017 was won by the UML party on all three tiers. This allowed for special conditions to be adopted by the government for the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap (Section 7.4.1). During the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap, mainly members of the Newar community were involved (Section 7.5.1). Furthermore, the Vajrayana rituals introduced by Yagyaman Pati Bajracharya were given precedence over the Hindu rituals of the craftspeople (Section 7.2.2). Even the communications between the experts and the craftspeople were often constrained due to the differences in caste hierarchy (Section 7.5.1). Despite these constraints, the project moved ahead smoothly, until in the final stages certain groups of activists submitted a court case against the replacement of the Gorakhnath image (Section 7.6.3), halting completion of the project and the adoption of the 'Continuity Plan', which included the *Calendar of Events* (Section 7.5.6). This demonstrates that it is not sufficient to consider a community to be a single homogeneous entity that has a specific opinion and engages with cultural heritage in a particular manner.

9.3 Accomplishment of objectives

To fulfil the aim of the research seven objectives were formulated, which were each addressed through a chapter of the thesis.

Objective 1 was to review heritage rehabilitation and community engagement in recent disasters in the region. This has been accomplished through Chapter 2. Chapter 2 addresses heritage rehabilitation and community engagement in recent disasters along the Himalayas providing definitions of terms related to disaster risk management of cultural heritage, discussing examples of recent earthquake along the Himalayas, the Great Nepal Bihar Earthquake of 1934, the Kashmir Earthquake of 2005 and the Sikkim Earthquake of 2011. The chapter also examines community engagement with disaster.

Objective 2 was to define the geophysical, political and historic context of Kathmandu Valley, with focus on the Kasthamandap and the related communities. This has been accomplished through Chapter 3. Chapter 3 addresses the context of Kathmandu, with an introduction to the Kasthamandap, an overview of the physical and historical context of the Kathmandu Valley, a description of the culture of the communities and the urban context of the city of Kathmandu.

Objective 3 was to define the methodology including the historic chronology verses community matrix. This has been accomplished through Chapter 4. Chapter 4 reviews the aim and objectives, the research approach and methodology, while describing the case study and the context, and stating strengths and challenges of the thesis.

Objective 4 was to document the changing historical and political circumstances before the earthquake and the impact on community involvement in the Kasthamandap. This has been accomplished through Chapter 5. Chapter 5 examines the communities before the earthquake, between 1966 and 2015, with a section dedicated to each category: the users, urban community, authorities, custodians and those related to the broader significance of the Kasthamandap.

Objective 5 was to determine how the Gorkha Earthquake impacted the management system, the communities and the monument. This has been accomplished through Chapter 6. Chapter 6 examines the communities during the Gorkha earthquake and their involvement in the response, between 2015 and 2018, with a section dedicated to each of the five categories of community, same as in the previous chapter.

Objective 6 was to document the post-disaster rehabilitation focusing on the struggle of the communities to find appropriate procedures. This has been accomplished through Chapter 7. Chapter 7 examines the communities during the rehabilitation of the Kasthamandap, between 2018 and 2022, with a section dedicated to each of the five categories of community, same as in the previous two chapters.

Objective 7 was to discuss issues related to communities and their involvement in post-earthquake rehabilitation, resilience and sustainable development based on the lessons learned from the assessment of the case study of the Kasthamandap. This has been accomplished through Chapter 8. Chapter 8 provides discussions on the aim and objectives, the changing involvement of the communities, on the traditional knowledge and cultural continuity and on cultural heritage and sustainable development.

9.4 Contribution to research

This thesis brings together the three themes of community, cultural heritage and disaster management. Material can be found on various combinations of these themes, between cultural heritage and disaster management (Fielden 1987; Pichard 1984; Stovel 1998; Tandon 2018), between community and cultural heritage (Coningham and Lewer 2019; Gellner 1982, 1997; Locke 1980; Toffin 1981), and between disaster management and community (UNDRR 2009; United Nations 2015a, 2015b; United Nations OCHA 2011, 2015), however, there is a lack of detailed study and understanding of how communities deal with cultural heritage before, during and after a disaster.

The most significant contribution of this research has been to improve the understanding of how communities adapt and change their roles towards a specific historical monument over time, particularly in the aftermath of a major disaster. Table 8.1 provides an overview of the communities and their changing involvement with the Kasthamandap. The role of each of the community groups change between not being involved, being involved and being actively involved. This is defined by the overall circumstances changing, such as the earthquake and the collapsed of the monument. However, there are more specific circumstances that bring about the involvement of a certain community group, such as for example the court case against the replacement of the Gorakhnath image. In certain cases, even within each of these groups, further subgroups might need to be differentiated. The research shows that this complexity needs to be understood and considered when addressing issues related to communities.

There was some research carried out after the Gorkha Earthquake on the response of activists to the standard government procedures and the involvement of international agencies in restoring historical monuments. Analysing various post-earthquake restoration and reconstruction projects around Hanumandhoka Durbar Square, including the Kasthamandap, Stephanie Lotter concludes that three themes emerge: “first, the rejection of ‘outsiders’ in the field of heritage”, “second, [...] the use of coercion as a measure to achieve politically motivated heritage decisions [by the authorities]”, and third, “heritage activism has,

[...] fundamentally and sustainably changed the field of heritage reconstruction by introducing civil society into the discourse” (2021: 276-277). By highlighting the viewpoint of just a single group, the activists, that have been considered to represent civil society, the concluding themes provide a somewhat partial interpretation of the circumstances. The research, as presented in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, shows the complexity of how many community groups negotiate an agreeable procedure and their respective involvement with a given project, which then adapts to the changing circumstances.

In preparation for the anticipated earthquake that would strike the Kathmandu Valley, ICOMOS Nepal, supported by various site managers of the Kathmandu Valley World Heritage property and UNESCO, organized a symposium ‘Revisiting Kathmandu, Safeguarding Living Urban Heritage’ between 25th and 29th November 2013. The four themes of authenticity, heritage management, community involvement and disaster risk reduction were discussed, focusing particularly on their inter-linkages. The importance of community involvement was emphasised, and the requirement of in-depth understanding of the various community groups over time, and their relationship to the specific heritage (UNESCO 2015: 33). This thesis addresses this need to understand the associated communities, and their relationship to a specific historic monument over time, through changing circumstances.

9.5 Strengths and limitations

This research would not have been possible in its present form, if the 2015 Gorkha Earthquake had not occurred and if the Kasthamandap had not collapsed. The research was carried out at a critical time, when the initial arrangements were being made to establish the KRC. The research period extended throughout the period of reconstruction including the final event, the *lokarpan* or dedication ceremony (Figure 8.1), that was organized on 4th April 2022 in the presence of the President of Nepal. Having been involved as a member of the Expert Team, it was possible to document most of the activities carried out by the various involved communities. The challenge was, however, to keep my involvement with the work related to the project, which included the preparation of a publication (Weise and Joshi 2022), distinct from my doctoral research, even though they complimented each other.

The research was able to refer back to the experience of the ‘Revisiting Kathmandu Symposium’ between 25th and 29th November 2013 and the subsequent publication (UNESCO 2015), the post-earthquake response and rehabilitation planning for the culture sector carried out for UNESCO between April and December 2015 (Weise 2015a), the

drafting of the basic guidelines for the conservation and reconstruction of earthquake-damaged heritage for the DOA between November 2015 and February 2016 (Government of Nepal 2016b), and the preparation of the PDRF for culture sector for the NRA in April 2016 (Government of Nepal 2016a). The research also profited from the experience of the response to the Chauk Earthquake in Myanmar that occurred on 24th August 2016 and affected the heritage site of Bagan. A paper on community involvement in the management of Bagan was published in a volume edited by Robin Coningham and Nick Lewer (Weise 2019).

Interviews were carried out with key persons from each of the community groups to provide an overview of the various opinions and viewpoints. Due to the position in the project, but also through personal and family links developed over the years, it was possible to contact all the relevant persons. Except for a few interviews that were carried out in Newari which were translated by my colleague Anie Joshi, all the interviews in Nepali and English were translated and transcribed personally, ensuring that there are no misunderstandings created through third party translations.

The limitations of the research must be acknowledged that this overview of the communities involved in the Kasthamandap was researched for the period between 1966 and 2022, considering the earthquake, the collapse of the structure and its reconstruction. Much research is still left to be done beyond this limited timeframe. Furthermore, each of the community groups could be further researched. As has been summarized in Section 9.2, there are themes such as the growing Newari cultural identity, the attempts to revive Vajrayana Buddhism, the continued significance of the caste hierarchy, and complexity of communicating between those educated in science and those educated through experience.

The lockdowns during the Covid-19 pandemic did disrupt work during some short periods, though provisions were made to continue work taking necessary precautions. The lockdowns and the requirement for social distancing did, however, make the process of interviewing people more difficult. There was at least one person who could not be interviewed properly due to health reasons, and necessary precautions, though it was possible to have a short chat and take notes.

9.6 Significance of the research

The significance of this research can be perceived at the three levels of local, national and international.

The significance at local level is the understanding it brings to the diversity of the communities involved in the Kasthamandap. There are communities involved with the Kasthamandap for various reasons. There are those who are involved to carry out certain duties of their given position, such as the *guthiars* and the government authorities. There are those who have a more informal relationship with the monument, either as a visitor, an observer or someone carrying out activities nearby. We then have the communities, or individuals, who are there to profit from a given circumstance, for monetary gain, for prestige, or to promote a certain religious, linguistic or ethnic group. There are many who would fit into various categories. The relationship between the communities with differing aspirations and intentions is a complex labyrinth, which can only be navigated through negotiations and mutual agreements. Such negotiations are also guided by a given constellation of circumstances, such as, for the Kasthamandap, the alignment of all levels of government to a single political party. This complexity of relationships and circumstances demonstrates the necessity for in-depth understanding, that respects the individual community members, their identity and aspirations, and allows consideration of this in planning and research.

The significance of this research at national level is the specific understanding of relationships between the various communities, particularly the dynamics between government, community organisations and involved individuals. The research focuses on the communities linked to a specific monument over a defined period, however, the conclusions can be interpreted for planning at policy level, for establishing government procedures, as well as to strategize broad-based participation of communities in activities and projects. This is particularly important to achieve the SDGs, which focus on improving the overall condition for communities, their standard of living, their livelihood and security, with their participation. This in-depth understanding of the communities also allows for conflict resolution and improved communication.

The significance of this research at international level is as an example of how the complexity and diversity of communities need to be researched, understood and considered in any given circumstance. This relates specifically to the conservation of heritage sites, but also to development projects that are inclusive and sustainable. This research shows that communities cannot be considered a single homogenous entity, 'the community', without totally misunderstanding the complex dynamics that exists between the diverse groups.

9.7 Future prospects for research

The conclusion derived from the research carried out on the communities involved in the Kasthamandap before, during and after the Gorkha Earthquake is that communities are diverse, and their engagement transforms and adapts to changing circumstances. The relationship of a community to, for example a specific monument, is also determined by its interaction and positioning with other associated and contesting communities, and constantly transforming and adapting to changing circumstances. Further research is required to integrate this dynamic understanding of communities into the management systems of heritage sites, possibly beginning with the Kathmandu Valley World Heritage property, but extending to other sites in the region. Such research can also be extrapolated to identify how communities need to be understood within the process of achieving the SDGs. Communities do not belong to a single homogeneous entity with clearly defined needs and aspirations, and therefore, it is necessary for these communities to negotiate among themselves how to address issues concerning their livelihood, collaboration and identity.

Further research is also required to improve the understanding of the chronology of the Kasthamandap. The archaeological research carried out by the team led by Durham University's UNESCO Chair on the foundations and the salvaged material of the Kasthamandap, brought about extraordinary information about the early dates of the monument, the construction details and the condition of various elements. The findings of the archaeological research at the Kasthamandap played a pivotal role in mobilising the interest of the communities and further elevating the status of the monument. This research needs to continue, both in respect to the scientific analysis of the elements, as well as determining the implications on the understanding of the history of the Kathmandu Valley. The archaeological research on the Kasthamandap has shown that major activities were carried out, such as the construction of an enormous public structure, during a period that otherwise was poorly understood due to the lack of epigraphic sources. A more detailed history of the Kasthamandap needs to be developed, filling in the gaps between the little that we now know.

Gellner and Karki state that "It surely cannot be doubted that the social context and impact of activism is an important topic to study and understand" (2007: 361). Lotter also touches on the importance of this, going as far as to state that activism has "changed the field of heritage reconstruction" (2001: 276-277). The activism surrounding the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap (Sections 6.6.4 and 7.6.3) contributes to this discourse, focusing on the specific case of reconstructing a monument. Further research would need to be done on

correlating the activism to the main impetus such as nationalism, politics, religion and caste hierarchy.

Interviews were carried out with the traditional building craftspeople, including those who worked on the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap. The traditional building craftspeople are the bearers of the traditional knowledge and skills required to maintain, restore and in certain cases rebuild the historic monuments. The craftspeople, their work and their livelihood, need to be further researched and documented.

In addition to the communities and the history of the Kasthamandap, the materials, structure and craftsmanship also need to be further researched, building on the experience gathered during the reconstruction of the monument. Detailed documentation was carried out on the source and quality of the materials, the joinery and the overall design and layout. Structural modelling and assessments were also carried out to introduce some minor interventions using additional timber elements in the brick masonry in mud mortar. The establishment of a system of 'structural health monitoring' has been proposed, and sensors are to be installed at critical points of the monument. This continuous monitoring of the structure and material deterioration, will provide a wealth of information, to improve monitoring and maintenance of the monument.

The Nepal Heritage Research Centre has been registered, providing a platform for the experts involved in the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap to monitor the Kasthamandap, to analyse the data, and then to convert these lessons to replicate in other restoration projects within the Kathmandu Valley. Negotiations are going on between the research centre and KMC to prepare building codes for buildings built using traditional technology and materials. This would also need to link to the procedures of enforcing the building code, requiring appropriate amendments to the Public Procurement Act to accommodate the specific requirements of restoration and reconstruction of historical monuments and traditional buildings. Initial steps have been taken to continue research in all the above-mentioned fields, continuing the focusing on the Kasthamandap, but then using the results to improve the knowledge of traditional structure in the Kathmandu Valley. As a member of the Nepal Heritage Research Centre, the institutional framework has been established, which will allow further collaboration, for example with Durham University's UNESCO Chair, working closely with the DOA, Government of Nepal, and the local community of craftspeople.

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Appendix 1:

Questionnaire for Interviews:

Communities of Kasthamandap (as a guide for interviews)

IDENTIFICATION

- Name / Contact
- Category of Community
- Place of Origin

CONNECTION TO KASTHAMANDAP OVER GENERATIONS

- Personal connection to Kasthamandap?
- Connection to Kasthamandap of past generations?
- Possible connection to Kasthamandap of future generations?

PERSONAL LINK TO KASTHAMANDAP

- Value of Kasthamandap? Overall/specific attributes?
- How do you remember Kasthamandap before the earthquake?
- What happened during the earthquake?
- What is your assessment of the period since the earthquake?
- What is your assessment of the on-going restoration?

LINK BETWEEN COMMUNITIES

(provide overview of community categories/subcategories on reverse side)

- Link to communities of other categories?
- Link to others within your own category / subcategory?
- To prioritize guthis, Guthi Sansthan, municipality or DOA?
- To prioritize artisans or engineers?

Categories and subcategories of identified interviewees.

1. **Communities that take decisions and funds Kasthamandap**
 - a) **Original Community organizations** (guthi) – possibly from Licchavi through Malla Period the monuments were managed by the communities associations.
 - b) **Kings and Prime Ministers** – patronage of Kings from Licchavi to Malla period and more direct involvement of the Kings and Prime Ministers of the Shah and Rana period through the Guthi Corporation and its precursors.
 - c) **Ministry of Culture / Department of Archaeology** – with the establishment of DOA and the respective act, authority for protection of the monuments was taken on by the government. This would include other central government agencies such as the National Reconstruction Authority (NRA)
 - d) **Municipality** – particularly since 1999 with the Local Self Governance Act and the following (ongoing) decentralization of power to local government, authority and financial resources have been made available to the municipal authorities.
 - e) **International Agencies** – these are international funding agencies involved in restoration work.
2. **Communities that maintain and restore Kasthamandap**
 - a) **Original Community Associations** – the guthis that were specially set up to maintain the monuments
 - b) **The Artisans** – this includes carpenters, brick masons, stonemasons, metal workers (copper, gold)
 - c) **Manufacturers / suppliers** – of brick, stone, mud, copper, bamboo, rope, as well as the manufacturers of tools and other equipment required for construction
 - d) **Technical experts including Engineers** – the experts that have taken on the responsibility for design and implementation based on contemporary procedures
 - e) **Research organizations** – the experts that are involved in research to better understand the site, the structure and its history
 - f) **Contractors** – the contractors who have taken on government projects both before the earthquake but particularly after the earthquake
 - g) **NGOs / INGOs / International Agencies** – the technical organizations and foreign agencies that have been restoring monuments in the past and those particularly involved after the earthquake
 - h) **First Responders** – those involved in the immediate response after the 2016 earthquake which might have been the local community but also others that happened to be in the area during the earthquake and provided a helping hand.
3. **Communities that use Kasthamandap**
 - a) **Local Community users** – the community that uses Kasthamandap for social and community activities (including those who organized the blood donation campaign)
 - b) **Religious users** – Kasthamandap has over the years accumulated various religious artefacts such as the Gorakhnath statue, Ganesh statues and it is an important structure for the Vajrayana Buddhists.
 - c) **Users for economic activities** – Kasthamandap used to have shops and use as a commercial space though today such activities take place around the monument
 - d) **Visitors and Tourists** – the monument is part of a World Heritage property and the site is visited by tourists – both local and international
4. **Communities that create the urban context of Kasthamandap**
 - a) **Traditional Community living around Kasthamandap** – there are still various traditional community groups living around Kasthamandap (including 4 wards involved in carrying the four posts of Kasthamandap)
 - b) **The new community** – community members living around Kasthamandap that have moved there more recently.
 - c) **Mobile communities** – community that do not live in the area but regularly visit the area for various reasons – or just passing through.
5. **Communities that gives broader significance to Kasthamandap**
 - a) **Newar community** – the larger Newar community and their relationship with Kasthamandap.
 - b) **National community** – the larger Nepali community and their relationship with Kasthamandap.
 - c) **Activists** – there have been many activists involved in the rehabilitation process – some from the community but also largely concerned citizens.
 - d) **International communities** – particularly in the context of being World Heritage, how is this monument significant to the international community

When the shaking stops: an evaluation of post-earthquake rehabilitation of the
Kasthamandap in Hanumandhoka Durbar Square

TABLE A1: Sociological context of interviewees

Interviewee	Age group	Sex	Ethnicity	Category (refer previous page)
A1	20-40	F	Newar	2 / 5
A2	40-60	F	Newar	1 / 2 / 3 / 5
A3	40-60	F	Newar	1 / 2 / 5
A4	40-60	M	Bahun	1 / 5
A5	20-40	M	Newar	1 / 5
A6	20-40	M	Newar	2 / 3 / 4 / 5
A7	40-60	M	Newar	1 / 5
A8	40-60 / 60+	M (3x)	Newar	1 / 2 / 3 / 4 / 5
A9	20-40	M	Newar	3 / 5
A10	60+	M & F	Chhetri	1 / 2 / 5
A11	60+	M	Newar	2 / 5
A12	20-40	F	Newar	1 / 3 / 4 / 5
A13	20-40	F	Newar	5
A14	20-40	F	Newar	5
A15	20-40	F	Newar	2 / 5
A16	40-60	M	Newar	1 / 2 / 3 / 4 / 5
B1	40-60	M	Newar	1 / 2 / 3 / 4 / 5
B2	60+	M	Newar	2 / 5
B3	60+	M	Chhetri	1 / 2 / 5
B4	40-60 / 60+	Group	Newar	1 / 2 / 3 / 5
B5	60+	M	Newar	1 / 2 / 3 / 5
B6	40-60 / 60+	M & F Group	Newar	2 / 5
B7	40-60 / 60+	M & F Group	Newar	2 / 5
B8	40-60	M	Bahun	1 / 5
B9	40-60	F	Newar	3 / 4 / 5
B10	20-40	M	Newar	2 / 5
B11	40-60	F	Newar	3 / 4 / 5
B12	40-60 / 60+	M Group	Newar	1 / 2 / 3 / 5
B13	40-60	M	Newar	1 / 2 / 3 / 5
B14	40-60 / 60+	M & F Group	Newar	1 / 2 / 3 / 5
B15	40-60	M	Newar	1 / 2 / 3 / 5
B16	60+	M	Newar	1 / 2 / 3 / 5
C1	60+	M	Newar	5
C2	20-40	M	Newar	3 / 4 / 5
C3	20-40	M	Newar	3 / 4 / 5
C4	20-40	M	Newar	3 / 4 / 5
C5	20-40	M	Newar	3 / 4 / 5
C6	40-60	M	Newar	3 / 4 / 5
C7	40-60	M	Newar	1 / 2 / 3 / 5
C8	40-60	M	Newar	2 / 5
C9	40-60	M	Newar	4 / 5
C10	60+	M	Newar	1 / 5
C11	60+	M	Newar	4 / 5
C12	60+	M	Newar	1 / 2 / 5
C13	40-60	M	Newar	1 / 2 / 3 / 4 / 5

Appendix 2: Durham University ethics forms

- **Project Proposal**
- **Information Sheet**
- **Privacy Notice**
- **Consent Form**
- **Debriefing Sheet**
- **Data Management Plan**

Project Proposal

Project title: When the Shaking Stops: an evaluation of post-earthquake rehabilitation of the Kasthamandap in Hanuman Dhoka Durbar Square

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Overview

The Gorkha Earthquake that struck central Nepal on 25th April 2015 caused extensive damage to the historic centre of Kathmandu particularly around the Hanuman Dhoka Palace area. The earthquake also led to the collapse of Kasthamandap, the timber structure that gave the city its name. The destruction of Kasthamandap was tragic not only because of its symbolic significance as a historic monument but also due to the fact that many perished under the wreckage. The traumatic event led to desperate response measures of bringing in heavy machinery to clear the site which impeded the search for survivors while further destroying what remained of the monument.

The traumatic response phase set the tone for the following rehabilitation process that was diverse and uncoordinated. The extensive destruction of settlements and monuments throughout central Nepal overwhelmed the responsible authorities such as the Department of Archaeology. Due to political wrangling the National Reconstruction Authority (NRA) didn't begin functioning till a year after the disaster. In the meantime, the rehabilitation of the monuments in the Hanuman Dhoka Durbar Square, a component of the Kathmandu Valley World Heritage property, have been addressed through different processes. Some have been tendered out to contractors, others implemented bilaterally through international organizations and some conducted by local community-based committees.

The rehabilitation process particularly in a historical urban context depends on the resilience of the communities and their active interaction with authorities and technical experts. However local knowledge bearers, including artisans, priests and caretakers of the monuments have often been side-lined or excluded from scientific designs. The rehabilitation of monuments in Kathmandu is defined by the struggle between government authorities and local community groups particularly in respect to procedures and approach to restoration. Activism from local community groups have forced the government to hand over the responsibilities to local community-based committees such as in the case of Kasthamandap.

The significance of the historical monuments lies not only in the material structure but also in the intangible, that which links these structures to the communities. Throughout history various community groups have been involved in supporting, caring for and using the monument. Over time these communities have changed, due to political upheaval or natural phenomena such as earthquakes. Communities have worked together to safeguard the monument but in certain cases conflicts have also arisen. Various religious groups have laid claim to the structure as well as those who found economic gain through its use. The structure itself has changed over time as those restoring the structure have using varying technology and materials or made additions.

Aims and objectives

The aim of the thesis is to map and evaluate the success of heritage rehabilitation approaches to a single monument in Kathmandu, the Kasthamandap, and the extent to which each intervention altered linkages with its communities.

The first three objectives set up the contextual background for the thesis and develop the methodology to attain the overall aim of the thesis. The first objective is to review heritage rehabilitation and community engagement in recent disasters in the region, particularly focusing on earthquake along the Himalayas arc as well as large earthquakes affecting Kathmandu in the past. The second objective is to define the geo-physical, political, legal and historic context of Kathmandu Valley, with focus on Kasthamandap and the related communities. The third objective is to define the methodology taking into account historic chronology and changing community involvement.

The following three objectives address the need to research and better understand the monument over time with changing circumstances before, during and after the disaster. The fourth objective is to document and assess the changing historical and political circumstances before the earthquake and the impact on community involvement on Kasthamandap. The fifth objective is the research and document the impact of the 2015 Gorkha Earthquake on Kasthamandap and the related stakeholders and communities. The sixth objective is to document and assess the post-disaster rehabilitation of Kasthamandap after the 2015 Gorkha earthquake, with particularly focus on the struggle to find the appropriate procedures and the struggle of the various related communities.

The seventh and final objective addresses issues related to communities and their involvement in post-earthquake rehabilitation, resilience and sustainable development based on the lessons learned from the assessment of the case study of Kasthamandap.

Research

This study will undertake the mapping of communities or stakeholders related to Kasthamandap over time. The categories of communities are those that have taken decisions and funded Kasthamandap, those that have maintained and restored Kasthamandap, those who have used Kasthamandap over the centuries, those that have created the urban context for Kasthamandap and those that have given Kasthamandap its broader significance at national and international level. With political and social change over time, the relationship of individuals and groups to the monument changes. Natural disasters such as earthquakes which cause physical damage to the monument are catalysts for changes in the relationships of the various community groups to the monument. By understanding these dynamics, it will be possible to improve community consultation and engagement in Nepal's rehabilitation procedures.

Data Management

The information collected will have be linked to a consent form which will indirectly allow for identification, however after transcription is finalized and any kind of required follow up is completed, and latest 6 months after the interview, this information will be destroyed. The information from interviewees who have consented to their statements being quoted and possibly their photographs being included somewhere in the thesis, will be kept and used accordingly.

Participant Information Sheet

Project title: When the Shaking Stops: an evaluation of post-earthquake rehabilitation of the Kasthamandap in Hanuman Dhoka Durbar Square

Researcher(s): Kai Weise

Department: Archaeology

Contact details: +977-9801045298 / kai.weise@durham.ac.uk

Supervisor name: Robin Coningham

Supervisor contact details: r.a.e.coningham@durham.ac.uk

You are invited to take part in a study that I am conducting as part of my PhD at Durham University. This study has received ethical approval from Archaeology Department ethics committee of Durham University.

Before you decide whether to agree to take part it is important for you to understand the purpose of the research and what is involved as a participant. Please read the following information carefully. Please get in contact if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.

What is the purpose of the study?

The aim of this study is to understand how the various communities linked to Kasthamandap have changed their roles and responsibilities over time which is particularly the case during an extreme event such as the 2015 earthquake. The research will also look into how these community groups interact between one another. The research is funded by the Global Challenge Research Fund of the UK Government through Durham University. The overall research period is for 3 years and it should be completed by February 2022.

Why have I been invited to take part?

You have been invited because you have a very specific relationship to Kasthamandap which will be an important component to understanding the overall spectrum of communities that are involved with Kasthamandap in one way or another.

Do I have to take part?

Your participation is voluntary and you do not have to agree to take part. If you do agree to take part, you can withdraw at any time, without giving a reason. Your rights in relation to withdrawing any data that is identifiable to you are explained in the accompanying Privacy Notice.

What will happen to me if I take part?

If you agree to take part in the study, you will be asked a series of questions which will take anything between one to two hours. You are free to answer or not answer any of the questions. However, you will be welcome to contribute more information than what is on the questionnaire. Please note that no reimbursements or incentives will be provided.

Are there any potential risks involved?

There are no potential risk in participating in this research. Though there are no specific direct gains, your contribution will help in carry out research that will enable a better

understanding of communities and their involvement with historic monument of cultural importance.

Will my data be kept confidential?

All information obtained during the study will be kept confidential. If the data is published it will be entirely anonymous and will not be identifiable as yours. Should any identifiable data be considered important to publish (e.g. using direct quotes from interviews) it will only be done after permission is obtained through a signed Consent Form. Full details are included in the accompanying Privacy Notice.

What will happen to the results of the project?

The results are expected to be published by February 2022. The results could be used in other project outputs such as websites and conferences. No personal data will be shared, however anonymised (i.e. not identifiable) data may be used in publications, reports, presentations, web pages and other research outputs. At the end of the project, anonymised data may be archived and shared with others for legitimate research purposes. If identifiable data is found to be important to use in outputs, archived or shared, then this will only be done with prior consent. Full details are included in the accompanying Privacy Notice. All research data and records needed to validate the research findings will be stored for 10 years after publication of the results

Durham University is committed to sharing the results of its world-class research for public benefit. As part of this commitment the University has established an online repository for all Durham University Higher Degree theses which provides access to the full text of freely available theses. The study in which you are invited to participate will be written up as a thesis. On successful submission of the thesis, it will be deposited both in print and online in the University archives, to facilitate its use in future research. The thesis will be published open access.

Who do I contact if I have any questions or concerns about this study?

If you have any further questions or concerns about this study, please speak to the researcher or their supervisor. If you remain unhappy or wish to make a formal complaint, please submit a complaint via the University's Complaints Process.
<https://www.dur.ac.uk/ges/3rdpartycomplaints/>

Thank you for reading this information and considering taking part in this study.

Privacy Notice

PART 1 – GENERIC PRIVACY NOTICE Durham University has a responsibility under data protection legislation to provide individuals with information about how we process their personal data. We do this in a number of ways, one of which is the publication of privacy notices. Organisations variously call them a privacy statement, a fair processing notice or a privacy policy.

To ensure that we process your personal data fairly and lawfully we are required to inform you:

- Why we collect your data
- How it will be used
- Who it will be shared with

We will also explain what rights you have to control how we use your information and how to inform us about your wishes. Durham University will make the Privacy Notice available via the website and at the point we request personal data.

Our privacy notices comprise two parts – a generic part (ie common to all of our privacy notices) and a part tailored to the specific processing activity being undertaken.

Data Controller

The Data Controller is Durham University. If you would like more information about how the University uses your personal data, please see the University's Information Governance webpages (<https://www.dur.ac.uk/ig/>) or contact Information Governance Unit:

Telephone: (0191 33) 46246 or 46103

E-mail: information.governance@durham.ac.uk

Information Governance Unit also coordinate response to individuals asserting their rights under the legislation. Please contact the Unit in the first instance.

Data Protection Officer

The Data Protection Officer is responsible for advising the University on compliance with Data Protection legislation and monitoring its performance against it. If you have any concerns regarding the way in which the University is processing your personal data, please contact the Data Protection Officer:

Jennifer Sewel

University Secretary

Telephone: (0191 33) 46144

E-mail: university.secretary@durham.ac.uk

Your rights in relation to your personal data

Privacy notices and/or consent

You have the right to be provided with information about how and why we process your personal data. Where you have the choice to determine how your personal data will be used, we will ask you for consent. Where you do not have a choice (for example, where we have a legal obligation to process the personal data), we will provide you with a privacy notice. A privacy notice is a verbal or written statement that explains how we use personal data.

Whenever you give your consent for the processing of your personal data, you receive the right to withdraw that consent at any time. Where withdrawal of consent will have an impact on the services we are able to provide, this will be explained to you, so that you can determine whether it is the right decision for you.

Accessing your personal data

You have the right to be told whether we are processing your personal data and, if so, to be given a copy of it. This is known as the right of subject access. You can find out more about this right on the University's Subject Access Requests webpage.

(<https://www.dur.ac.uk/ig/dp/sar/>)

Right to rectification

If you believe that personal data we hold about you is inaccurate, please contact us and we will investigate. You can also request that we complete any incomplete data.

Once we have determined what we are going to do, we will contact you to let you know.

Right to erasure

You can ask us to erase your personal data in any of the following circumstances:

- We no longer need the personal data for the purpose it was originally collected
- You withdraw your consent and there is no other legal basis for the processing
- You object to the processing and there are no overriding legitimate grounds for the processing
- The personal data have been unlawfully processed
- The personal data have to be erased for compliance with a legal obligation
- The personal data have been collected in relation to the offer of information society services (information society services are online services such as banking or social media sites).

Once we have determined whether we will erase the personal data, we will contact you to let you know.

Right to restriction of processing

You can ask us to restrict the processing of your personal data in the following circumstances:

- You believe that the data is inaccurate and you want us to restrict processing until we determine whether it is indeed inaccurate
- The processing is unlawful and you want us to restrict processing rather than erase it
- We no longer need the data for the purpose we originally collected it but you need it in order to establish, exercise or defend a legal claim and
- You have objected to the processing and you want us to restrict processing until we determine whether our legitimate interests in processing the data override your objection.

Once we have determined how we propose to restrict processing of the data, we will contact you to discuss and, where possible, agree this with you.

Retention

The University keeps personal data for as long as it is needed for the purpose for which it was originally collected. Most of these time periods are set out in the University Records Retention Schedule. (<https://www.dur.ac.uk/ig/rim/retention/>)

Making a complaint

If you are unsatisfied with the way in which we process your personal data, we ask that you let us know so that we can try and put things right. If we are not able to resolve issues to your satisfaction, you can refer the matter to the Information Commissioner's Office (ICO). The ICO can be contacted at:

Information Commissioner's Office Wycliffe House Water Lane Wilmslow Cheshire SK9 5AF
Telephone: 0303 123 1113
Website: Information Commissioner's Office (<https://ico.org.uk>)

PART 2 – TAILORED PRIVACY NOTICE

This section of the Privacy Notice provides you with the privacy information that you need to know before you provide personal data to the University for the particular purpose(s) stated below.

Project Title:

When the Shaking Stops: an evaluation of post-earthquake rehabilitation of the
Kasthamandap in Hanuman Dhoka Durbar Square

Type(s) of personal data collected and held by the researcher and method of collection:

Personal data will be collected through interviews using questionnaires. This will include name and contacts as well as place of origin and rough age category (in decades). Furthermore information will be collected on your link to Kasthamandap through time particularly considering the changes from before the 2015 earthquake, during and right after the earthquake as well as your present and future linkage. Your views on the on-going restoration process will also be requested.

The interviews will be conducted face-to-face allowing for clarifying questions as well as answers should it be necessary. Audio recordings will be taken with your consent. Through mutually agreed and written consent photographs and video recordings might also be collected.

Lawful Basis

The legal basis for processing personal data is the University's public task which includes teaching, learning and research. The research activities involving personal data will also be utilising consent.

How personal data is stored:

All personal data will be held securely and strictly confidential to the research team. You will be allocated an anonymous number for data collection which will not be connected to your name or identity. Signed consent forms will be stored separately to project data. All personal data in electronic form will be stored on a password protected computer, and any hardcopies will be kept in locked storage. Data will not be available to anyone outside the research team. The conversation will be recorded and stored on an encrypted device until it has been transcribed by the researcher. No-one else will have access to the recording, and it will be erased once the transcript has been completed.

How personal data is processed:

Information is being collected to study how the various communities linked to Kasthamandap have changed their roles and responsibilities over time which is particularly the case during an extreme event such as the 2015 earthquake. The research will also look into how these community groups interact between one another.

Information will be entered into a database for analysis. After six months the data will be completely anonymised and the original records, including any information which can identify you personally, will be destroyed. *The recorded conversation will be transcribed by the researcher, and personal information will be coded and anonymised. The original recording will then be erased.*

Data will only be kept in an identifiable form with agreement through the Consent Form and as explained in the accompanying Privacy Notice.

Withdrawal of data

You can request withdrawal of your data until it has been fully anonymised. Once this has happened it will not be possible to identify you from any of the data we hold. You have the right to withdraw your consent on holding any identifiable data.

Who the researcher shares personal data with:

Personal data will only be used for this specific research and will not be shared unless agreed upon through the Consent Form and as explained in the accompanying Privacy Notice.

How long personal data is held by the researcher:

We will hold personal data for six months, after which it will be anonymised.

How to object to the processing of your personal data for this project:

If you have any concerns regarding the processing of your personal data, or you wish to withdraw your data from the project, contact Kai Weise Email: kai.weise@durham.ac.uk

Further information:

Contact: Kai Weise Email: kai.weise@durham.ac.uk

Consent Form

Project title: When the Shaking Stops: an evaluation of post-earthquake rehabilitation of the
Kasthamandap in Hanuman Dhoka Durbar Square

Researcher(s): Kai Weise
Department: Archaeology
Contact details: +977-9801045298 / kai.weise@durham.ac.uk

Supervisor name: Robin Coningham
Supervisor contact details: r.a.e.coningham@durham.ac.uk

Participants Code: _____ **Contact:** _____

This form is to confirm that you understand what the purposes of the project, what is involved and that you are happy to take part. Please initial each box to indicate your agreement:

I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet dated [11/09/19] and the privacy notice for the above project.	
I have had sufficient time to consider the information and ask any questions I might have, and I am satisfied with the answers I have been given.	
I understand who will have access to personal data provided, how the data will be stored and what will happen to the data at the end of the project.	
I agree to take part in the above project.	
I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason.	
I consent to being audio recorded / being video recorded / having my photo taken, and understand how recordings / photos will be used in research outputs. (<i>circle applicable / cross-out non-applicable</i>)	
I consent to my audio recording / video recording / my photo be used for academic publications / media. (<i>circle applicable / cross-out non-applicable</i>)	
I understand that my words may be quoted in publications, reports, and other research outputs. I agree to my real name being used in the above.	

Participant's Signature _____ Date _____

(NAME IN BLOCK LETTERS) _____

Debriefing Sheet

Project title: When the Shaking Stops: an evaluation of post-earthquake rehabilitation of the Kasthamandap in Hanuman Dhoka Durbar Square

Thank you for taking part in this study. This study will undertake the mapping of communities or stakeholders related to Kasthamandap over time. With political and social change over time, the relationship of individuals and groups to the monument changes. Natural disasters such as earthquakes which cause physical damage to the monument are catalysts for changes in the relationships of the various community groups to the monument. By understanding these dynamics, it will be possible to improve community consultation and engagement in Nepal's rehabilitation procedures.

The data you have provided is automatically anonymised and cannot be traced back to your identity. If any part of the interview, recording or photos is considered for use for the research publications with reference to your name, this will only be done after getting specific permission from you. If you want any part of the data to be withdrawn, please let me know now and I will remove the information right away.

If you would like further information about the study or would like to know about what my findings are when all the data have been collected and analysed then please contact me on kai.weise@yahoo.com or +977-9851045298. I cannot however provide you with your individual results.

If taking part in this study has raised any specific concerns then I would suggest you get support from your GP or contact a charity or helpline / website.

Data Management Plan

Project title: When the Shaking Stops: an evaluation of post-earthquake rehabilitation of the Kasthamandap in Hanuman Dhoka Durbar Square

Researcher(s): Kai Weise

Department: Archaeology

Contact details: +977-9801045298 / kai.weise@durham.ac.uk

Supervisor name: Robin Coningham

Supervisor contact details: r.a.e.coningham@durham.ac.uk

All personal data will be held securely and strictly confidential to the research team.

They will be allocated an anonymous number for data collection which will not be connected to their name or identity. Signed consent forms will be stored separately to project data.

All personal data in electronic form will be stored on a password protected computer, and any hardcopies will be kept in locked storage. Data will not be available to anyone outside the research team.

The conversation will be recorded and stored on an encrypted device until it has been transcribed by the researcher. No-one else will have access to the recording, and it will be erased once the transcript has been completed.

The data analysis will be conducted after the interview. Data will be stored for six months after the interview. During this period, only the researcher can access to the data and will not share them with external organizations.

Appendix 3:

BASIC GUIDELINES FOR THE CONSERVATION AND RECONSTRUCTION OF EARTHQUAKE-DAMAGED HERITAGE 2072

PREAMBLE

A 7.6 magnitude earthquake that struck Nepal on 25th April 2015 followed by several hundred aftershocks brought a huge loss of life and property in Mid Nepal. Around 8900 have died and 22000 more so have been wounded. Similarly millions of private and public buildings have been completely damaged and millions others are damaged partially.

This earthquake has also damaged a lot of our historic and cultural heritages. The assessment done by the Department of Archaeology reports damage to more than thousand monuments in Kathmandu, Lalitpur, Bhaktapur, Nuwakot and Gorkha. The most affected are those listed in Kathmandu Valley World Heritage List. Among 90% of damaged monuments in Hanumandhoka Durbar Area, some are partially or completely collapsed, while some other are left with huge cracks. Around 140 important monuments including Kasthamandap and Dharahara are completely collapsed. This has not only inflicted a irreparable damage to several monuments that were symbol of Nepal's pride but has also deeply affected the tourism sector which has been the backbone of country's economy. Thus the restoration and reconstruction of these monuments in their original form, shape and size has been critical.

Reconstruction and restoration work of historic monuments is different from modern construction works. The restoration and reconstruction of such monument should be carried out as per the established national and international theory, values and philosophy related to historic monument conservation. Since most of the damaged monuments and sites are listed in the Cultural World Heritage List, provisions of World Heritage Convention and Operational Guideline also cannot be overlooked. The restoration and reconstruction work cannot disregard the attributes of the monuments and monument zones that define their outstanding universal value, authenticity etc. But we should also remember that Nepal lies in an earthquake prone zone and that most of our monuments are living heritages. Regular *puja* is performed in our temples while devotees pay their homage and thousands gather during festivities. Several government offices and museums are housed in historic structures.

Prime concern for the safety of human life has been raised with the experience of this earthquake. Earthquake doesn't kill but weak structures do. There is a general outcry from public, experts and policy makers that the structure constructed, reconstructed or repaired henceforth need to be earthquake resistant or with ability for earthquake risk mitigation. The work 'earthquake resistant' has been highlighted in government policy and program. After such a tragedy, it is but natural to discourse on earthquake resistant construction or earthquake risk mitigation measures and this has also entered the arena of monument restoration and reconstruction lately.

Monuments are important not only because of their art and architecture but also because of their construction technology. Art of traditional construction technology is in itself a part of intangible heritage which is why it cannot be disregarded in the name of earthquake resistant restoration or reconstruction. The continuation of traditional construction technology is one of the prime objectives of heritage conservation. In this context we need special provision for the restoration and reconstruction of earthquake-damaged monuments.

Having felt that 'Ancient Monument Preservation Methodology 2064' is inadequate to address all post-earthquake issues, the Department of Archaeology, Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Civil Aviation, Government of Nepal, has adopted 'Basic Guidelines for the Conservation and Reconstruction of Earthquake-Damaged Heritage 2072' which was prepared with suggestions from experts and professionals.

1. Name and date of effect

- a. This guideline shall be addressed as 'Basic Guidelines for the Conservation and Reconstruction of Earthquake-Damaged Heritage 2072'.
- b. This guideline shall be effective from the date of adoption by the Department of Archaeology of the Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Civil Aviation, Government of Nepal.

2. Definition

- **Graded Monuments** are the monuments that are classified in A, B and C category according to their value and ownership and as per the provision of Ancient Monument Preservation Act.
- **Non Graded Monuments** are the monuments that have not been classified as per the provision of Ancient Monument Preservation Act.
- **Rehabilitation** is the overall process of rendering original physical-cultural importance and livingness to the monument following all conservation processes and procedures.
- **Renovation** is the process of partial or full repair, construction etc. of the monuments damaged by natural disasters or deteriorated by age subsequently giving them their original or new adaptive functions on the basis of available evidence.
- **Retrofitting** is the means of maintaining or adding to the strength of any structure when it is proved from engineering perspective that the strength of that structure is supposed to have been compromised.
- **Strengthening** is the process of maintaining or improving the strength of any structure by additional means.
- **Stabilization** is the temporary or permanent means of preventing the further damage or collapse of the structure.
- **Reconstruction** is the process of constructing a completely damaged or fully collapsed monument on the basis of available evidence, normally atop its existing foundation, in its original form, shape, size & construct and using traditional material and technology.
- **Restoration** is the process of constructing or repairing a damaged or dilapidated monument on the basis of available evidence in its original form, shape, size & construct. It may also imply partial reconstruction.
- **Rescue Archaeology** is the immediate archaeological activity carried out on sites where the reconstruction of the monument has been proposed. This is generally carried out quickly in short span of time.
- **Cyclical Renewal** is the process of periodic restoration or maintenance work carried out on a monument using traditional material and technology when it is necessitated by established system of regular monitoring of the condition of its structural members.
- **Reversible Technology** is the non-traditional material and technology introduced in the course of restoration or reconstruction of a monument where it is felt that traditional material and technology is inadequate to conserve a monument in its original form, provided this newer introduction can be rectified or replaced in the future if it is so required.
- **Intervention** is any conservation activity carried out by concerned authority where the situation necessitates the protection of a monument from further damage or degradation.
- **Authenticity** is the historically, socially and scientifically accepted original and inherent value, idea, nature or characteristic of any object or structure.
- **Structural Integrity** is the ability of a structure to support a designed load without breaking, tearing apart, or collapsing.
- **Introduction of non-traditional material & technology in lighter fashion** implies the way they are used as not to compromise the original construct, form and structural integrity of the monument.

3. Classification of heritages

- a. For the purpose of this guideline all tangible cultural heritage are categorized in three levels (a) Heritage Sites, (b) Monuments and (c) Objects.
- b. This guideline will address the monuments graded as per Ancient Monument Preservation Act and other non-graded monuments as well.

4. Scope

This guideline mainly deals with tangible immovable cultural heritage, however, it also generally includes related movable tangible and intangible cultural heritage where relevant.

SECTION 1: GENERAL PROVISIONS

5. Authority and responsibility

All classified heritage shall come under the direct purview of the Department of Archaeology as defined in the Ancient Monument Preservation Act 1956. The Department of Archaeology may delegate tasks to other national authorities as well as international and national specialized organizations and persons; however work shall only be carried out adhering to the applicable regulations, following the procedures outlined in this guideline and under the supervision of the Department of Archaeology.

6. Resource management

All resources including funding and technical support and contributions for renovation, conservation or reconstruction of heritages shall be received and managed by the Government of Nepal as per prevailing law. The Department of Archaeology shall carry out proper audit and documentation of the resources employed for each site, monument and object.

7. Damage Assessment

During the restoration and reconstruction of earthquake-damaged monument, assessment of the damage inflicted on monuments, heritage sites & objects, their importance, art and architecture as well as the nature of damage has to be done. Impact on living heritage of religious cultural heritage should also be assessed.

8. Prioritization

During the restoration and reconstruction of earthquake-damaged monument, priority should be given to the restoration of severely damaged monuments.

9. Documentation

Detail documentation of the heritage objects being restored or reconstructed shall be prepared with their clear identification. Documentation of damaged monuments, certain parts of monuments or objects shall be carried out in written form, photographically, visually, with sketches, drawings and clarifying their shape and size.

10. Response based on evidence

Renovation and reconstruction of earthquake-damaged monuments shall be carried out based on available evidence. No renovation or reconstruction based on conjecture will be allowed.

11. Conservation plan

All conservation approach to the site, monument and object shall be determined on the basis of detailed research and assessment of past conservation works throughout its history.

12. Preserving the traditional material and technology

- a. For all restoration and reconstruction works of monuments, generally traditional materials, technology and norms shall be followed. If inappropriate or non-traditional material, technology or norms were found to be adopted in the past restoration or reconstruction works, they shall be rectified based on available evidence while carrying out present restoration or reconstruction works.

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- b. Use of non-traditional materials and technology: While restoring or reconstructing any monument, if it is felt that earthquake risk cannot be technically mitigated only by using traditional material and technology, especially for the reconstruction of totally collapsed monuments, non-traditional materials and technology can be invisibly introduced in lighter fashion only with prior approval of the Department of Archaeology. Department of Archaeology reserved the right to approve or disapprove such intervention considering the nature, condition, form, construct and importance of the monument under consideration. Except in special circumstances, such material or technology needs to be reversible in nature. A reliable technical report should be prepared clarifying the need for such non-traditional intervention and attached to the project file of the restoration or reconstruction of related monument.

13. Involvement of local community

As the local people are the true guardians of the monuments, their involvement shall be ensured at various stages of restoration or reconstruction works of monuments.

14. Clarification of ownership

The ownership of the historic structure shall be clarified in respect to legal, historical and cultural ownership and all owners and stakeholders shall be involved in the implementation process.

15. Maintenance and cyclical renewal

- a. The historic buildings will need to persist over time which will require the considerations of renewal and maintenance. All interventions shall take into account how they contribute to the performance of the structure over time.
- b. Provisions for periodic inspection of physical condition of historic buildings and monuments will be made.
- c. Responsibility of regular monitoring and periodic maintenance in format laid out by the Department of Archaeology will be given to specific stakeholders, owner or site manager. Provisions shall also be made for the cyclical renewal of classified heritage based on the regular monitoring under the coordination of the Department of Archaeology.
- d. In line with traditional Guthi system, required trust will be set up for repair and maintenance.

16. Disaster Management

Adequate care shall be exercised for every site, monument and object in terms of disaster management against hazards such as earthquakes, flooding, landslides, fires, lightening and possible hazards based on visitors and other factors.

17. Heritage Impact Assessment

Before initiating any development activities within any heritage site or archaeological site, assessment of the direct or indirect impacts those activities can have upon the heritage value, form etc. of any heritage site, monument or cultural object in should be done in format laid out by the Department of Archaeology. Assessment of the impacts on the living heritage of any monument or monument zone shall also be carried out.

18. Conservation and continuation of living heritage

- a. Monuments and historic buildings are living heritage. The living heritage associated with the monuments contributes to the significance of the monument, while the monument allows for the performance of or is an expression of the living heritage. The restoration of the historic buildings and monuments shall be carried with provisions of implementation and continuation of related intangible heritage including traditions, customs or beliefs.
- b. The destruction of especially the religious structures has a deep impact on the belief of the community. Traditionally specific procedures and rituals were established to deal with such situations, such as the chhema puja or the asking for forgiveness. As these procedures and rituals contribute to the idea of living heritage culturally or religiously, it shall be ensured that traditional procedures and rituals

are performed while carrying out the restoration and reconstruction work and coordination shall be done for the same.

19. Original function and new function

- a. Generally, reinstating the traditional function of the monument being restored or reconstructed shall be encouraged. For monuments that have lost their original function, a new function might be assigned with consent from related stakeholders however without compromising the form, shape, size, construct and external architecture of the monument.
- b. The structures that already have communities involved in using and maintain them, these activities shall be safeguarded and supported.
- c. To ensure income, the buildings that have lost their original function might be assigned a new and appropriate function that is not incompatible to its original use.

20. Introduction of modern installations and services

- a. The historic buildings that are still being used or are given new functions might require modern installations and services such as electrical and plumbing including installations and equipment dealing with security against theft and fire hazards.
- b. Modern installations and services in the various types of historic buildings shall be introduced in prescribed standard considering the vulnerability as well as functions of such buildings and without jeopardizing their authenticity or originality, and their outlook and location.

21. Material availability and specification

- a. The availability and quality of traditional / non-traditional material required for the reconstruction and restoration of damaged monuments shall be accounted for.
- b. The Department of Archaeology will facilitate for the procurement of essential building materials.
- c. Quality of timber - Timber should be without cracks, fully matured and seasoned, hard, with compact grains, with low moisture content and with low flexibility. Timber with knots (*aankhla*) and *palans* should not be used. All timbers used for load bearing purpose, for carving, those used in external areas where it can get in contact of water should be of sal wood variety. In areas where there is less chance of water contact, other good species timber can be used. All timber should be of Nepalese variety.

22. Crafts-persons availability and training

- a. High priority shall be paid for giving high recognition to the master crafts-persons with the required traditional crafts and to the training of new crafts-person.
- b. It shall be ensured that work is carried out by skilled, qualified and experienced crafts-person or under the guidance of such crafts-person.

23. Supervision and quality control

- a. All conservation, restoration and reconstruction work that is carried out shall comply with the guidelines, and adherence to right specification of materials as well as quality.
- b. The standards and parameters for supervision of the restoration, reconstruction and conservation work shall be established.

24. Research

During the reconstruction and restoration of damaged monuments, it is essential to carry out appropriate scientific research on the surrounding site, the foundations and the various components of the structure, structural systems of various styles of monuments, load bearing and load transfer technology etc. Similarly the scientific and technical research on the earthquake risk mitigation provisions in traditional technology shall also be carried out.

SECTION 2: GUIDELINES FOR HERITAGE SITES

25. Defining the heritage at site level

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Heritage sites are defined as sites that are legally proclaimed as "Protected Monument Zones", "Archaeological Sites" and "World Heritage Site". It also includes other tentative or potential monument zones, heritage sites and archaeological sites.

26. Conserving and managing historic settlements

Special provisions will be made for the conservation and management of historic settlements damaged by earthquake.

27. Assessing the damage to the site

- a. Assessments of Protected Monument Zones shall include the overall impact on categorized monuments and heritage objects. This can include open spaces, natural landscapes and historic settlement fabric. .
- b. Archaeological Sites are composed of excavated and potential areas. The assessment shall consider the impact on the defined area as well as the surrounding context.
- c. Assessments of historic settlements shall be carried out taking into account the impact on settlement structure, spaces, monuments and fabric.

28. Site level interventions

- a. For the 'Protected Monument Zones' and historic settlements that have been impacted beyond individual monuments, a Rehabilitation Master Plan based on the assessments taking into account physical and socio-cultural aspects shall be prepared.
- b. The implementation of specific interventions defined within the Rehabilitation Master Plan shall be facilitated.
- c. Archaeological Sites shall be protected from encroachment and required interventions shall be planned for immediate and long-term implementation. Required activities for rescue archaeology shall be carried out when and as necessary.

SECTION 3: GUIDELINES FOR MONUMENTS

29. Defining the heritage at Monument Level

Heritage at monument level shall be defined as per the Ancient Monument Preservation Act, specifically categorized monuments which would include all graded monuments as defined by the Department of Archaeology as well as all monuments that would fall under the grading criteria.

30. Nature of damage to the monuments

The damage to the monuments shall be categorized under three categories which are (1) totally collapse, (2) critically damaged and (3) non-critically affected.

31. Interventions for totally collapsed monument

- a. Totally collapsed monuments shall be reconstructed as per previously prepared detailed documentation and research.
- b. In sites where monuments are totally collapsed, preventive archaeological interventions or rescue archaeology shall be carried out to perform historic or archaeological research and to establish construction phases and cultural sequences of the monument or the site concerned. This should be carried out in strict approval and guidance of the Department of Archaeology.
- c. The monument shall be reconstructed in its original construct, form, shape and size. Traditional silhouette, structure, construct and technology shall be safeguarded as far as possible. Salvaged materials with sound physical condition shall be reused invariably.
- d. In cases where there is no adequate evidence, no reconstruction shall be allowed on pure conjecture. In places where the evidence of ornamentation or images is lacking due to loss or damage, the detailing and ornamentation shall remain plain and no conjectural artwork shall be allowed.
- e. Only if sufficient documentation is available and later alterations are considered inconsistent to the structures integrity shall a historic building be restored or reconstructed back to an earlier style.

- f. When certain parts or elements of the monument need to be replaced, these will be done by using materials that are as similar to the original as possible in quality, chemical and physical composition and workmanship.
- g. The monument shall retain its original structural system, which shall only be improved if there is valid justification. Should any foreign materials be introduced, these shall not be intrusive and shall be reversible.
- h. The foundations shall be retained as far as possible and improvisation can be thought of if there is valid justification.

32. Interventions for critically damaged monument

- a. Critically damaged monuments shall be those that have major impact on their structural integrity and require major interventions.
- b. Critically damaged monuments shall be assessed to determine whether the monument or parts of the monument can be retained. The decision on whether it can be retained or not shall be done based on detailed scientific investigations of the structure and materials.
- c. The parts of the critically damaged monuments that need to be demolished shall be documented in detail beforehand which might include photographs of the parts to be demolished, drawings, texts, notes, remarks etc.
- d. Damaged structures shall be restored retaining as much of the original as possible while stabilizing with appropriate methods and materials. The use of "foreign" materials shall be provided special consideration when certain interventions are found to be critical and their application is reversible.
- e. When a structure has dilapidated beyond conservation efforts, it can be reconstructed anew. In such case a detail technical report with reliable justification for the demolition shall be prepared and submitted to the Department of Archaeology. The approval for demolition shall be invariably sought from the Department of Archaeology.
- f. In extreme cases when it is proved by scientific and technical investigation that a critically damaged monument cannot be renovated or rebuilt in its original footprint, adequate justification with reliable evidence for the relocation shall be submitted to the Department of Archaeology. If the Department of Archaeology approves and with common consent of local community and related stakeholder, such monument can be rebuilt in appropriate location nearby in original form and style and as per this guideline.

33. Interventions for non-critically affected monument

- a. Non-critically affected monuments shall be those that have not lost their structural integrity and only require minimum non-critical interventions.
- b. Monuments that have been assessed as being non-critically affected shall be repaired using materials of original quality, chemical and physical composition and workmanship.

SECTION 4: GUIDELINES FOR OBJECTS

34. Defining the heritage at object level

Objects are independent, movable, plain or artful elements that are linked to specific sites or monuments. Such objects can be important parts of the monuments or lone standing artefacts within a site. The link to the object's original location must be maintained.

35. Assessing the damage to the object

Movable objects that have been damaged by earthquake shall be assessed for their physical state, relation with their place of origin, function etc. The assessment shall include the link of the objects to the function of the site, monument or to the living heritage.

36. Object level interventions

- a. Appropriate and reliable provisions for the conservation, protection and storage of the important movable objects of the monuments shall be made.
- b. Objects that have been displaced shall be returned to its original position. If this is not possible due to justifiable reasons such as the lack of protection or loss of

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function, the displaced artefact may be exhibited in a different secure location however keeping clear reference to its origin.

- c. Objects that have lost their critical functional role whether physical or intangible shall only be replaced if no other possibilities are found. These objects shall continue to be protected and exhibited in an appropriate place with clear indications to its place of origin.

SECTION 5: NON GRADED MONUMENTS

37.

- a. Restoration and reconstruction of Non Graded Monuments shall be carried out as per provisions indicated in 'Section 1: General Provisions' and provisions for Graded Monuments. However all provisions indicated therein may not apply.
- b. Issues related to the restoration and reconstruction of Non Graded Monuments will be dealt in coordination with stakeholders and with the decision of the Department of Archaeology.

SECTION 6: MISCELLANEOUS

38. Implementation

All works related to the conservation, restoration and reconstruction of the monuments carried out either directly by the Department of Archaeology or by other agencies with approval and in coordination & collaboration with the Department of Archaeology shall be carried out as per the provisions of this guideline and associated manual.

39. Amendment

This guideline might be amended in due time on the basis of experience gained in the course of restoration and reconstruction of damaged monuments however without compromising its original spirit.

40. Formulation of methodology

For implementing and for detailing out the provisions of this guideline, the Department of Archaeology can formulate methodologies and implementation processes within this guideline.

41. Manual for conservation, restoration and reconstruction

For effective implementation and clarification of technical issues in the provisions of this guideline, 'Basic Guideline for the Conservation and Reconstruction of Earthquake-Damaged Monuments 2072' has been prepared and attached herewith.

42. Issues not covered

Issues that are not covered or addressed within this guideline will be dealt as per the decision of the Department of Archaeology.

43. Conflict resolution

The provisions in this guideline shall overrule where they are in conflict with other standards or methodologies. In such cases the Department of Archaeology can also take special decision.

44. Expert committee

This guideline may not be in a position to fully address all problems and complexities that may arise in the course of restoration and reconstruction of damaged monuments. Each monument may have its own specific problem and complexity. The Department of Archaeology can set up an expert committee to impart expert opinion to the Department of Archaeology and other agencies in such cases.

**When the shaking stops: an evaluation of post-
earthquake rehabilitation of the Kasthamandap
in Hanumandhoka Durbar Square**

Volume Two: INTERVIEWS

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A Thesis presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy



Department of Archaeology

Durham University

2023



Sketch of the Kasthamandap from the east after reconstruction (Kai Weise 2022)

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Introductory note

The interviews have been provided under three categories: (A) interviews that were recorded and transcribed mostly requiring translation from Nepali to English which was done by the researcher himself, (B) interviews that were not recorded but notes were taken directly in English and (C) recorded interviews that were carried out for a publication, *Kasthamandap Marusatta* (Weise and Joshi 2022), published by the Kasthamandap Reconstruction Committee, which were then fully transcribed and translation from Nepali to English for this thesis by the researcher himself.

Interviews with members of various communities were carried out as per the procedures defined by Durham University's ethical approval. Ethical approval for the research was received on 2nd December 2019. The Ethical Assessment Form was supplemented with a project proposal, sample questionnaire, information sheet, privacy notice, consent form, debriefing sheet and a data management plan. All information collected from interviewees was only recorded with prior written or verbal consent, and the recording was stored in password protected storage. All information remained anonymous. For any information that has been used from an identified source, prior written consent has been obtained.

Most of the interviews were carried out and recorded in Nepali, which were then personally transcribed and translated into English. Where Newari phrases were used, assistance was sought for their translation from Anie Joshi. The translations of the interviews were carried out balancing between a word for word translation and the interpretation of each sentence and, where possible, keeping fill words and onomatopoeiae. Each segment of the conversation of the interviewees has been numbered, while the parts of the interviewer are not numbered and are provided in italics. Any personal information, or discussions not relevant to the interview, have been removed and indicated by [...].

The protection of the interviewees, to whatever degree possible, outweighs the possible interest in the basic sociological information on the interviewees. Considering the understanding provided in the approved Durham University ethics forms, only basic information on age group, sex and ethnicity has been provided in the table on the following page.

TABLE A1: Sociological context of interviewees

Interviewee	Age group	Sex	Ethnicity	Category (refer previous page)
A1	20-40	F	Newar	2 / 5
A2	40-60	F	Newar	1 / 2 / 3 / 5
A3	40-60	F	Newar	1 / 2 / 5
A4	40-60	M	Bahun	1 / 5
A5	20-40	M	Newar	1 / 5
A6	20-40	M	Newar	2 / 3 / 4 / 5
A7	40-60	M	Newar	1 / 5
A8	40-60 / 60+	M (3x)	Newar	1 / 2 / 3 / 4 / 5
A9	20-40	M	Newar	3 / 5
A10	60+	M & F	Chhetri	1 / 2 / 5
A11	60+	M	Newar	2 / 5
A12	20-40	F	Newar	1 / 3 / 4 / 5
A13	20-40	F	Newar	5
A14	20-40	F	Newar	5
A15	20-40	F	Newar	2 / 5
A16	40-60	M	Newar	1 / 2 / 3 / 4 / 5
B1	40-60	M	Newar	1 / 2 / 3 / 4 / 5
B2	60+	M	Newar	2 / 5
B3	60+	M	Chhetri	1 / 2 / 5
B4	40-60 / 60+	Group	Newar	1 / 2 / 3 / 5
B5	60+	M	Newar	1 / 2 / 3 / 5
B6	40-60 / 60+	M & F Group	Newar	2 / 5
B7	40-60 / 60+	M & F Group	Newar	2 / 5
B8	40-60	M	Bahun	1 / 5
B9	40-60	F	Newar	3 / 4 / 5
B10	20-40	M	Newar	2 / 5
B11	40-60	F	Newar	3 / 4 / 5
B12	40-60 / 60+	M Group	Newar	1 / 2 / 3 / 5
B13	40-60	M	Newar	1 / 2 / 3 / 5
B14	40-60 / 60+	M & F Group	Newar	1 / 2 / 3 / 5
B15	40-60	M	Newar	1 / 2 / 3 / 5
B16	60+	M	Newar	1 / 2 / 3 / 5
C1	60+	M	Newar	5
C2	20-40	M	Newar	3 / 4 / 5
C3	20-40	M	Newar	3 / 4 / 5
C4	20-40	M	Newar	3 / 4 / 5
C5	20-40	M	Newar	3 / 4 / 5
C6	40-60	M	Newar	3 / 4 / 5
C7	40-60	M	Newar	1 / 2 / 3 / 5
C8	40-60	M	Newar	2 / 5
C9	40-60	M	Newar	4 / 5
C10	60+	M	Newar	1 / 5
C11	60+	M	Newar	4 / 5
C12	60+	M	Newar	1 / 2 / 5
C13	40-60	M	Newar	1 / 2 / 3 / 4 / 5

Interview Category A

The following 20 interviews were carried out with audio recordings which were then transcribed and, when necessary, were simultaneously translated into English from Nepali by the researcher.

Interview A1

1 February 2020 (voice recording in English)

I have started the recording. What is your personal connection with Kasthamandap?

1. [...]

Is there any connection with Kasthamandap of your past generations?

2. Not at all. [...], so, I hardly went to Kasthamandap before. Sorry to say that.

Is there any possible connection to Kasthamandap in the future or future generations?

3. Maybe, possible. It is not in any intangible, ritual aspect that I am into it, [...], I am sure I will continue my interest in its maintenance and restoration over the following years.

[...]

So, what would you consider the value of Kasthamandap to be? Why would you consider Kasthamandap to be important, overall, but also specifically for certain aspects?

4. Ok, the whole story of the name of Kathmandu came into being from Kasthamandap is one of the legends we have been hearing about. And with the collapse of Kasthamandap, so everyone was really concerned about it. Everyone had their concern towards restoring it, or rebuilding it, as soon as possible, but with the Kasthamandap, as we did not have all – we did have some written documents dated back to the eleventh century, or was it twelfth century – have to be sure about that - but then this gave us an opportunity to, with the collapse of the structure, the entire superstructure, gave us an opportunity to understand if that was correct or whether we could have more information. So as this process of having a better understanding of Kasthamandap was projected and it was started, I think that is where my interest of this entire understanding the history became more relevant to Kasthamandap at that point. That is when for me it was basically the whole, not just the physical reconstruction, but also the understanding what was the evolution of this structure, and getting involved in this project. I find that value of understanding that evolution through the salvaged materials. So, for me, it is more connected to that kind of work than...

You are explaining the significance of the post-earthquake rehabilitation, but the monument itself, what would the significance of the monument be?
[...]

5. I think in that perspective, [...], being in the centre of Kathmandu and one of the largest monuments. But it has different aspects. It is not just religious aspects related to it, it might have started as a place to rest. So this whole changing values within a monument and its evolution over time – because when you say a monument, usually it has a fixed purpose, but with the

Kasthamandap, there were so many various religious groups who had that, over the time it had changed, for example Buddhism and then the Nath culture, and then... So, this whole evolution with the ..., evolution of the society or the power, what has happened is quite interesting in Kasthamandap. So the value lies in its capacity to evolve, to adapt and evolve over time. That is the value that lies in Kasthamandap, I think.

So, Kasthamandap would not be, you know, a monument that has been very extravagant and everyone sort of understands it and has heard of it, especially previously, you know, it is not like the palaces or even other monuments like Dharahara, or Taleju that are so spectacular and tall buildings, so would it be that Kasthamandap survived over these centuries because it was of use and it was not necessarily the big spectacular type of monument, but people continued using it.

6. You can call it more like a living monument which was initially built with a certain use and it adapted over time. With the temples that we see, ... it usually has a fixed purpose ...

We hear that there were other monuments possibly of grander scale during this period, during the Licchavi Period, but none of them exist. They were supposedly palaces, a lot of palaces at the time, but none of them survived. So, ...

7. This was always related to the community and therefore it survived. It did not have just one group of people, if they are not responsible or they just do not fulfil their responsibilities, then it gets left behind and nothing happens, but this was something where lots of communities were involved. That is why it survived.

Buildings from the Licchavi Period were said to have burned down, even though we are not sure of that, but it is assumed, since they are not there anymore. On the other hand in Kasthamandap we see that it has survived, particularly some of the timber elements, but we also see that the timber elements have been reused from other structures, or previous structures, so how... that we do not have any other examples such as Kasthamandap, should there be more research to try to find these kind of things, or is this something that is very unique to Kasthamandap?

8. Hmm, I think there are also other sites, possible sites, as well where... that link to, I do not know, the Licchavi times might be there, but might be in terms of archaeology and not really that it continued to survive till today in various forms that it evolved and survived till today, I think, it might be just a unique structure, Kasthamandap.

OK, so, how do you remember Kasthamandap before the earthquake?

9. That is a tough one for me, because I do not think, yah, I have been around the place but, yah, I must say that I do not have much of a memory of Kasthamandap going inside and understanding it, or anything like that.

So, it is not a monument that you remember in any way, or

10. In terms of name, it was still significant, but I do not' think, yah, ...
Did you take photographs of it, or visit is specifically?
11. No, ... and as we have found out, it is in a position which makes it very difficult to photograph. While we were trying to do this post-earthquake rehabilitation, we have been trying to find photographs of Kasthamandap, but it is very difficult.
Why? Is it that the location or it is not a very photogenic building that people have not really taken photographs?
12. I think that photogenic-ness comes from, at least, yah you have a perspective or that angle. But I do not think Kasthamandap has that, from anywhere. Because even from those top terraces, you go and it's the top view, and it is a fat, huge structure, that is why. That makes quite a difference. If you see even on the internet, if you see that, you really have wonderful picture. And another thing, like you take pictures of details, where there is a lot of carvings, whenever you come to a square, especially an impression everyone has, and that is one of the things that Kasthamandap did not have and that is why it is least photographed.
So, what happened during the earthquake? How would you remember, or remember hearing of what happened? You were not there personally, but you know, how do you remember Kasthamandap in this post-earthquake destruction in and around that area?
13. The first photograph I actually saw of Kasthamandap was your photo, which I got from someone else actually, and, that is how I remember it. That definitely the monument collapsed, and there were lots of people who were trapped. [...] the human rescue was something quite important at that time and the JCBs were used, and that was the first photograph that I saw, and I felt like, yah, a bit sorry that might be something more, its damage might have taken place by that, but at that point, actually, that photo made me feel that it might be that [...] the human rescue was also important.
Was it, linked to other information you got? How important was the collapse of Kasthamandap? How did that information affect you, or ...?
14. I do not think it was especially Kasthamandap that made me think about what is happening here. It was in overall that in Durbar Square there was lots of damage. What I heard, and I did not have any particular attention only to Kasthamandap, not at all at that time. But then with the news coming out, like Kasthamandap and Dharahara were the two monuments which were really highlighted at the time. But still I felt, yah, there were lots of others, why do we only focus on these, was my question.
So, could it have been because it was slightly unexpected and because one does not really understand Kasthamandap, and then when it did collapse, there were so many deaths, and that was something that ...

15. I think deaths, I think that was one of the things, yah, both these monuments actually there were lots of people, and on other monuments were it was collapsed, inside there were no people, so that fear, that connection that people going there and helping. Definitely it happened in every other monument, but there specially because there were so many people trapped. So I think people were more attached with that emotion, that tragedy that happened in Kasthamandap, because of which this whole conversation on rebuilding Kasthamandap came from these people, like, they were more concerned, because at that time their involvement was quite high within Kasthamandap. And I think later the media and everything also got ...

Is it also because generally monuments are not places where people congregate? Here temples are not where people actually come together and site there. And then there are the palaces, but even those museums, there were some people in there, but there were not large numbers that come together. So, none of these traditional buildings are place of congregation, like let's say with mosques and churches in that sense. So, would that in respect to Kasthamandap, also be something different from a normal monument?

16. Yah, I think so. Yes. And it might be that's the connection and at that time particularly during the earthquake there was an event happening. So that also really...

So, the timing was also critical. However, it is one of the few community structures, larger community structures, which makes it again unique. We have the patis and the sattals, some of the sattals are quite large, but none are as large as Kasthamandap, and they are also more specific, for more specific use, while Kasthamandap had multiple uses and multiple communities. OK, so what is your assessment of the period since the earthquake? ... So, you know, especially immediately afterwards. The next question would be on the ongoing restoration, but before the restoration, that whole ... how do you see the first, let's say, three years after the collapse until the actual restoration began?

17. I still do not understand that. Yah, one was with the collapse of Kasthamandap. It was hyped to a certain extent, at the beginning, because everyone was concerned that Kasthamandap should be rebuilt as soon as possible. And I think that was also linked to this emotional of people, community, which were really linked or around it, were shocked with the collapse. They were taking a bit of an initiation of, say, making it important, and at the same time the government also took the agenda that, yah, this is something important because the name of Kathmandu came from Kasthamandap. So they were also very eager to get it built as soon as possible, and the only thing is that, yah, they wanted to do it but they had no idea of how to do it. Kind of, was what happened actually at the beginning, and with the government, Department of Archaeology and Kathmandu Municipality trying to get it redesigned. And the thing is, it

collapsed and lots of people died, so of course the government's position in it was to make it stronger.

18. And we talked about it, it was a place where people gather, so it had to be safe. So, otherwise in the other monuments, it might not be the same requirement, but here maybe that was one of the factors which was taken into account for making it stronger. But how much stronger is one questions. Can it be earthquake proof or not is another question. And also, that we have these memories of 1934 earthquake where it did not collapsed. Understanding if it was the structure, the structure was not safe, or were there other reasons? I think that was where, at the beginning, we were talking more about building it stronger, but not having an understanding of why did it collapsed, was one thing that was really a big issue. Yah, and in the beginning, and then yah, I think, once this whole thing about using the concrete pile foundation and the second point was that the foundations were not strong enough, which actually is quite funny. So, that whole question about we should strengthen the foundation, but we, as per our understanding in Nepal, with the collapse of monument with every earthquake, we have this collapse of monuments, but reconstruction is usually of the superstructure, and we usually do not touch the foundations which are the high plinths and in the case of Kasthamandap, it is not, it is very shallow plinth as well.
19. But the thing is, like, that whole misunderstanding of what the actual structure is, without having proper understanding of what that structure is, you are trying to say that it is not safe, was not acceptable and that's where the community and experts in certain fields, who were into conservation, were not happy and this thing collapsed. So, I think that everyone started with the good intent, then came the community with the Rebuilding Kasthamandap Campaign, who started their own initiative saying we will build it in a better way than what the government planned to. So, there as well, I think is, basically we need everyone's support. You are a group of people who wants to make a difference, but then you also need to have people who know about these things, who have an understanding of these structures, who knows how to continue doing the restoration and rehabilitation.
20. And also I think, definitely for a big structure like that, it is definitely about the money. It is about having that coordination among everyone and I think the second point, one could not move ahead because, there were certain people, a group, a bunch of people who were trying to say they will rebuild Kasthamandap without the help of these, these and these people. We will just do it on our own. We will find the money and we will do everything, and I think that is one of the things that was not unsuccessful, because it was also needs politically backup, kind of. And also technically, you need to have some people who have an understanding of doing things, and definitely first thing to be considered is also the people who are going to rebuilt it, who were never in the conservations at these two, in those two

years. So I think everyone was talking about something that no one was sure about. So I think that is where it all fell apart.

So, who would have been the responsible persons or communities or authorities who should have dealt with the immediate response and also organizing the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Kasthamandap?

21. I think, the way it started with the campaign to rebuild Kasthamandap, it was a good initiation, because it came from the community. But how large a group of the community, it should not have been really limited within a certain group of people only. And one thing is, if they could have led the project, but also gotten the government involved, of course, this is a national property, you cannot just...It is not like your personal, private house, and say I do not want anyone's involvement. You cannot do that. And I think if the community, it would have been quite interesting, if they would have led it that way and got involved like, had that conversation properly with the government, and planned with them to do this project. And not just a bunch of experts sitting there. And also the artisans were never involved.

So more or less we have the government authorities, we have the community, we have the experts and then the artisans. So these would be the main four groups.

22. The four key people to get it done.

So if we just quickly review each of these groups. The government, who would be the various government authorities who would have responsibility?

23. Actually at the beginning it was basically, being in Kathmandu, it was the Kathmandu Municipality that took the responsibility financially, to fund the project. And yah, if KMC is giving money, then it is not government money, it is public money that comes from taxes. So that was the understanding, that it came from KMC, so its public money. No, I think so, KMC would have definitely been, but the Department of Archaeology, should have led this project in a proper way, guided KMC.

And would this also have had to be something linked to the NRA?

24. I do not know. NRA is a, yah, might be, it's a means of creating pressure, but other than that I do not know.

In connection with the experts, who would have been the experts? Would they be self-proclaimed, or would there be some kind of expert groups or teams, or institutions that would have been involved?

25. I think no one is an expert, to be honest. It is all about sitting together and discussing things, that's where the solution comes. If you do not have a problem you'll never get a solution. I think no one is an expert in these things and every monument is a different problem, kind of, so the thing is you have to come together. It is not about how much experience you have

or, yah, you cannot have the experience with Kasthamandap in your life without doing a project. It is about expertise, I do not think it is like you can really mainstream it like, yah, it needs engineering expertise, but it is basically everything has to be connected. It should not only be seen as an engineering approach, but that person should also be in a discussion where something else is linked. For example, if that person is within a discussion of its importance in relation to its intangible or its relation to its material, then that person when he decides on something, or discussions on something, will have that sentiment. I think it is all about bringing people who have certain understanding of such structures and bringing them together to have that discussion is forming an expertise within it.

So there is a sort of lack of expertise, specific to this and because of this new circumstance, the best means is by bringing everyone together and actually working on how best to approach it.

26. Yah

Now, there is then the artisans. One is, are there artisans who have the experience who can deal with this and, ... or how is this linked to putting together a team that can deal with it?

27. I think with the artisans, I am sure for them as well, every project will be different. But to a certain extent, they have the techniques and they have an approach of working, because they are the ones who have been working on it, rather than the experts, who just sit around and discuss and try to find a solution. So I think more than expertise, experience, the experience of the artisan to these kind of structures. It is still relevant, and we still have people who can deal with these kind of things.

So these artisans, why were they not brought into the discussions right in the beginning?

28. So, that is the whole approach. Actually with this education system, everyone who has a degree and, yah, those are the people, the experts. Like you asked, the question about expertise, people who have studied a bit, they are the ones who should know everything that is the approach we have and that is one thing that we have to change with this post-earthquake rehabilitation. No, everyone does not know everything, and I think it also happened because of the need to strengthen, or it has to be safer. That is where the conversation started and that's when we started consulting the experts and not the artisans. Because I think otherwise the projects would have been, yah, they would have been given to the artisans to do. But with this approach of trying to have it made safer, then the whole engineering came into being and that is where, I think, the whole system changed.

So in this system, how is it again linked to the contractors, and the system of contracting work?

29. Actually, the contracting work could function if they are qualified.

The whole idea was that it would be tendered out. So that whole discussion of tendering was something that the community, the group that actually took over the project, was arguing against.

30. In that case it is basically, whatever we have seen here, the system of contracting, the tendering has become, and whoever has power takes over the project. There is lots of manipulation in the contracting system, which means that it might be that the person working on that particular project does not have the capacity, but still wins the contract. And I think that was the aspect which is negative about the contracting, that everyone was against. But if you could have put up a system of tendering in such a way that it forbids these kind of people to get into the contract, then it would have worked. So, I think that whole concept, how it functioned, has been functioning for quite some time in Nepal, that impression of contracting and tendering is what the community was reacting against.

Now coming to the last group that was the community, who is the community?

31. The community I am talking about?

Yes, you said that there was another community, and you mentioned that community, they were against things and they took over. So when we talk about this community, who is community? Let's say specifically for Kasthamandap?

32. I think, yah, the whole concern, this Rebuild Kasthamandap, I think they are only a few people directly linked to the monument in terms of their cultural and religious activities. I do not think many of the people involved in these community campaigns were directly related like that. There might have been a few, I do not know. We will have to check, that would be interesting. With the post-earthquake, I think definitely the awareness towards taking care of heritage increased, a bit of awareness of these heritage being important. I think, basically, it was initiated by the young people who had a bit of understanding of heritage and, the loss that we had with the earthquake that made them feel that we must try our best to make sure that this is restored over time in a proper way. So I think it is rather this awareness of heritage. And these were the communities who came into being after the earthquake. It is more those kind of people who were constantly making an effort, in their ways, rather than guthis that were already related to Kasthamandap, who came and said something. I do not think that was the case. It was basically these people who were more concerned after the earthquake then...

Would there have been changes in the communities, who laid claimed to Kasthamandap after the earthquake or is this something totally different?

33. No, it is not the claim that you are ... I do not see it as that. It is more like everyone wanted ... was trying to make a difference.

With our categories of monuments, most of them are either religious or palaces, then we have some residential buildings, but then, that whole category of community structures, especially non-religious ones, are very few. A lot of them are linked specifically to very specific guthis, that run the sattals or the patis, that are linked directly to a guthi. That is not quite clear with Kasthamandap, because over the years there seem to be various communities laying claim to this structure, which also means various religious communities, even though Kasthamandap is not really considered to be a religious structure, however, I guess that religious and community is very closely linked. Would that have changed in more recent times due to the Kasthamandap becoming so important, and coming in the news and everyone suddenly showing this interest in Kasthamandap?

34. ... I think it would be interesting to see. It might be that you need to interview people directly linked earlier. Then only go to all these people. Because their point of view, what their actual thoughts are now. No, I think it is just an interest, like, showing that concern, what has become of the world today. You know, showing that concern. So I think that is basically, I do not know how far all these concerned people The things is like you are interviewing me, my future connection with Kasthamandap. What will it be? I think the *guthis* and things, they will continue to happen. But I, being a separate community, how do I continue? My connection to Kasthamandap. I do not think so, because I do not think it will be possible to have that kind of bond to Kasthamandap for a longer run, because this is something like you said, it is a project we are doing. We have certain people, a set of people who are involved, but I think the people who have been connected to Kasthamandap since forever, they should still continue and all these new responsibilities should also be a part of their responsibility and not a new set of people who start to have another claim on Kasthamandap.

So, in short, what is your assessment of the ongoing restoration?

35. In short, yah, as I told you before about how it started, the whole process started off, with the good initiation of everyone trying to rebuild Kasthamandap and it did not happen. But with this committee, what happened is, it brought together everyone, the community, the government, everyone came together at least to talk with each other and with an intent of saying that we are going to rebuild Kasthamandap as it was before, maybe a bit safer, but we will not go way beyond, our need to make it safer and... So, with everyone's understanding and with everyone discussing things, and putting it on the table, the experts sitting together and discussing about it, and I think that is something quite positive about the project.

Are there any negative sides to it? Improvements could be done?

36. I still feel there are still the gaps in between the educated technicians and the artisans that is still there, which is something that we really need to bridge. And the thing is, it has to happen from both sides. And as no one has ever tried to work together like that. It is something we feel that in Kasthamandap is still a gap.

So, coming to the various people who are involved, or the various communities, I have been looking at it under five main categories: Communities that take decisions and that fund Kasthamandap over time, communities that maintain and restore Kasthamandap, communities that use Kasthamandap, communities create the urban context of Kasthamandap, meaning those living around, and then communities that give broader significance to Kasthamandap, who might not even be directly there but might have this, you know, being proud of Kasthamandap which is also linked to it being World Heritage, which links to the world community in a certain sense. So I have these different categories, within each there are various sub-categories. [...]. However you can also be in different groups, or your groups, you can change afterwards. [...]

37. It is rather like we are a team. So within a team certain people have certain connections with certain of these aspects, rather than just me having all these connections. So, if I am representing the committee, then, I would say that, yah, we have connections to the government, main authority, who are financing us, our project, everyone's project. And then definitely in terms of research we've been involved with the researchers in terms of materials, the testing, those are all being done, so to certain extent in the discussions we get involved. And in terms of the *guthis* and the communities who have been doing their various activities related in the Kasthamandap, are around, basically being part of the restoration. All these activities are continued in the last two years. All these activities that used to happen were not stopped, so that means, in that sense, everything happening on site, we have been able to experience. That is how we can relate and I feel I have that connection with various communities.

The links within the communities?

38. It is complicated. I think Kasthamandap is one of a kind of project that we are doing. We are trying to make sure that everything is like, trying to make it perfect. Not perfect exactly, but making sure that everything is done with good intent. And everyone is trying to do so with good intent. Yah, and sometimes it happens that ...

.. that good intent is not sufficient. There are differences in opinion. How does one communicate this?

39. Yah, the thing is that everyone has their good intent, but finally we have to make a decision, where it has to come through discussions. I think that is very important in any of the projects that I do not decide or you do not decide, everyone sits together and decides.

So what would be the most complicated part to achieve that communication?

40. The thing is, yah, we discuss, like it was mentioned before, we discuss about things that we sometimes do not know. Sometimes it might be, we do not say its technical, maybe something which the artisan is supposed to be getting involved in. I still feel that is something which is lacking, because

finally they have to do it. So we find a solution and give it to them, or we make them part of the discussion. That is something quite important. And either we can communicate with... like we are part of the team, where we are bridging between the artisans and the experts teams, where the discussions happen. Actually we still have not been able to bring these two together perfectly. There is communications, but I still feel it needs to be improved.

Probably this can be a discussion that we can continue for a very long time but for the moment there are just two more little points. To prioritize guthi or municipality? Guthi Sansthan or DOA? There are two questions here, guthis or municipality and Guthi Sansthan or DOA?

41. Prioritize for what?

In respect to Kasthamandap, their involvement in Kasthamandap.

42. I think with the Guthi Sansthan, I do not think they are active at all. First thing, I think the local *guthis*, or whoever, who are involved, they should be prioritized. And then, I do not know about the municipality and DOA. As DOA being the national authority, I think it is a national monument, so to some extent, the role of the Department of Archaeology should also be stronger, because the municipality takes care of development as well, so their priority towards heritage might not be the same as DOA. So I think DOA should be a priority, along with the *guthis*. I chose one from each category.

There might be further points to this, we can discuss this later. To prioritize artisans or engineers?

43. I think it is not a priority, yah, I think it would be best, really, having both of them on the same table and seeing them talk. I do not want to prioritize.

Let's say there is a decisions to be taken and there is difference between the engineer and the artisan, in that situation and you would be deciding how to move forward. How would you move forward?

44. No, I would definitely listen to both sides and, it depends. It depends on the situation and how they justify. Yah, you cannot say the artisan is always correct or the engineer is always correct, but, yah, it should be logical. It should be just for example the artisans sometime say that we have always been doing it like this. So, the thing is, the solution given by the engineer, if we talk about that to the artisans, what is their reaction towards it? I think that is the best way to deal with it. If they think that it would bring a negative impact or it is not doable, or if it is going to create some kind of issues, like it is not me judging, but I think there should be this cross...

Depending on the situation, but let us say in a project, would it be better to have the artisan present what they would be doing and it being monitored by engineers, or would it be better to have a project be prepared which then the artisans respond to?

45. Do you know why it does not work together? Both of them together, because the approach is very different. Artisans do not prepare. They do not prepare six months before this is how we are going to do, they do it. And the thing with the engineer or the technical people is that they prepare, planning, they do all this planning, and then analyse it and start working, so there is the difference. So still that is something difficult. So you cannot ask an artisan just to...

Is that something that we really need to look into in the future, how we bring these two aspects together, or is it a question of trying to teach artisans a bit of engineering or the engineers a bit of crafts? Is it trying to bring them together?

46. It is about communication. I think we should... If they would sit together they would learn, both the sides. Because they have ... there is a big gap, so it is more like they would start communicating to each other that is where the solution lies. If I had a solution and gave it to an artisan to implement, this is what you have to do. It is not an order. You have to discuss, this is the reason we are thinking of this, so what do you think? Do you think it is good or not? So that makes them also feel privileged, that their opinion matters, because till now in Nepal artisans, are not valued for their opinion. But without them we cannot do any kind of work.

Thank you

Interview A2

5 February 2020 (voice recording translated from Nepali)

I have started the recording. What is your personal connection with Kasthamandap?

1. [...], and during Indra Jatra, every year, we come to watch. My grandmother used to take us to Marusattal as it is called, to show us Indra Jatra. So my attachment is since then. In our local speech, we call it Marusattal. In connection with the work we have now started calling it Kasthamandap, but all the local community people call it Marusattal in their local speech.

Is there any connection with Kasthamandap of your past generations?

2. Yes, my grandmother used to bring us and make us sit in this corner, so that we could see the procession coming from this side and also returning from the other side. So we used to climb on the corner balcony. At the time they used to allow it, only now it is not allowed. The population was also much less.

Right from the beginning this place, this was not a temple, but everyone had their link, to sit, visit and carry out activities. So what will it be like in the future or future generations? Will there be a link, or have things changed, how would we see this?

3. In the later periods we can see a lot of change, we do not even have to mention after the earthquake when it collapsed, later generations, but for example I have also done donated there, not in 2072 [2015], but before that, so I was shocked, whether the same group had organized it. Where we enter the construction site now, there we also did blood donations. Before it was linked to festivals and rituals, and this was a rest house for people who came to view the festivals. Before, when we said sattal, it was an open space, open house, in our houses when something happens, if we keep it open, people say how clean and open one has kept the place. Whoever comes can do whatever they want. Even now, they say, how open one has left the place. It happened with the understanding that everyone could do what they wanted.

It is also interesting, since in temples there are no places to enter, other than a single person to carry out rituals, there were sattals such as the one in Ason that is run by the guthi, there are only few such large sattals, which are like a community hall. Moslems pray in halls, Christians also have churches and even Buddhist congregate in halls, but here we do not have any other halls like that. It is unique, as if it is from a different time.

4. You might have heard, and it is also in T.P. Dhamala's thesis, the story linked to Kasthamandap in relation to when the value oil and salt is equal. Have you heard it? It has been lost now, but even now people from Kirtipur come and ask. I have forgotten the details, I will have to check, but even now they come and ask. It is not only local, but at that time, not only for the Dasavatar, but people from Dhading used to come to watch Indra Jatra. Is it

because the Shah Kings had conquered here that they came? Or was it even before, but at Indra Jatra they have 'doori'. Do you know? At the time, when the Chhetri/Bahun come, it can be either the Brahmins, or the Chhetris, Tamang communities also come. They do 'doori'. If they lose, then the winner gets to take the girl. They can drag her and make her theirs. Even now they have that, at Jaganath, they sit on the plinth and do that. At the time of Indra Jatra during the eight days, when they take them, it is called *potch*, and our grandmothers used to tell us that we should not go there single or in pairs, otherwise they might pull you and take you away, they used to say. Now we understand how they pull and take one away. They have a battle through their songs and if they lose they take that. This you must have heard for the first time. That is also done during Indra Jatra also linked to Kasthamandap, but it is not written.

In your opinion what is the value of Kasthamandap, for Nepal, for the entire country, for Kathmandu, what is the value?

5. So the value, firstly, the name Kathmandu came from the name Kasthamandap, so that would be a value. Another would be, see, they have put four Ganesh, there is also Gorakhnath, and Buddhists also do puja, we also go and watch, that it is a multipurpose kind of *satta*. Because in other *sattas* there would only be a specific activity, here, it has included many communities. Another one is, whether it is real or not, it was built out of a single wood that is also what our grandmother told us. Single piece of wood, and with the remaining wood, it was pointed out the Singhasattal was built. *Silengu*, *si* means wood and *lengu* means remaining/leftover, only later lions were placed there and it was called *singha* (lion) *sattal*. Now working here we have to call it Singhasattal but in our local speech we call it Silengusatta. So it's a Marusatta and Silengusatta.

Since you are from this area, before the earthquake, before it collapsed, as you mentioned, one entered during festivals, but when I asked around, many people knew Kasthamandap was there but did not take too much notice of it. But for you....

6. For me, I always remember, my grandmother's maternal home is behind Jhocchen. My grandmothers clan, Kumari's chariot, Nakarmis do it, even now they are involved. And for the chariot, our kaligat (*clan*) is required and one of us sits on the chariot and we used to be shown when our *bajes* (elder) sat on the chariot, uuuh there, do you see so-and-do *baje* from our clan. It is still like that.

What do you remember about the earthquake, that Kasthamandap collapsed, how did you find out?

7. When the earthquake happened I was in Bhaktapur, in the heritage site like here. It was said that this collapsed and this collapsed, and in our place things collapsed, but the news that Kasthamandap collapsed and that a blood donation was going on, because of my own memory, I had also donated blood a year earlier, whether it was the same group that was donating blood, the same one that I was with, it was my immediate concern

and attachment. I had given blood at the same place and they were pulling bodies out from the same place, in the empty space when we go from here near the entrance. That is where it was.

We heard that many people died...

8. Yes, many people died and personally, my *phuphu's* (father's sister) daughter, she lost this much of her arm. The little girl as well and as my aunt's daughter, you know Prem Khatri, his *sali* (sister-in-law). There was a whole group including *dewar* (brothers-in-law). They had come to visit, and some died, but my aunt's daughter and her daughter, both lost this much of their arms. Even now it is not there, the right hand. They were walking around Kasthamandap and they got reached the Ganesh temple, we will know if you ask them. It also affected me thinking what if I had also gone to the blood donation, and thinking of how much injury it caused, I did not ask with that *baini* (younger sister), I found out, but I did not ask, where and what happened, but if we need, we can ask. It would also be good to include this with the earthquake stories. It would be good to talk to her with video recording. She is small and very active, so she has learned quickly to do things with one hand. Poor thing, the mother and the daughter, both of them. She only has one daughter. Those who died, they died, but no one has thought about those who were injured. Even those who have been disturbed mentally, no one has considered or thought about them. There were social mobilizer but these kind of people need more. We considered earthquake effected people and moved towards building houses, and also the people who died, but the injured, for example that little girl, at least she should get her education free, or... at least one could say something was done. Social mobilizers were brought, but the kind of social mobilisers that are needed have to be local, from the local community. The language is Newari, they do not what to talk, fluently they cannot express themselves, and because if the language suits then people will talk. People who speak Khasbhasa (Nepali) come and how will they explain things? How can that work?

I heard that when there are local doctors, the local people visit them, particularly elderly or those who only speak Newari. So it is much easier when they can explain things in their own language. That is much easier.

9. In Bhaktapur it was for me much easier, so many people come, because I could explain to them in Newari, I can talk with them. They used to come and talk to me about everything. For example the priests. And now here, the army, the locals here, they say it is so easy because she understands the language and culture, I can go and explain things to her. Here, people say that being a Newar, she knows. If there are others (of other ethnicity), then why would they care? They are not born here, not raised here, they do not understand. When that language is spoken they do not understand. When we talk there are so many terminologies, so many words, if it is possible to talk like that, then it works. But it is not possible to talk like that (with other those of other ethnic groups), they cannot even say things. Even when they cheat, I know, I am attached here, what they do here I know.

There seems to be a lack of understanding. Is it a lack of understanding or interest? After the earthquake and its collapse, the first three years were quite awkward. What might have happened? Is it because we had not previously arranged whose responsibility, whose authority it would be to do this work it was? Or was it because of the trauma that it took us three years to understand, how to move forward. Could we have arranged something beforehand or ... ?

10. I understand your question. It took three years for us to get started on reconstruction. The first year nothing much happened also because it affected everyone personally, one's home, one's family, and at the same time there was the embargo, people were not even sure whether they would be getting something to eat, from here to there, even in Kathmandu, we came to hear about *phuphu* (father's sister), I could not even call her once, that something like this had happened and I could not even come to meet her. We were of course also from the office, they deputed us immediately, and we did not have a choice of going, at the time there was no fuel, how could we have gone. That was the first year.
11. The other point is that many people died there, when one started digging there, it caused further despair. If we ask who does this belong to, straight away we would have to say that the *guthi* would have to do it. Because there each *guthi* runs everything. Why was the *guthi* kept there, with members from every caste? So that those from each caste can fulfil out their responsibilities. So, for example in the Setobhairav, there are Tamrakars that are responsible, the *pujari* is Bajracharya, but other monitoring is done by Tamrakars, because there it is gilded copper, and if something breaks, then they know how to fix it immediately. They know what should not be done, so they were kept and they were given land, that they can profit from it and they can also maintain it, they have left it like that. This is the case in all places. There, there are the Tamrakars, the Vajrayanas also do puja, the Nath community also does pujas, each of them are monitoring each other, main is the *guthi*. The *guthis* have sold their land that is the problem everywhere, so they have not shown any interest, so even when they tried to restore the Singhasattal, they could not. Nagarpalika was giving rent and doing it, so the Nagarpalika has taken over and is paying the required rent. In the same way, Kasthamandap is the same. That is why first it is the *guthi*.
12. After the *guthi*, the responsibility of conservation was also with the Department of Archaeology. Municipality is later. But then what happened is, that there is only one Department of Archaeology, for the entire country, 75 districts. If there are 100 persons as staff, even if two each, we do not have enough staff. Though here it is inscribed on the World Heritage List, and a monument of international and national significance, of 'A' grade, considering this, it should be the Department that does this. But whether this person or that persons should do it, it got stuck in wishes. Instead of the government taking Kasthamandap and working on it, they started

talking about Dharahara. Of course Dharahara also has a history, but even to build the new Dharahara, they have taken money from us all. If this would have been done for each of the monuments, this money is being taken for this monument, this for that monument, then it would have worked out, and the local people would have developed a sentiment, that for a recently built Dharahara, money gets cut by the Prime Minister (from the salary), while for Kasthamandap, from which Kathmandu got its name, the government did not bother about.

13. That is how the Kasthamandap activism began. This, however, did create the path or line, though there might have been things that were acceptable and unacceptable such as with the foundations, but at least someone did come forward saying we will do it. Whether they were able to do it or not, that is a different point, if they would have continued, maybe they would have managed. But those who stepped forward they were not experts, and when the experts talked about using concrete piles and then wooden piles, they could not defend themselves. That is why things got stuck. Another point, concerning the drawing, other than from a foreigner, Korn's drawings, other than that we did not have any detailed drawings, whether there were any when restorations were previously done, I do not know, so we had to take that as the basis. That Kasthamandap will collapse, that the earthquake was coming, we kept telling everyone, how to deal with humans, taking them to hospital, how to rescue them, training was done, but when heritage collapses, what need to be done? That we cannot find anywhere. We of course must first look after humans, but along with that there was also heritage, culture, it was not kept like that, was not understood. Not even having drawings, there might have been, but it might have been misplaced, there is no Documentation section that is a different issue.

You are on the team, but the reconstruction that is going on, what do you think of it, how do you think it is proceeding? It should be an example. Are things moving forward accordingly?

14. The reconstruction of Kasthamandap has been delayed, but as in the saying 'it came late, but it came well' (*dhilo aiyo, ramrai aiyo*). We first have to mention the activists, they have already made a bridge. After the fighting the discussions on Kasthamandap began to burn, that this project was not done, and, what I believe, it is totally collapsed, it needs to be rebuilt. Instead of the totally collapsed monuments, there are many damaged monuments and those about to collapse. If these could be dealt with, two to three years earlier, those that are damaged, that would have been better. But it is OK, it is an eyesore, when you go there. There is an empty space, and now it is rising, but as it rises, this Kasthamandap, it has moved forward in the correct manner. In the beginning there were discussions on this person doing or that person doing, whoever might do, now that it is being done ... even though it started a bit late, there have been detailed investigations, and not only that, I do not know what the activists did, but even the age of the monument has been certified. If it had not collapsed,

we would be saying eleventh century, and it would have remained from the eleventh century, but instead it has now moved to the sixth and seventh centuries. One benefit was also that. Another thing, if Kasthamandap would have stayed as it was, many things would not have come out. Because, we did not demolish it to get a better understand it, natural disasters happen, because of that these things can be revived for what, how is it, who are involved, totally, detailed document will be prepared, report will be prepared, for that it will be good.

15. This Kasthamandap, it can be a model for what can we say? After the earthquake, the traditional technology, the load-bearing system, the question was raised whether its nature was incorrect, at that time there were not new developments, but now that it has come, should we be using these? The ones that the Department of Archaeology is doing, it was said that steel can also be used if required, but even then in Kasthamandap, it will be rebuilt using traditional technology, it can be done like this, because it has survived up to now, but the mistakes in maintenance that was carried out, which was inappropriate, and the traditional knowledge could not be used, because of that reason, that (collapse) is what happened, is what we had to opportunity to understand. And another thing, when we traditional built the foundations, we found the foundations to be in good condition, intact, the foundations are not bad we came to understand, and our traditional custom of building foundations, we did not put stones as we do today, that is also good, even when only bricks are used it is good, that also got proven.
16. Another thing, now when we do it, we now have means, more comfortable means, we could have brought the crane, we could have used iron pipes, which is being used all around, we could have done that, used nut bolts, but we did not do that. By not doing that, our traditional means, to raise those four large posts, we used traditional technology, how traditional technology can be used was proven. It was possible using our local resources, otherwise we would have had to ask for the crane and it would have been a disturbance for a while, so for that reason it did not happen. So the technique which we have said and that we are following, that is very good, in future, a model can be presented, this will become a model that can be used for other projects.

The most complicated has been the different communities. Our communities we have the engineers and the artisans, we have the Department of Archaeology, the municipality the regional government, the local people, the communication between these seems to be very difficult. This communication was difficult when we started Kasthamandap, and we needed to deal with it as we moved forward. How can deal with this as we move forward, the discussions, we have kept both engineers and artisans. It has been difficult to ensure this communication. There are technical issues, political issues, community issues, how are we going to arrange this. Kasthamandap will be built, after that how will things move forward?

Even as a model, how can it be used in other places? Do we need to strengthen the guthi? Or from the side of the Department of Archaeology, how can we get things done?

17. *Guthi*, for them to run things, all their land has been lost. However, *guthi* is required, particularly to carry out rituals. The regular maintenance, the restoration, either the local government, or central government will need to take the responsibility. Main thing is whether the local government should do the World Heritage or not, that is one issues, now that we have brought users committees to carry out projects, then it will not be possible to say that they cannot. but regulations would need to be made, in my opinion, the local government would need to be given the responsibility of monitoring, since the local people will be right here, the local government will be right here, and if they need to come and see, they will have been seeing the progress daily, if anything goes wrong, they can fix it immediately. That is what I believe.

If it is within World Heritage, does that make a difference?

18. We have rules and plans, by making the acts and law strong, this is how it will be done, this authority will only do this much, if anything needs to be changed permission is taken from the Department of Archaeology, get the drawings passed, if that is done, then it would not make any difference, I feel.

When we first started, the engineers said that the foundations were insufficient, and when we excavated them, they were in perfect condition. When we construct the superstructure, they also said that tie beams and other strengthening interventions need to be introduced. Now when we carry out the construction, how do we deal with the engineering approach in respect to traditional knowledge?

19. Even when they were not called engineers, they existed in respect to caste, but we have not found their records, there surely were records, because there are for each caste. I have heard, even from my own caste, it is different, but it is supposedly written. For the Chitrakars, they are still writing. They have a book. There is a *guthi*, and they do puja to the book, and it is not allowed to be looked at, it is kept covered, since it should not be shown to others. If required, they look in the book to decide on how to do things, it is all written. Some would have sold it off for the love of money, others ignored it, and others changed their professions that is why, this has been made as a caste based protection. For example the carpenters, who look after work with timber, how it is done, he has the knowledge, now we might need to look at the book, but once it is taught many times, one does not need to look at the book. So the book is left to one side, and I taught the next generation, and by teaching they learn. I need to read the book, but if I read the book a lot, I can tell you everything. This is how the succession from one generation to the next worked. The book must still be somewhere. I have also recently heard, in Newari gods, temples are made, triangles are arranged to know how it is done. It is still there. Through that the exact

measurement are found. By placing triangles over triangles, it is said that what was there can be found, what measurement it is. That surely was. Later on the grandfather gave it to the father and the father gave it to the son, and they each learned everything and did not need to look and that is why it got destroyed. Because, it is the one for the Chitrakars still exists, then surely there was. And if we talk about today's engineer and the *kaligar*, the artisan is *kaligar*, they would know. Ok, so the engineer will have studied and come and do not have the practical, while they are practical, so bringing the practical and theoretical together and moving forward is what we need to do. If that can be done, then it is very good. Everywhere, since, even at that time they had learned from the practical and possibly made the theories and kept them.

20. Where that went we do not know, but if we say it does not go together, that which has been built using traditional technology, by the carpenters and masons, from the Taleju Temple to the Five-tiered Temple, they survived. If you say the foundations were insufficient. This Kathmandu Valley used to be a lake. That has been scientifically proven, but then what do we do, in such a place when we need to protection, so at the time the invention of cement had not come, so we had mud, bricks and wood, so what do we do with those? So the walls, with large areas, depending on how tall the building goes, accordingly the walls are built wide, when wall thickness is larger, the foundations need to be larger. The three story *pati* where the *pujari* stayed in Changu Narayan, the foundations was only one '*haat*' (measure of one arm's length), and even now it did not collapse, only the roof and the layer of *dachhi-appa*, only that came off. The roof, because they used screws, and when it shock, it pulled the whole thing down. But the foundations were not damaged even now. That means we do not need a lot of foundation. So this is based on the theory of the wall thickness. The other day someone talked about the walls being burnt brick on the outside and adobe in the middle of the wall. Yes that is what used to be done, with the burnt bricks inside and outside and mud would be filled in the middle with bits and pieces of bricks, it is packed, like the way we do concreting today, like concreting with cement and sand, and the mud with sand, it can also be as hard as cement. The bricks take on the role of the aggregate that is becomes packed. In the inner side they use adobe, because where it is exposed to rain they use the burned brick, inside they use adobe, and plastered with *leun* (clay, husk, and cow dung) and then painted. The temperature of inside and outside, the mud provides insulation, to stop the heat getting in or then leaving. It is not because they did not have sufficient bricks. Where we look at old buildings, we have burnt bricks on the outside, inside adobe, and in the middle it is packed and then there is the *leun* plaster.
21. It is not about only using bricks, the mud because a lump, there are different types of mud. By pressing a small ball of mud they know, they know where to use the yellow mud, where to use the black mud. We have also seen, the yellow clay, when metal work is done, they do not use

containers, and they make a small cup shape with yellow clay and put water in it, so we see that the yellow clay is water proof. There I never see the water leaking. Later, when stone came, water containers were made with stone, before that they used yellow clay. And the walls, it is also that. And what special things we have, in the Kathmandu Valley we have to be safe from earthquakes, in the past tragedies, that is why these types of houses are built, now we do not understand, and what will happen we do not know, whether we will have the opportunity to see it or not, that is another point, everything has a life, so that date expires, whether it is our body, things, whatever. A building that might still be standing, but as soon as that life expires it ends. But with mud, its life can be renewed. This does not happen with new materials. You will have to write about this, when in the area of Jenla, further inside of Dattatreya Square, all the buildings collapsed like a football field, we went to see, with the Mayor and everyone, and I looked, traditional houses should not collapse like this, some might be slightly damaged, but these were fully collapsed. These in these buildings when it got to the terrace they had cast concrete slabs, and they took out cantilevers, so there was no balance. The hard and the soft which could not hold. So many of the houses were like that. Our houses are three story, maximum four storey, (*chiddi, matan, chvatta, buigal*), each floor gets slightly less high, it was a rule to reduce the height of the floors, and now we build buildings like with a huge helmet and then it falls over. It used to be like this before. Roof is often made of bamboo, light, small ones are used, at the time it was cheap, why did they use such small rafters? It was to protect from earthquakes. And so the bamboo at the top was light. So even now, when the joists are in this direction, one should not sleep perpendicular to the joists, we kept asking, when we were children, we did not know, we used to sleep in any direction, then we were told we should not sleep like that, so we always sleep like this. Now we found out, when there is an earthquake if the joist falls and you are sleeping like that, then you get squished by a lot of joists, if you sleep like that then there will be only two. That is the reason. Even now, only those who do not know, otherwise we all sleep like that. It is not allowed, is what is said. What is said at home, what should and should not be done, it is all scientific. We never looked for reasons and never understood, but to scare people they used to say that *paap-laagchha* (it was sinful), that is only to make people scared.

22. In the *dhunge-dhara* (stone waterspout), whether there is a well, we do not spit, cloths are not washed, because it is sinful. From this *dhunge-dhara* water is collected, but the remaining water flows down to the next water source, and therefore the water should not be dirtied. So if soapy water is used at the top, it flows down to the lower sources. Even now in a place in Patan, it was said that blood appeared in the *dhunge-dhara*, and it was found that in blood had flowed into the canal from a place where buffalo are slaughtered. Once in Bhaktapur, in a place called Jhohurbahi, from the *dhunge-dhara* at Jhohurbahi, kerosene flowed out, and far off someone had made a kerosene tank. That is why there are regulations that within this many meters this cannot be built, and near *dhunge-dhara* this should not be

done, and were are told that *paap-laagchha* (it is a sin). So if anyone spits into a well, then we say that it is a sin, since the water becomes *jutho* (sullied, polluted). We drink that water. We do not know what disease there might be, so it is not just a question of *jutho*, *jutho* is linked to what the gods decide is *jutho* or not, *jutho* should not be eaten is linked to ensuring that a disease is not passed on from one person to the next. There is a big difference between touching like this and the saliva mixing in. We do not take *jutho* pots/containers/plates. If *jutho* plates are kept like that we do not pick them up. Something that is said should not be done, there is scientific reason for it. But we did not understand it.

23. This is with everything. Let us take staircase, now *vastu* (rules from traditional texts on building design) has become popular, *vastu* things were already there. All traditional buildings, other than those that have been changed later, the *vastu* will be correct, the sunshine, not from the west, all the things are considered in the settlement pattern. If you look at *khadka-akar* (sword shape), from Thahiti, Kwohiti (neighbourhoods in Kathmandu), and the shape of the city is like this. Even inside here it is courtyards everywhere. I do not know if you have walked around but like this, the settlement was established like this, main road, then sub-roads, in the *chowk* linked together, it is possible to go from one to the next. *Mu-baha* (main monastery) is like this, then there are how many *kacha-baha* (branch monasteries)? Small, small *bahas* connected like this, called *kacha-baha*, like the plotting that is done today, this is the same thing at the time, the system, in Kathmandu it is all like this. There are discussions on the *kot* (armoury), there is also a *baha* there. Erkhabaha is over there, I will give you a photo as proof, the roofs that are like that sloping in to an open space, and it can be seen in the photo. And how did I prove that it, in every Malla period *baha*, *bahi*, they opened a school during later periods, *vihar* itself is like a university, so in small classes, all the *bahas* have primary, secondary schools. Mahabikramsila in Thamel also has a school. It used to be that they gave Buddhist education in the *vihar*. In the maths, it was Hindu education. Here there is a school, Erkha School behind Gampukot, there is still a traditional door, and it has to be from that time. No one has noticed it. [...], there is a chowk and to make the road for the Gampukot, they took this land, they built that using the door of the house, and there is also a school that means it must be a *vihar*, and they built a road through it. And if you look right and left, you will see the *vihar* doors, the main door.

So we need to understand what was there and now how do we deal with it as we move forward? Many things are being destroyed, how much can we or should we protect? That is also something we need to think about.

24. Even in front of Kasthamandap, the area that is fenced off, it is called Bhutisaha, there Prachalibharav puja has to be done. And there the Nath *samuday* (*sampradaya*, community), or *jogi*, even now they have to do *puja*. But to make the road wider, they paved the area. First even the chariots used to be carried. *Khat* (palanquins) were carried, first everything was villages and everything was done like in villages, so where cars cannot

go, even now the palanquins are carried. Even in Thimi there are palanquins because it is not possible to pull a chariot, first it wall all steps, only now they have made the roads blacktopped. In Dolakha they forcefully pull the chariot, but it is not something that is pulled. All the festivals of the seven villages, like in Kirtipur, there are no chariots that are pulled. Only in the cities are chariots pulled: Patan, Kathmandu and Bhaktapur. *Nagar*, *pur*, *sahar*, are cities. Wherever you go, if there is a chariot being pulled, then you know that is was a *nagar* or city. Even here it was first carried around in palanquins. So with Kumari, the king showed that his city was developed, and took the chariot, only this short distance, around to Dakshinkoligram and up to Koligram, while sitting in front to show the city, with Kumari as a witness. [...] Even now we see the old photos where the palanquins were carried.

Interview A3

5 February 2020 (voice recording translated from Nepali)

I have started the recording. What is your personal connection with Kasthamandap?

1. Before Kasthamandap collapsed, it was one of our monuments. For us who lived in Swayambhu, it was a place where we kept going. In respect to heritage, the users group, we were also part of the users group, like going there to do puja from the users group. In respect to our work, if we look at it in respect to our work, as we worked at DOA in the past, we go there also as an authorized body. So our reason would be twofold, when we go as users, we go for pujas, we go for monthly pujas, so we go for the same reason, for religious purposes. However, when we go from the side of the office, we go from the conservation side, to see how things are, what is going on, what is there, what is the state of Kasthamandap? We look at it in this respect. After it collapsed, when we went during the period of rescue, also then we went representing an authorized body, from DOA. That link to the monument can be of two kinds.

The previous generations and the coming generations, how are they involved with Kasthamandap? How do they relate to Kasthamandap? Has it changed over time? Will there be a continuity?

2. In my opinion, the previous generations considered the monument as a religious monument as well as a rest house. For example people go there to do puja, particularly to Gorakhnath. There is also a concept before Gorakhnath, it was in the form of a *sattal*, when traders used to come from outside, they used to stay there, and there are all kinds of stories. But in the following generations, it became a place to carry out puja, puja to Gorakhnath. After that generation, there was a *didi* (older sister) who did Bhaitikka (a ceremony to honour brothers) there, and to carry out Mha Puja (worship of oneself on Newari New Year) there. And another thing, when you look at it from the socio-economic perspective, the locals would come and this was the centre for business. People go there to sell vegetables, to sell fruits, it has developed as a kind of small business centre. And in connection with the use, there are a variety of uses by the people. Some people, the poor, homeless, the beggars, a place to take drugs, which means it was used in various different ways, and till the time it collapsed, people only looked at it in respect to its use, the pujas. But once it collapsed ... the Red Cross was there, it was being used for social work. After it collapsed the sentiment of the people changed, it got connected to the historicity of the monument, that the oldest monument of Kathmandu collapsed, the sentiments turned in that direction. The talk in connection with the pujas was put aside, and all the other functions were also put aside, and the peoples thoughts turned to the fact that this was our monument from the eleventh century, the oldest monument of Kathmandu, had collapsed, and it was from this point that discussions on conservation began. Even now, as when we mention Kasthamandap, very few think of

Gorakhnath, only the religious people would think of that, but the new generation, the first think that they will think of is the oldest monument of Kathmandu, the very important monument, is what they came to their minds. So in future, what we will think of, is how will that place, how will Kasthamandap be used? It will depend on that. Where it will become a religious temple and everything else is left? Or it is given a bit more protection and it needs to be reused, and if someone reuses it, it will develop accordingly. But people will think of it in a sentimental manner, in respect to its historicity. Now, especially in the case of it being renovated, that we found out that there was wood used from the fifth century, the sentiment of the people has grown even more. This is since there is few things that have been proven to be from the fifth century. In that respect the sentiment of the people increased even more. Even with the youth, the younger generation, it grew, historical as well as in respect to conservation, people want to safeguard it. And now there is work going on there. It needs to be saved, conservation needs to be carried out, and it has to keep its old appearance that is why it seems that people have started looking at this more from the view of protection and conservation.

Kasthamandap is not like the other monuments. It might be similar to the sorakutte (sixteen legged rest house), though those are very much smaller. There are no other monuments like this. That is very astonishing.

3. The concept of *sorakutte* and the concept of Kasthamandap is very different as I have heard. *Sorakutte* are found in many places, having counted these, we have found 16 or 17 of these in listings, this is not built in the concept of *sorakutte*. *Sorakutte* were built was to collect taxes, in the old places, they were found along the boundaries. The *sorakutte* is also in the old place, as soon as you descend. In Patan, Pulchowk, the *sorakutte* is found on the boundary. In Chapagaon, it is also on the boundary. They are all found on the boundaries. That was for the tax system, the inscriptions of Amsuvarma are found there, in Chapagaon that was also for tax.

Was it from that period?

4. It was from that period. Renovations would have been done, but the concept is from that period, since we have records that this is a place where taxes are levied, there is an inscription. The history of Kasthamandap is different. This was a place for people, when they came to rest, when merchants came. That was before Gorakhnath was installed. It was mainly for merchants, I believe. According to what I have heard. Gorakhnath was only added much later. So there is a difference between that and this.

We have the timber of the Licchavi period, some of the wood was reused from even earlier buildings, and we know there were large buildings such as the palaces from that period, though we do not have any other examples of monuments left from that period. That we have found out that the monument is three or four centuries older, do we need to rethink our history? Will that change the understanding of our history?

5. After the latest investigations, I have already seen the need to rethink our history. There are two things. From the excavations, the soil, we found it to be from the seventh century, but the wooden capital was found to be from the fifth century. That the foundations were from the seventh century and the capital was from the fifth century, we find a contradiction there. However, in our history, wood is reused. In Hanumandhoka we have an inscription from Amsuvarma about the timber being destroyed by termites that was the old inscription from Sundhara. 'That the earlier Rajas had not kept their buildings clean and that the timber rotted and was eaten by termites, Amsuvarma had a complete reconstruction carried out.' We have an inscription on this from the Licchavi Period. There is an inscriptions mentioning this that the soldiers, that previously the people did not take care, so everything was destroyed, so Amsuvarma carried out reconstruction. So we see from this inscription that the buildings were built of wood, the material that is eaten by termites is wood. It is not that there we no palaces, there Managriha, Bhadradiwas Bhawan, and Amsuvarma's Kailashkut Bhawan, we had these anyway, and these must have been huge, since the Chinese mentioned these, that they were large structures.

6. And in Mary Slusser's book, it says we still have struts from the sixth to seventh centuries. She did dating in respect to the art. They did not do chemical dating. They did the dating according to the art, there were some from fifth, others from sixth and others from seventh centuries. It is not that we do not have things from that period. That we have done dating and it is from the fifth century, this is also a part. The capital is very large. However, as per our legend, it was built out of a single tree, it could be that it was from a single species of tree, brought from the same place, it could be, but that there is something, we have found out. The situation in Nepal is such that we have regular earthquakes, everyone hundred years we have a big earthquake, we have seen and heard of this and it is in the records. When such earthquakes took place, it does not mean that it did not collapse. It would have collapsed. In reconstructing the monument, the various elements would have been changed from one place to another. We faced a similar thing recently. So everything got mixed up. What was useful, they kept. So then it could be that such elements were reused. But, like the way we reused the element from the fifth century, they copied the original and used them as well. So why did they copy the original? They could have used the original as well. The design is also different from later buildings.

7. Even others such as from Rudravarnamahavihar, of Indreshwor they say twelfth to thirteenth century, but then of other *vihar*, Mary Slusser has said it is from the fifth to sixth century, they are very simple carvings. In that manner, if we compare, if we study this in detail, it is not from the twelfth to thirteenth century, we have to go much earlier. We have the culture of reusing materials. Our construction technology, if we connect it with Jayabageshwori, they are different. Some are examples of entirely being renovated, then there are those that the material is reused but the entire structure is rebuilt, and then we have in Jayabageshwori – you must have

also gone there – there is the old wall, and to protect it, a new wall was constructed. On the old inner wall there are very old paintings. The painting in red, they say it is from the Licchavi Period. In any case that painting is at least from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries. I checked with friends who understand art. There is even older paintings than what is on the back of the wall. ... To protect the inner wall, an outer wall was built covering these paintings. They understood the importance of the paintings and that is why they did not demolish it. ... We also said that the central walls should not be demolished, but the locals came to fight with us, we can only say what we think, I am not the decision making person, we are here to give you suggestions, it is up to you to decide. So now it is supposedly still being discussed.

8. You probably have not seen the paintings in the back. When I went there they were demolishing this part using crowbars, and when I saw the paintings I got them to stop. Because I stopped the work, the locals came to fight with me. This is what the painting is like, of the *astramatrika* (eight mother goddesses), and there are symbols in various place. This is in the back, exactly on the opposite side. Here there were full of paintings. These are *astramatrika*, from the Bhairavcult, these paintings are from them. [...] I did a bit of study on these paintings, not seriously, but when I studied these, so these Buddhas would be from the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries. This also highlights from the time of the conservation. From there we also understand the conservation system. Like with the conservation of Kasthamandap. We have to rethink its history. That is was built during the time of Lakshminarsingh in the seventeenth century, it could be that he renovated the structure.

We are continuing dating, though we do not have enough money, we are trying to arrange things from here, from the project, especially since we have spent less money, so we discussed whether we should spend some money on such things.

9. During his period it must have been a renovation. When renovations were done, there is the custom of *sanskari* (cultured), such as in the Hiranyavarma Mahavihar, is known as Bhaskaradeva Sankari Mahavihar, and it was then only renovated. And with many others, if we look at the Licchavi inscriptions, *sanskari*, *jirnodhar*, and such words are found a lot. That he did renovations with wood and with the extra wood it is said that he built this other monument. This needs to be looked at in detail. ... And what I have heard, there is that *shikhara* shaped temple, and in front of it that is a *mandap*, in front, all the tools and drawings that were used to build Kasthamandap are supposed to be stored below that. Should that be excavated or not? Also in Mahaboudha, the Patan Mahaboudha, they say the same thing, after the Mahaboudha was built, the description of the technology and *grantha* (holy books) were written down and kept within the mandap nearby. That is why, to keep this information safe, they built the mandap, which could be true, but could also be untrue. That still needs a bit of research. So for Kasthamandap, when go towards Maru, just in front of

the Shikhara shaped temple, there is a mandap, and that is where everything is kept. That is the local story, you must have heard. ... yes, under that *dabali*, they have kept the wood. I have heard that as well, but less than the story that all the tool, information on technology, the religious *grantha* are kept there.

When the earthquake took place, you were not directly involved in the Kasthamandap?

10. What happened was, once the earthquake happened, the first information that I got was that Kasthamandap collapsed. I was at home at the time, I was outside my home in the open space, and the local *bhai-haru* (younger brothers) called me saying *didi* (older sister), Kasthamandap collapsed, the tourists have started taking things from here, we are stopping them, we were at a blood donation, they phoned me. Here, my own home was shaking, and I told them to call [...] *didi*, look into what is there. Until [...] *didi* or others come, do not let them take anything. Using ribbons or rope, try to fence the place. It was also mentioned that people were caught in there, so if people are caught, then they need to be dug out. If people are buried there, then allow them to remove them, but keep careful watch, if anything has been taken, stop in fully. I told them to use your youth, I told them by phone, and then I called [...] *didi*, but she did not pick up her phone. I was tense for Hanumandhoka, since we heard that a big noise come from Hanumandhoka. That a big noise had come from inside and something might have happened inside. I was scared, so I called *didi*, but she did not pick up her phone, [...] *didi's* phone. I then called [...] *sir*, but what [...] *sir* said the opposite, do not take tension from here and there, we are also staying in a tent, so first be safe yourself, and when what needs to be done we will do. So then I told the bhais to do whatever they manage to do, fence off the area, do not let them take things.
11. And at Dharahara, they said that all the bricks have been taken. Yes, they did take some bricks, if they have already taken brick at Dharahara, the army should be there, so tell the army not to allow them to take. But who would listen? People had died, and there they had started cleared things using bulldozer. What was I supposed to say, I was not there, so I became very tense. I again called [...] *sir*, and told him to tell me if anything needs to be done. I was not in the Department at the time. They had removed me, so I had taken leave and was staying at home. I had said that I would not do any work for the office and I stayed away. After such an event, I could not say that any longer.
12. After saying that Sir called me in the evening. Tomorrow go to Swayambhu and Kasthamandap, and check out what has happened there and report on that. The following day I first went to Swayambhu, there was a fight going on, you might have heard. All the houses built of cement survived, all the one so mud collapsed. So when I was in the World Heritage section I told them that we should not use cement, I lectured them that they should not do such things. You do not give us permission when we wanted to build our

houses, now *all* the old buildings have collapsed and only the new ones remain. If you would have given us permission our buildings would also have survived. What came to my mind instantly, I told them that probably it was these buildings that hammered against your buildings and caused them to collapse. Should not you consider that, is what I told them. But then everyone came and started arguing. Look, where are the houses with cement, only those buildings next to them have collapsed. Their houses are strong, your houses are soft, so if your soft house, when it is hit with a stone, will it not collapse? And two of them, it was the house of *deu-ama* (goddess mother), they all came and I could not hold them back. It is for me to say, and I said we can continue this discussion if you come to the office in a day or two. And then I managed to escape from there.

13. I left there and when I got to Thamel, a large aftershock happened, I stayed there for a bit and then went to Kasthamandap. At the time the situation was such that one could hardly get to Kasthamandap. And all the people there, they were all in shock, and their faces, were staring at the destruction. And during the next 2 to 3 days the work continued like that and then I was at Tripureshwor, the white temple, Jung Bahadur's temple, Hemhiranya, the Hemhiranya temple, work was going on, I was told to go and look there and all over, and I went there and what was happening there was that there was a group from SONA there. They had decided to do all the work manually, not to use any machines, there had been an agreement. So wherever I managed, I arranged that all the work is done manually. At Dharahara that was impossible, to do it manually.
14. In Kasthamandap, I came to see, they were also using bulldozers, and they first cleared it with the dozer. In the Hanumandhoka area they were using dozers. At the time it was difficult to say anything, firstly because I did not fully know myself, and secondly, there was no army under my control. So the army was carrying out things in their own manner. And since people had died there, and considering human rights and sentiments, I could not tell them not to do it. At Dharahara, I even saw a hand that was stuck inside like this. The person is dead and the hand is there, I also saw such a situation. So I could not tell them not to remove. And in connection with Hemhiranya, after the fourth or fifth day, the army said that they need to use the JCB, otherwise they cannot get the work done. I immediately informed the department, then there was [...], and I called two three of them and told them the situation, at our level, the army did not respond.
15. At the time it was [...]who responded, he immediately called the Army Chief, in places where conservation should be done, where things need to be salvaged, the army started doing things uncontrolled, it needs to be done in an organized manner. It has to be done linked to the Department of Archaeology. He said that after hearing my talk. I had told him everything. So he said that and so it was decided to hold a meeting the following day. So the work will be stopped for a day. So the chief stopped all debris management work for a day. So it was stopped and so then the question

arose. Why was it stopped? That created another problem. It was fully stopped. Then the next day, I do not know how the chief gave instructions, but the next day the decision was taken, we were all there me, [...], everyone was there at the time, in a group. So they said we will set up a committee and that committee will sit for a meeting every day at one o'clock. At the meeting it would be decided at what locations, what would be done, how many soldiers, how many police, and so we will deploy based on your request. So after that decision was taken, it made it easier for us.

16. While we were sitting there at the meeting, I got a phone call from [...] -sir. I was told to go to Jaisideval, there is a fight going on there, go and manage the people there. So after finishing the meeting at the army, I went to Jaisideval. When I got there a soldier attacked me, that the Department of Archaeology had complained to the Army Chief and they had been scolded. Look at how the conflict spread. And all the locals there, they all came, it was 19th Baisakh, and the earthquake was on twelfth, so the fight at Jaisideval was on 19th. All these days Department of Archaeology was sleeping, and we managed everything, and now you come and say do this, do not do that. So what had happened was that the person sent from the Department of Archaeology was from Hanumandhoka was Maya, and there was another staff, and they began to ask the army things, and they must have told them the same thing they told me, and the local Newars there a very strong type, and they told them that they were not from the Department of Archaeology. So they said they were not DOA staff, even though they were deputed by DOA from Hanumandhoka, so they were attacked saying if not then why are you here. Because they could not control the situation, I was sent by [...] -sir. I am a Newar that is why. So I went there and the army was very angry with me, so I told them, I do not know how they briefed you, but what we had said was linked to using the machines and in that respect, when we discussed it, this was arranged. I do not know how you were briefed. It was said that we kicked things around. Who said that you kicked things around? So maybe they were told not to do things like that. So they really fought with me, so I hold to remind, explain to them, no dai, it was not like that, I talked to them in Newari, if you need people I can send you from the Department, I can send a representative. It will also make it safe for you, I told them in Newari. I explained and explained and they said Ok send someone, so I sent someone else.
17. After that, everywhere, what happened was, I ended up having to look after all the places, not only Kasthamandap, not only this, but everywhere. So every day I had to travel around the Kathmandu Valley. I travelled around by bike. Where to send how many people, how many people to give, first in Hanumandhoka, the responsibility was [...]. I went there, and as I was telling you, they were clearly everything with the dozer, the plinth. They were digging into the plinth. It really hurt my feelings. I told them not to do it, but they do not stop. It is orders from above they said. It was orders from above since people were buried. However clearly they had already cleared everything. Even the remaining structure they began to pull down. So they

were from the army. They did not know me, so they would not listen to me. They will only listen to orders from above. They were told to clear up. From above they said to slowly clear things manually, instead they pulled down the structure. That which remains of the plinth, they pulled down everything else. I told them to stop but they did not stop. So then I immediately called to the top, and only when they got a phone from above did they stop. Otherwise, on that day they were planning on removing the entire plinth.

18. And then I told [...]didi, that this happened, but then the concept of [...]didi was to only look after things inside the palace, that what was outside was not ours, it was the municipality's. That you must know about. That concept was also something that cause a problem. At the time at the municipality there was no Mayor or Deputy Mayor. The bureaucrats who were there happened to be ones that did not do anything. They did not even help a bit. On the other hand the DOA's Hanumandhoka Palace Museum Development Committee's had the concept that only the palace was their responsibility. Even though now they say no, but at the time for the first ten days, I believe that was the case. So they would not even come outside. So I and with the help of [...], using the youth volunteers, I gave them orientation. I could of course only use that which I had learned while working at the Department of Archaeology. We then had the young volunteers and when we shifted things, we started with the pati at Makhan, there, it is still something that is remaining. Do not demolish anything, whatever is scattered around, check each piece before passing it on to your friends. It could have writing, or decorations, or dates. There could be anything. If there are dates, then put it separately, and the rest keep them, keeping the salvaged artefacts from each temple separately. I did not tell them to keep the parts from the north, south, east, and west separately at the time. But I did tell them to keep the elements from different temples separately. I gave them a one and a half to two hour orientation.
19. After finishing there, I also did that at Hemhiranya. Then I went around giving orientation to various groups. Once I had given orientation to two to three people, only then did [...]sir and [...]didi came over check on sort out the wood, I saw them standing on the pile. I should say it since they are our own people, the concept was that inside the palace was mine, whatever work needed to be done inside, and what was outside, since the municipality was collecting entry fee, it was their work, but the people from the municipality did not show up. At the time there was a girl, I forgot her name, [...] was not there, [...] was not there, but there was someone working with him. I kept tell her that this is not right, you must do something, but she said she was not getting any support. And then [...] came, [...], that tall guy, he came and he looked after things. And then what happened, politics started. One political party would come and start cleaning up, then another political party would come on another day and they would start cleaning up. Things were moved from one side to the other then from there to here. Our MP was exactly the same, so when they came from the party,

then he would say, let's work together with them. And then, for security reasons, it was decided to move everything into the Hanumandhoka Palace.

20. Then even from the temples, everything started to get mixed up. That also became a problem. The locals were working on one side, while political parties were working on the other side, authorized organizations were working in another corner. So everything got mixed up and it was all dumped there. Considering the situation, understanding or not, we did that. But there was a lot of mishmash. What I thought, when we link this to Kasthamandap, now we realized the need to endure that everything is separated. At the time, there probably was not that concept. In 1934 everything collapsed. Before that things had collapsed. Even at that time things were surely mixed up. Surely the wood at Kasthamandap was also mixed up earlier. To test the wood whether it is all from the same species, that still remains. So some of the parts might have been found. But when we consider the capital and its historicity, that four example the same copies were made, means they were prepared to fit with the structure, the others might have been rotten, but we did reuse some of them. In future, they will ask whether this really was from here or not. The concept of reuse was there already. The local community, now if you see they have been playing their role, also for conservation. ...

The three years when the project got stuck, there was a bit of politics, then there was activism who insisted that they need what was there before and not concrete, and then it was possible to carry out some research. The three years, many say that it was delayed, but in a certain sense, it was also good. The work we are doing, could it have started earlier, or because of the damage, does it take time for people to deal with it first, to understand what needs to be done? A lot of people got involved. In Patan things worked out very differently, with KVPT getting money from abroad and carrying out the work. In Bhaktapur, the municipality, saying it is their own area, strictly carried out the work. In Kathmandu, things were a bit different. How can we understand that?

21. How I have understood this is, first of all, in Kasthamandap... in Kathmandu Durbar Square, the issue what was the understanding between the two organizations. When everything collapsed, there was probably some kind of pressure on the Department of Archaeology and some kind of pressure on the municipality, by when can this be rebuilt. Now this is living heritage, we need to do puja on a daily basis, and as long as we see the destruction there is a fear. The entrance of tourists was also shut down, for their safety. So there was pressure on everyone, for the public, as well as politically and also from the bureaucracy. There was pressure, by when can this be rebuilt? There was not talk of studies, I am talking of the beginning period, there was no discussions on studies, there was no talk of reuse, none of these things were discussed, and the only concept was, by when can we rebuild all this? One of the secretaries even asked, within how many days can tendering get done? At the time, that was the pressure there was in that situation. And the understanding that was reached between the

Municipality and the Department of Archaeology, was these are the monuments we will do, we meaning Department of Archaeology, and these are the monuments that the municipality will do. So the monuments were divided up, to make sure that the work gets completed.

22. After the dividing and sharing of the monuments, Rani Pokhari, Kasthamandap, Narayan Mandir will be done by the municipality, and the others will be done by Department of Archaeology, so that was how the dividing and sharing took place. I was feel like Department of Archaeology should leaving Kasthamandap, because, as I mentioned before, Kasthamandap, considering historical value, the archaeological importance, being an A grade monument, considering all these reasons, Department of Archaeology should not leave Kasthamandap was my concept at the time. But the concept of the others was, that since the municipality collects all the entrance fees and taxes from this area, and considering the public sentiment, this should be left for the municipality. The money of the municipality is the money of the locals and so the agreement to leave it was made. [...] So at the time that happened, finished, the dividing and sharing took place, and it was finalized that the municipality will do it. The responsibility for preparing the drawings was however the Department of Archaeology's. Considering that if the municipality prepares the drawings, it might not have been prepared in a traditional manner.
23. So the municipality gave the responsibility to the department, and the Department hired a consultant and go the drawings made at the time. After it was prepared, when the consultancy had their presentations, I also played a role by getting the locals more involved. When I found out that there was going to be a presentation, I informed the locals. They are making Kasthamandap, you better go see. They had their presentation and then there used be huge debates. You were surely also there for some of them. During the three years, Nabindra Raj Joshi was the one who took the most initiative. During his tenure, he really got involved, day and night to get Kasthamandap rebuilt. We should not look at someone like that politically. He really did take initiative to do something. His concept was to do it as far as possible traditionally, make it strong, and there should be local participation. That were the three points in his version. And I found that really good. In every meeting he would take the support of the locals and he would support local technology. Supporting that was also [...].
24. But if you look at the concept of that time, there were all kinds of things, such as timber piles, then putting fabric. During the three years, I attended at least 15 such meetings. Each time there were discussions, but it never got finalized. It never got finalized, but there were very good discussions. Whatever happened, as much lingering as there was, in the case of Kasthamandap, attending 15 or 16 meetings, that really means there were good discussions. It was delayed but that is something else. But the result came out good. There needs to be studies, sometimes this, sometimes that, during the 15 meetings, Sudarshan Raj Tiwari used to defend very

well. This and this needs to be saved. And the locals, the youth group, they also supported the traditional. Most difficult was that the Department of Archaeology also was supposed to support the traditional, but look at the work of the consultant that was hired by the Department of Archaeology. After not being finalized over such a long period, I told Nabindra Raj Joshi's PA, his name was Pushkar, look Pushkar, this argument will never be resolved, there is a meeting every month, there is an event and the same points are raised, what you should do is to take all those drawings, make a committee of four to five people, include Sudarshan Raj Tiwari, from the locals include someone who is knowledgeable, put Prem Nath Maskey, I had also mentioned your name, also include Kai-ji. From my list you, Sudarshan Raj Tiwari, Maskey-sir, these three names kept coming up. By keeping these four to five people, get them to study this, and based on the outcome of their study carry out the work, your drawing will get passed. I told them that to Pushkar, [...], you must have seen him. [...]. Yes madame is what he said. I told him if he gets that done, the drawings would get passed, he told Nabindra Raj Joshi, he set up a committee and the conflicts started reducing. The drawings got reviewed, that is a different story.

25. But considering the three years that it took, the question of who should build it, there was talk that the municipality is going to build it, that was from the beginning, but a few days before the elections NRA and Department of Archaeology came together and it was decided to get it done by the locals. What was his name, Bhipin Maharjan, under his leadership, it was decided to give it to the locals, the decision was taken to get it done by the locals, that it was going to get built by a *upphokta samiti* (local users' committee), the money was going to be given by the municipality, and technical help would be from Department of Archaeology, that it would be done based on the old finalized drawing. When the elections took place and the Mayor came, he was not going to let go of it. In that first meeting of NRA, I was also there. Between the municipality and the local a huge fight ensued. Govinda Raj Pokharel, I believe was there, he said in any case, whoever does it will do it. The Mayor spoke up and said he would get it done. Till then the same Mayor was the one saying that it needed to be done by the users committee, as soon as he got the post, he said that it would not be possible to leave the municipality. The controversy continued and continued, then from the side of the municipality, a committee was also formed. Then by making Rajeshji the main person, since he is also a local. Then Aruna also came there.

Then Arunaji must have told Rajeshji, and he came to talk to me, asking so how do we reconstruct? I told him that we need a committee surely, but we actually need the people who are going to construct it. The carpenters and the masons, we need them, otherwise we cannot even begin the work. After that

26. In between, I was already away from above (DOA), but I was still involved in some ways through NRA. Even if I am not involved with DOA, I thought it important to continue being involved with conservation through NRA. By

that time the excavations had been done and the excavation results had already arrived. The result of seventh century was already there. Then the sentiment also started connecting there. And the local people even more were not going to let go, and the municipality was also not going to let go. All kinds of things happened. In any case, whatever happened during the three years, I found it to be good. At least things got organized. This was going to be constructed as an example, since locals are also involved, all the authorities are also involved, archaeological research was also carried out, also the process of the work that is going on, it is taking place in, different from other places, in the desired manner. It is being carried out the way we should be safeguarding the traditional methods, the traditional construction technology, we also joined in to pull that one day. There is a photo. For me I really like it, even though the process was delayed, all the steps were fulfilled as it moved forward.

27. The way things are being constructed, I have not managed to go and see recently, instead of putting my fingers in many pies, I have been less involved, however, I think it is being done very well. It should be done in this manner, is what I would say. If we see the trend, the way work is being carried out, by the municipality, but Department of Archaeology, the way the work is being carried out with the user committee as is being done at Kasthamandap, I find that to be the best. In that same concept, the temple at Nagadesh, the user committee is doing it. It is being done with the user committee being responsible with the Department of Archaeology putting in money. From the Department I had put in one crore, no first there was 40 lakhs, to only carry out the conservation, since my concept was not to demolish it, so where there are cracks they would be fixed, so it would have been 40 lakhs. 20 lakhs to restore the temple and 20 lakhs to restore the *pati*. But when we started, we found that the timber posts were eaten by termites up to 2 meters, inside it was all hollow, so the locals did not agree. So that year they only supported the monument at left it like that. Then the following year one crore was put to restore that monument, then the municipality decided that we will not allow the Department, we will do it ourselves, and did not allow us to touch it. And so the third year, this year they are working on it. They are working on it with a user committee. They have started cleaning. You might have seen. You should go and compare. It is not very systematic, but the user committee is carrying out the work manually.

At the time udle/GTZ carried out project like that in Thimi. At the time good work was done. That was with Rajendra Pradhananga.

28. Even there, the local people sit and are cleaning. I have not had time to go and see, however every interesting work is being done there. Now that I am dealing with the inscriptions, do I go here or there, if I look there work is not finished here, if I look here work is not finished, there. The local community, they are removing the paint from the old wooden elements. So I checked with Grihaman-sir and at KVPT on how they remove the paint to tell the

local participants how to do it. If you have time you should go see it. If you are going I will tell them, it is my own village.

In connection with the community. It was run by the various communities. But who's is it? As a monument is belongs to the Department of Archaeology. The Department of Archaeology did carry out some restoration works a long time back but they were never very involved. Since it is not a temple then there are also no priests, or there are lots of them, there are the Nath and the Vajrayana, Buddhists, everyone has their own, so it belongs to everyone and therefore does not belong to anyone. So when it collapsed and people died, a big issue arose. It was also put on the five Rupee note after it collapsed. The interest seems to grown now. How would it be best for the monument to be managed? Who should look after it? There also seems to be new groups. As it go highlighted, there is increasing interest. Then the Vajrayana, they have said it belongs to them. Then with the Nath culture, when we did the puja for the main posts, the Vajrayana priest was in front and the Hindu priest was in one corner. There we could see a new hierarchy. So now, how would it be best, to have the community look after the monument, considering the new constitution? How should this move forward?

29. This seems to be a difficult question. In respect to this, this is what it is, in respect to Kasthamandap, we keep calling it a monument, in cultural heritage there are three parts: tangible, intangible and documentary heritage. There is attachment with all three parts, there is lots of intangible heritage, the importance of tangible heritage is also there, and in respect to documentary heritage, there are many inscriptions that have been found. One year before it collapsed, I had gone all the way up, it was on the World Heritage Day, what happened was, Ekaram Singh, do you know Ekaram Singh the painter; he is an artist? He had exhibited old art ... he is also my friend, if you see him, you will recognize him. This time he coordinated with the Municipality, I had helped arrange it with the Hanumandhoka, and [...] was there, [...]is also positive, in respect to other things I do not know, but from the Municipality, he was the one who supported me most in respect to World Heritage. So it was [...], [...]didi, myself, so when we said we wanted to do the exhibition there, he said OK. The paintings are also very interesting, historical, he collected images from books and repainted it all. For example of Taleju, from Mary Slusser, so, from all the old paintings, he has made new paintings. So it was this exhibition that we did, and it was on World Heritage Day, and it was held up there, and it was at that time that we had to opportunity to go up there. I must also have photographs of up there.
30. Even at that time it seemed to shake a bit, so we only allowed ten people at a time to go up there and then send them down before the next ten were allowed up. So that is how we had arranged the exhibition of paintings. At the time what I found out is that there used to be pujas carried out, one of the communities would sit up there, cook food, carry out Bhairavpuja, yearly one or two times, that interesting intangible activities took place up there.

So in respect to interest, we talk only about the Nath *sampradaya* (sect), but it is not only that, there are Newari communities. Like the big Bhairav masks, that are used during Indra Jatra, large ones like *ghyampo* (large earthen pot), there were two three of them up there. And there were many other things there. Looking at that we understand that the local community, once or twice a year, they cook food up there, do *puja* that is what it was.

Some time back they were cooking below, maybe they used to do that on the upper floor.

31. One of the indigenous groups, or what shall I call them, they have a link like that, and the link to Gorakhnath only came later, we have heard that from many places, that it only came with Prithvi Narayan Shah, is what we found out. Then there are new activities, such as doing Bhai-tikka, doing puja and *tikka lagauni*, those are things that were added later. But if we consider the actual traditional intangible activities, they are the ones, they are the ones who have been doing it since the beginning, and we even have inscriptions that mention these things. So there are tangible as well as intangible, so according to our conservation norms, we need to keep both of these alive, we need to protect both tangible as well as intangible. In respect to how we should do it in future, we need to consider their sentiments, is what I believe, to understand the sentiment of the locals. So if we need to leave it for a day every year, and otherwise can use it the rest of the time. For them, it is only a week or two weeks that they use it, after that it is empty, the upper floor. If in some manner, in adaptive reuse, if we can do something that fits with the monument. This however must continue being done for the monument, because, before the collapse of the monument we saw, if no one goes up there, no one knows what is happening there.
32. When we went a year earlier, and it was in a state that it shook, then... we see that it was not maintained. If it is used constantly, then it also gets maintained. For that reason, in an appropriate, not just anything, but let's say if we arrange heritage walk or heritage activities, or have exhibitions, but I believe we need to have some form of reuse, some kind of adaptive reuse, keeping it in reuse, but the intangible cultural activities that take place, by giving them space, that is what needs to be done is what I believe. And in respect to ownership, as I was saying, the ownership is also of that group, and looking at it from the point of view of the Department of Archaeology, it is listed as monument 'A' grade, that is also there, there are no landownership papers. Considering usage, the ones who have been using it, there must be a *guthi*, the *guthi* will surely ensure continuation. There must be a *guthi*. The reason why I know is, according to what they had said, there is a *guthi*, I do not remember exactly when it was, but supposedly once there is 15 day long *bhoj* (feast). So they clean up, do puja, that means, they will also not agree to leave. In future, need to get them to do it, since intangible activities need to be continued.

There are two points. We need to make a calendar, like when does what happen, some of the activities are institutionalized, like with the festivals,

then there are more personal activities, it would be very interesting to carry out mapping of this.

33. That can be done. It would be very interesting. A case linked to that place, when [...] was there, if it collapsed in 2015, then around 12, 13, I believe, when there was the discussion on where to put the posts. Where in the middle there is the Gorakhnath, to fence that place and not allow anyone to go inside. At the time I used Hari Shrestha, I got them to totally change their concept, otherwise one of those Kanphattajogis said that no one would be allowed to go in, the fence the entire space with posts, and they had brought the concept of Pashupati. The locals protested heftily. What I did was, there was even pressure from the Prime Minister, to allow them to do it, so it became difficult even for the MPs, who said to allow them to do as much as might be possible. I went with [...] -didi to the Prime Minister's office, to meet the chief secretary, to defend this. We went there saying we are ready to defend this. But we only managed to meet the personal secretary, so I explained everything, these are the reasons why it should not be fenced off. He said that he had understood, that he would explain it accordingly, that we should leave. So he sent us off.
34. Sir then said why do not you let them increase it by two and two feet, let them do it by arranging things carefully, which I said I would not pass it drawings. So by increasing by one by one foot, so increasing the area by a foot on all sides, we sent it. It got to [...], the drawings, and [...] asked me, and so what I told him was, look [...] -ji, if they build this we both will be in trouble, based on conservation norms, it should not be increased, because whatever is there, that is what we must accept, what we need to do is find out whether it is necessary or not, what is the problem if we put that, people go there prostrate and do puja, they can do that. *Puja* is done to the statue, by hitting it with the head over and over again, if that is a problem then there is a *trisul* (trident) behind, it can be raised slightly, and then it will not be touched. So what shall we do then? From here the permission has already been given, organize a meeting to get the consent of the locals, whatever is discussed at the meeting, and agree to what comes out. I told him to call all the sides that is what I told him. So he said that is what he would do, call everyone, and so [...] called the meeting.
35. These are the things that were raised, from the Department this is what was said. I had already told the local everything, what had happened, and told who should say what. So the Kanphattajogi also came, everyone came. So in the beginning I talked first, though everyone knew my view, they also knew [...] view, so everyone listened and listened, and as soon it was the Kanphattajogi's turn there was such a huge fight that ensued, it was not possible to control. We will not allow even a single brick to be moved, let's see who will come and touch this. The locals, people like Ganapati, there are few others like that. The next time the Kanphattajogi did not show up.

These issues are already coming up again. We need to sort these things already. Once it is reconstructed, how will it be run? All the intangible have to be kept. That is why doing the mapping would be good.

36. What I believe is, first of all, the group that is working there, and you, first, what are all the intangible activities that take place, what happened before, what are being continued, what are taking place institutionally, what are taking place in a personal manner, they need to be categorized. Then whatever needs to remain, that which traditional were being done, those will need to be given continuation, and what came later like the vegetable stalls, the fruit stalls, those need to be planned, that is not the right place to keep that. And people like Urmila-*didid*, should they be shifted somewhere else, or leave them there, that also needs to be thought about. Because, that Gorakhnath thing, it is not linked to Bhai-tikka, is not it so? If she is interested, she could do it in a party palace, or do it on some *dabali*. It could otherwise then be considered her right. After the earthquake when I visited Kasthamandap someone came to me to tell me that he had such deep sentiments for it, he keeps coming to the meetings, as soon as he hears that there is a meeting, he leaves everything and comes. Such things need to be managed. The intangible heritage need to be given continuity, and the normal use and maintenance needs to be considered, when we consider future management of it. Also the maintenance of it needs to be considered; how will it be done?

Even the guthi, it has changed greatly. How is it integrated in the community? In respect to finances, how will they arrange, from the government, or from the municipality, how to arrange that, the system needs to be arranged.

37. As far as I have understood, the *guthi* there is not a maintenance *guthi*, but a *guthi* that does puja, they do *puja* and have *bhoj*, when they do the Bhairavpuja they cook rice and things. I can find out.

We need to find out. As soon as we say guthi, then we talk about eating bhoj, ... but we also need to have people who can do that kind of work, like carpenters, were they part of the guthi, did they do it themselves, or get them from somewhere else. Now all those working there are from Bhaktapur.

Interview A4

6 February 2020 (voice recording translated from Nepali)

I have started the recording. What is your personal connection with Kasthamandap?

1. Kasthamandap itself is not only of Nepal a national, but also an international level monument. The Department of Archaeology has graded the monuments, including Kasthamandap, within the Kathmandu Valley World Heritage property, of national and international significance, of regional significance, of local significance, categorized under A, B, C. Considering the grading by the Department of Archaeology, Kasthamandap comes under grade A, which means it is of national and international importance. In respect to my personal connection to Kasthamandap, Nepal as a Hindu state, as a Hindu citizen of Nepal, Kasthamandap is not only a Hindu monument, but also linked to Buddhist as well as the Nath tradition. In the middle there is the statue of Gorakhnath. It was there and we believe it should be rebuilt in the same manner. And in the four directions, there are the four Binayak, Binayak means Ganesh, Ganesh is son of Shiva, and in Nepal for all religious or cultural activities Ganesh is important, they begin with Ganesh. That is why Kasthamandap is not only for cultural, social, artistic, architectural reasons, but also for historical reasons significant. The name of Kathmandu was given from Kasthamandap, which shows its importance, it was also called Kasthamandap-puri, so it is linked to national importance.

Over the many centuries Kasthamandap has survived, and has been rebuilt regularly and is being rebuilt right now. So the next generation, how will they look at Kasthamandap? Will it remain as important, what are your thoughts on that?

2. If you are born as a Nepali, what is the duty of a Nepali and what is Nepal? That is what needs to be understood, is what our understanding is. Everyone's understanding. Once you are a citizen, what is your country? Our culture, our heritage, our root, our ancestors, what did they focus on, what did they create, what is the belief in their value, by understanding all these things, if we can move forward, then we can keep to the path of our development. So when we talk about the value of Kasthamandap, Kasthamandap is linked to the civilisation of Kathmandu, a monument, a special type of monument, a monument with outstanding universal value. That is why a true citizen needs to understand the cultural of Kasthamandap, Kathmandu, Kathmandu Valley and the country. If this can be understood to move forward, once you understand yourself, then it will be possible to get others to understand.

You have already mentioned the value. Because it is within the World Heritage property it has outstanding universal value. Historically, since it is said to be the oldest monument, and the name is linked to the city, but what do you remember of Kasthamandap before the earthquake? Because

everyone knows Kasthamandap, but many people never really went to walk around, visit, look at Kasthamandap. When we looked for photographs, there are less photographs that were taken. Did you used to regularly go there, or...?

3. I am a student of culture, so when I can to Kathmandu. I was born and grew up in the hills. First we used to read about Kathmandu's culture in the books, on the civilization, culture, religion, of Kathmandu, since we did not have access to Kathmandu since it was too far away. When I came to Kathmandu to continue my studies, in that context we used to go on field visits. I also had personal interest, and it was for two reasons I was already familiar with Kasthamandap and the cultural heritage of Kathmandu Valley, but then from I got the opportunity to see from even closer. So the perception is, in general a person goes to a temple carrying a tray, but we as students, we went carrying notebook and pen to visit and observe heritage such as Kasthamandap. Even now I am a student, I go to visit to study, to do puja, or when it happens to be on the way, and in that respect I visits sites including ones like Kasthamandap. When I am close to Kasthamandap, passing by or am in that area, I have also seen the community there, the community, particularly the elderly who sit around the *mandap*, to discussion. The local community would not only see Kasthamandap in respect to pujas, but also to discuss, when there would be any issues that arise in the local community, then they would go there to discuss, or the elderly would sit there to pass their time, so Kasthamandap was used for various purposes. Now people in Kathmandu, with the growing population, they do not have to time for culture and heritage, but the elderly, for them to socialize, Kasthamandap was a place for them to gather. *Pati, dharmasala*, Kasthamandap, these kind of monuments, even when people nowadays do not have time but might still be attached to these monuments, the elderly are still in need of socializing and spend time in these open monuments, of public ownership, such as *pati, pawa, dharmasala*, as a meeting point, these are still in use. In future, these will still be used, is what I believe.

When the earthquake happened, and Kasthamandap collapsed, there was big uproar, then in the news was reported that Dharahara collapsed. There were many who died there, also in Kasthamandap. What do you remember of that time? Were you involved, also later on?

4. After the earthquake happened, that day on Baisakh 12, it was not possible to go out, the following day there were continued aftershocks, so people were busy looking after their own family, finding out how they were, whether they had survived or not, that is what people were dealing with. Two days later, people started thinking beyond their life, about their work, so that was the situation, and it slowly changed. Also for me as an employee, before getting to the Department of Archaeology, I went to Hanumandhoka passed Kasthamandap. The police were there to protect the cultural heritage, our local office, they were mobilized there. As a staff of the Department of Archaeology, I also went inside. I got to in front of Kumarighar, and the

situation did not allow me to go on any further. There was such a rush, how many people died, what was the situation, the heritage had all collapsed, Dasavatar, Majudega, Kasthamandap and others, It was a chaotic situation. It was not possible to move forward. The police, Department of Archaeology, local offices, the local people, they all were working together. Since so many monuments collapsed, the prime minister at the time, Sushil Koirala, had come, and along with him a group from the Department of Archaeology also came, also others who love the heritage, such as those involved in hotels, since for them their source of income was through tourism, so if tourism was injured, they were also injured. So they also come. So this was the first time, once the cultural heritage of Kathmandu Valley was damaged, from Hanumandhoka area, the removal of debris began in the presence of the Prime Minister. I was also involved in that.

When was that?

5. I also wrote an article on that in the Gham Chanya paper, it was published by a friend, that was two to two and a half months after, I believe.

Then there was competition to see who would do what. That is should be rebuilt in a manner that it would not collapse anymore. Later on the discussion was whether Department of Archaeology would rebuild it or to give it to the municipality for them to do. There was a bit of conflict in this respect. The locals there also protested. Work got stuck 3 years. In your belief why as it stuck for 3 years, was it positive or negative? There were good things that came out? Could something have been arranged right from the beginning?

6. What I believe is that Kasthamandap is very important heritage, it collapsed due to the earthquake. It became clear that that heritage had required maintenance. The question of local representation by the local government was also raised. For the Department of Archaeology suddenly they had to reconstruct all these many monuments as quickly as possible, that responsibility came to the department. In Kathmandu, the local government, the municipality said we will rebuild it, is what came from the local level. So the talk from the locals that it would be rebuilt by the locals also reached Kathmandu municipality, I believe. In that circumstance, the Department of Archaeology, not quite one year, it was six months or eight months, the drawings and designs were prepared and it was handed over to the municipality. So Department of Archaeology had already handed over the responsibility. So even at local level, various groups, also politicians, wished that this would be rebuilt locally. So there were many discussions, for and against, and I was also present at some of these. At the time there were no local representatives. It was only later, after the earthquake the new constitution was adopted, that led to the creation of the three levels of government, so even the local representatives of Kathmandu were elected, once they came, along with NRA, Department of Archaeology, and other related government authorities came together and discussions were held on how Kasthamandap should be built. That was discussed earlier, but then

the discussions continued, so that was when there was talk that Kasthamandap would be rebuilt by the local community.

7. So this is in line with the constitution and the local government management act. In this act, the responsibility of management of cultural heritage responsibility can be given to the local government. Kathmandu municipality stated that they will rebuilt their Kasthamandap, and they also took the initiative, the various discussions and consultations with the technical experts and with Department of Archaeology, the Kasthamandap Reconstruction Committee was formed by the Municipality. So based on the drawings prepared by Department of Archaeology and the funding by the municipality, the reconstruction works moved forward. Now there has already been a lot of progress. It should be completed quickly. In that there is also representation from the regional government, technical experts, local representatives, and the local government has created the required circumstances for the reconstruction to take place. The Department of Archaeology is also involved since it falls within the World Heritage property.

The reason for collapse was due to lack of maintenance, the timber was rotten, and the means of maintenance was also inappropriate, the holes in the saddle stones were filled with cement, that is the kind of work that was being done. Considering that, once the Department of Archaeology had taken responsibility, right in the beginning, work was carried out in a hurry based on orders from above. In this early period, including the work done on the Hanumandhoka palace by John Sanday, a lot of it was not appropriate.

8. There are two things. If someone makes a mistake in one's life, it is also an opportunity to learn something. So instead of continuing with the mistake, it should be improved and move forward. In the case of monument conservation, we have found that in places mistakes were made. But now, instead of continuing with the errors, how can we improve, based on our norms, while safeguarding the values, we need to focus on resolving these problems, I believe. In the case of Kasthamandap, Department of Archaeology and Durham University's international experts along with our national experts carried out rescue excavation. The saying is that an earthquake is not only a disaster, it is also an opportunity. It is not only a disaster, but favoured by luck, which can lead to great achievements. In the case of Kasthamandap, one should understand it as such. We thought Kasthamandap was from the sixteenth century, then later we said twelfth century based on available proof, that would already be 800 years old, and now after the rescue archaeology, which was done after the earthquake, that showed us in the case of Kasthamandap, we found out how ancient it is, by finding a capital from the fifth century, the main structure from the seventh century. So we will be able to say that Kasthamandap is from the fifth century. So if we can say Kasthamandap is from the fifth century, then archaeologically we can also say that the civilization of Kathmandu is from the fifth century. Civilization, without the development of culture, we cannot

imagine the construction of such huge monuments. First the civilization would need to develop, and once the civilization is highly developed, then the development of heritage takes place, which is then considered like an identity. So our civilization would be from first century AD, or first century BC, that settlements had already been developed in the case of Kathmandu. In the case of the area around Kasthamandap, the excavation provided us with such good information, not only for the Kasthamandap monument, but also linked to the Kathmandu civilization, there is proof that it is that old. That must be seen as a huge find.

Who would be responsible to look after Kasthamandap? As per the Act, it is the responsibility of the Department of Archaeology, however the local community has now shown interest, especially after the collapse, and they insisted that it gets rebuilt the way it was. The new constitution ensures that the local as well as the provincial government is involved. So who should take responsibility for Kasthamandap in the future?

9. If we talk from the legal point of view, the constitution, the management of cultural heritage is distributed to all three levels of government. So if we discuss based on that situation, all three are involved. But considering that Kasthamandap is of national and international importance, with special significance, of such special heritage of national importance, it has to be the responsibility of the Department of Archaeology. It is also a World Heritage area, and so it is necessary or provide technical guidance, and since the responsible persons are in the Department of Archaeology, so the full responsibility for its management must be from there. But ownership, it is of the local community. That means, the local community was also the creator, and the preserver, and they are the once who take ownership of it. So the basic management activities and the related finances needs to be from the local level, from the local government. So whatever work is carried out, the restoration works, it has to be done with permission from the Department of Archaeology and based on the relevant guidelines, then the respectful status of our national heritage can be saved. At the same time the OUV will also survive. So the local ownership, the locals need to be given priority, but guidelines, periodic conservation plan, and other requirements would be prepared at the national level.
10. Not only for Kasthamandap, but also for other monuments, when they were built, when were they renovated? And the period between when it was constructed and the first renovation, the period between the first and second renovation, what is the gap, so then we can calculate when the next renovation would need to be done. Then we have a plan and accordingly it will be done. Then if heritage conservation can be carried out based on such plans, then how fragile has our heritage become, what needs to be done, all that will be known, what the budget requirement would be, and the country would need to appreciate this sector, and provide the budget, make it research oriented, provide the required technical expertise, if all this is provided, then our heritage will survive, and this link to between heritage and tourism, who all benefits from this, when we consider protecting the

cow which provides the milk, and that we resolve any conflicts, then a win-win condition is achieved.

The last point, on the one hand engineers were hired to make it very strong, but then the locals wanted it exactly as it was. However now what is a bit awkward is that we are working towards rebuilding it as it was, but sometimes it is difficult to understand what it was like. When we say original, what does that mean? If we need to make it even stronger, how would we understand that? How strong was it previously, and how much stronger do we rebuild it? Then the talk on artisan, traditional technology, and then it is also that we need to build according to the National Building Code. So it is not possible to link it to traditional technology. Then we have engineering. How should we best move forward?

11. In life there are always two poles. The one is the easy route and one gets there quickly. Then there is the difficult route, it takes time and it is risky, but once you get there, the value is very different. So in respect to heritage conservation, there are two routes, The easy way, to rebuilt the heritage the way we build house, it is easy, but it does not have the same value. Since heritage is not an individual's property, it is the property of the state. It is not only the property of the state, but it is linked to the property of the world. This is internationally recognized. The heritage, how was it built, what is the attachment, what are skills, the technology used, what is its Outstanding Universal Value (OUV), That heritage is not only the property of those within this continent, it is the property of humankind, of the entire world. That is why the indigenous skill, the style, the technology, the intangible and tangible aspects, if we can keep this safeguarded, its value remains high.
12. Now the question of technical domination arose, though we retain the original means of construction, we need to use modern understanding and technology to improve the structure. To what degree that it should be done, I am not sure. The façade, the look, has to remain traditional. The tourists that come to Kathmandu, they do not come to look at malls. There are malls all over the world, the heritage and the attachment to the people, the traditional skill, the OUV, that is what people come to see. So we also need to make it stronger. Even if in the past it was not done, we no need to do it. If it was less, then how can it be strengthened slightly? To do that what are the process that is required, what can be done, that is under special conditions. It depends on what the use of the particularly heritage was and will be, that is also important to its significance. For example even a temple that is only used to do a small puja, and a large palace where there is a lot of mobility, where carrying capacity also needs to be considered, that also needs to be considered. But the traditional outlook, its authenticity, its integrity, if that is encroached upon, then its identity gets lost. How can it be done, as far as possible, in the original form, if we can revive it, the heritage and the related belief of the people, can be maintained forever, but we need to be clear, technically how we can strengthen it? The concept of build back better has its own value. Cultural value, aesthetic value, authenticity also

needs to be preserved, and in respect to strengthening, how and to what degree, can it be done? This needs to be considered as we move forward.

Interview A5: 6 February 2020 (voice recording translated from Nepali)

I have started the recording. The standard process, if it was carried out as per standard process then it could have been carried out. In respect to procedure, there was a government procedure, however questions were raised whether this procedure was appropriate or not. So who will take the responsibility? Department of Archaeology was supposed to take the responsibility, but then it was KMC, and then the community said they will do it themselves. We then have that which happened before the elections and after the elections. Then we have before and after the new constitution. On the one hand we have all this damage, and the system itself kept changing. It has been a transitional phase. At the time KMC was not an elected government. In that sense, the question arises, who was KMC? Then after the elections, the KMC represented the outcome of the elections, but even then things were not very clear. If we look at the experience of the three years, was it positive or negative? We had time to do archaeological research.

1. The main thing is, I also felt that way, that during the three years a lot of research was carried out. Research was also done, and intangible things also became clear. The research by Durham, that system of radar (Ground Penetrating Radar or GPR), lots of things were found, and also that seven hundred year old was found to be thirteen hundred years old. The hidden monument, of course it also led to it being rebuilt, but if you ask me, whatever happened during the past three years, and that which is being built now, maybe the result is good now. Maybe, considering all the projects that I am involved with, KMC is not capable of such a big project. The way it is being built now, the system, how it is organized, that is a separate thing, but the way of making that particular monument, is good, to create an example.
2. What happened earlier, do not say that, we do have those monuments, but because of this one example, from now in, in the future, a new example can be set. Not a government procedure, you know, not the system, but monuments can be built if work is carried out in this manner. I also feel, this can set an example. As a government staff, I have also faced a lot of problems, in small monuments as well as massive ones. But the way the work is going on at Kasthamandap, that is good, that is better than what is going on otherwise. Not in respect to working procedure, but that the work is being done, physical, not the procedure, but the work. That is good. Obviously, I also feel it.

... Concerning community, there are different communities, the authorities, the user groups. It has kept changing. For example the authority, what the guthis were looking after, the Department of Archaeology took over responsibility. Then there is the Guthi Sansthan. Then there is the decentralization and it turned back to the municipality, to the local government. Then the community, the user group also kept changing. First there was another group. It seems that this keeps changing, also

historically that is what happened. Now, let's say for Kasthamandap, though we can pose the same question for other monuments, considering maintenance and use, how would it be best to move forward? First it was the guthi, should we revive the guthis? The guthis that are functioning will continue functioning, to set up new guthis will probably not work. So how would it be best to manage it? In the example of Kasthamandap.

3. The stakeholders who are directly linked to rebuilding the monument, I will call them stakeholders, the people connected in respect to intangible aspect. Physically, or tangibly, no one is connected. The sympathy, people have their feelings, but before it collapsed, or even after, no one is directly linked to it. However, intangible activities constantly take place. So, the future management should be, not the government body, maybe the government body as a funding agency, but the management part would need to be done publicly, the general public who is tangibly as well as intangibly involved, by creating a committee, if that is done it will maybe perform well. otherwise, if we take a third party who is not involved there, that management cannot handle, maybe they can deal with external matters, or as an art piece, museum, but the linked intangible activities, the rituals that take place two three times a year, if the third party does not understand the essence, that would lead to a blunder.
4. Better than that would be to get the directly involved stakeholders, those we do things during the year, create a committee with their membership, of the general public, but not the third party, get the direct stakeholders to do it, probably that would be most fruitful. Otherwise, is another party comes, in the name of sustainability, they could have another business idea, or something else, to make it sustainable, that could happen. When the discussion is on sustainability, people never think of reviving... they have another idea, to impose, they might have ideas of superimposing. Instead, it is better to give it directly to the stakeholders, as a preservation committee, or something like that, that would be better, I believe.
5. The committee would include people from the surroundings, there are also *guthis*, there are local committees. It is the stakeholders from there who take care of it. From the side of the government, or officially, they cannot do. I do have the bitter experience of the monuments and all. You know, south of Kasthamandap, no east of Kasthamandap, Kabindrapur. The municipality made that, but no use. The *guthiars* (*guthi* members) who were looking after that, they had allowed one or two shops there, and it sustained. Now there is nothing there. The whole building is like a haunted house. We have that as an example. They fixed it, but how do we sustain it? If we talk about exactly that monument, once a year they do *puja* and then they leave. That has not become fruitful. They fixed it, fine, but it has to sustain, as a building it has to sustain. We have to think about its sustainability. In that context, will the same thing happened to Kasthamandap? Once it is built, if no one is there to take care of it, then it is the same thing. That example, how suitable it is, but that is what I think.

... The last point, it was decided rebuilt Kasthamandap as it was, but when we discussed things, it was difficult to say exactly how it was. How it was when? What is the original? Even if we say that we will build it exactly as it was, it is not that easy. To use modern technology and make it very strong, that is also probably inappropriate. In respect to that, Laxmi-dai, our main carpenter, our main engineer is Prem Nath Maskey, ...

6. Is he still involved? What is his role? Everything is being done by Laxmi Silpakar [Laxmi Bhakta Rajchal].

That is exactly the point. The communication between them, this is also something I am looking into in my study, it is very interesting. There is the traditional method, but he cannot explain it, this is the way it is done. There are no calculations, but Laxmi-dai says that if this needs to be done, then this is how it is done. He has a clear idea. [...] I brought up this topic many time, it is not up to me to understand how it is calculated, but the colourful diagrams, where it is red. The shear force is very high. I keep saying it cannot be, it just cannot be.

7. As far as I have understood, I do not know whether I should mention the name, [...] -sir's assistant showed us the model. When they showed the model, the question I raised was, at the Department of Urban Development and Building Construction (DUDBC) hall, there was a presentation, this structure is not of reinforced cement concrete (RCC). He made the design as a monolithic structure. When designed as a monolithic structure, yes, the shear, tension, compression, all that takes place, but in this structure, it is not like that. If you compare the superstructure that he calculated and we look at our superstructure here, I find the superstructure here more stable. In RCC at least, as far as I have studied, RCC is plastic material. It is a rigid material. If you look at the characteristics of the wood, it is more flexible than RCC. How can he relate to these things?

I have talked to Laxmi-dai as well, it becomes difficult to explain the engineering things, but when we look there, the connections are also not rigid. So we must allow for movement, for it to shake. That is how the forces are dampened. I showed them everything, but they just did not understand. Not being able to implement is one thing, but they did not even understand. Afterward, with Rajesh-ji, the same thing was discussed. He came and told me I am going to rebuild, I have been given the reasonability, he had come to me. I told him we need an expert team, it does not matter how many experts we have, but first we need to have those who actually carry out the work. Then they brought Laxmi-dai and got the work started.

8. Where was Laxmi-dai at the time?

He is from Bhaktapur. He also worked on the 55-window palace.

9. I have heard that, but what was he doing before getting involved here? As you said, without the artisans, how do we get started? Whoever takes on the work.

Even before setting up the expert committee, we need the artisans. Let us find the appropriate person, let's hire the main person, and we need to be there to provide support, is what I said.

10. As an advisory committee.

It was only then that work really got started. I found it amazing, everyone talking about having to get this and that done, who could have discussed for another ten years. If the persons are not there who actually do the construction. Either we need the contractor, we need to tender it out. If it is tendered, they look for the workers and bring them. Everyone was stuck at that point. Let's not tender, but instead of tendering what needs to be done, they did not seem to know. I found it shocking. It is a logical thing. That is where it got stuck.

11. Even now, personally, all my projects are based on bidding. I do not care who has bid, the 'A', 'B', 'C' [class] contractor. So, after bidding and before getting into a contact with that person, I tell them to bring their artisan. It is not the contractor who does the work, I know, even now, whether this Majudega, or smaller monuments, or *pati*, bring the artisan. Who is the one who will lay the bricks, the mason? Who is the one who does the woodwork? Who is the one doing the stonework? I will do an interview with all of them. I will do it personally. I look at their experience. Only once I have looked at their work, only then do I finalize it. Still I am doing that, since that is not part of my job, the contractor whatever he does who cares, but in many places I have the experience, the contractors that come who does not know anything about heritage. I am not a person who asks money from anyone, I am arranging people for them. I look for them, those who are in my personal link, from Bhaktapur, or from Bungamati, people, carpenters, masons, I even phone the brick factories.

12. What to do, it is my responsibility. If it does not get built, more than for the bidders, it becomes my problem. I am from here. Even those people, I personally interview them. I tell the contractor he is here to make money, I do not call the contractor. I link up directly with the ones who are doing the work. As in Kasthamandap, with me all of them are bidders, so I talk directly with the artisans, I do not care about the contractors. Whether this is legal or illegal, I do not know, but the bidder, he places his tender, and I sub-contract the work. Of course the money matters can be up and down. I am personally sharing with you, whenever I do the estimate, I take the higher version. His money can be lower, but I know the volume of work. That I know. Then there is pressure that I did not get work done that is given. I add items that are not used to adjust the costs. The bidder does not know the wood size and the carvings. So I tell the artisan that I need exactly this, and so his costing changes. I have even gotten work done through sub-contacting. But I have to deal with the ups and downs of the costs. This is what is difficult with the bidding system.

This is also something that we need to think about.

13. It is only possible if a different policy is brought and implemented.

So if we do not do tendering, who will take the responsibility? Yes, that is the question. So with Kasthamandap we arranged who is responsible, how to take political support, but it is not possible to do that everywhere. That is not clear, it is not easy.

14. You are probably facing the same thing, in Kasthamandap.

Interview A6

10 February 2020 (voice recording translated from Nepali)

I have started the recording. What is your personal connection with Kasthamandap?

1. When we talk about my relationship with Kasthamandap, since I was small, my dad and mom, my community, they taught me to be answerable, and because of that inspiration I have gotten involved in social service. Since I was small, my father told me that culture needs to be protected and managed, and he used to hold our hands and show us around. After getting up and completing all the chores, he used to take us through Basantapur, to Maruganesh, Kasthamandap and Hanumandhoka, he would take us back home. When we were small there used to be *bhajans* at Kasthamandap. There were various events that took place, such as the Ganesh Festival, so the connection to Kasthamandap is that there are four Ganesh statues along with Gorakhnath, and we were always made to bow to them touching with our forehead. There was that wooden post, where we were taught by our father to keep our backs straight. So because of that, we used to do that, but at the time did not realize the value of Kasthamandap ... we were not close. So in respect to its function we were close, but we were not worried about its value. But later on, in school, I went to school in Basantapur, I studied at Nava Adarsha School, when I studied there in ninth class, around 59, around 2059, at the time the municipality began to establish eco-clubs in the schools. When they established it, I joined, I also became its president. From the club we used to go around and make sure the heritage sites and area in front of the houses needs to be kept clean in respect to the environment. So every Friday we went around to Kasthamandap, went to individual places and cleaned the area.
2. At the time the municipality used to help us and we used to go to Kasthamandap and sweep. The pigeons used to dirty the place, people threw plastic things, people used to sleep there. It was also dirty due to the things used for rituals. We used to give Kasthamandap priority. There we also organized activities such as during Ma, my father expired some 16 years ago. So after my father expired, there is the custom of walking around at Gaijatra, for the peace of the departed souls. So during Gaijatra, we tried to simplify the process of giving donations, so in the past there was the custom of putting sweets, fruits, and things on leaf plates and giving as offering, but later they started putting *sel*, *swari* and fruits in plastic packets and offering it like this. So during Gaijatra it usually rained, or if water was spilled on the road it was slippery. While going around, this one man, he was walking along that small gully near Kumari house, that leads to the Ganesh shrine, he slipped and cracked open his head, slipping on this plastic. It was slippery, and he stepped on that plastic, slipped and fell. He cracked open his head, such an event happened. So the following year, friends got together, we had to carry out the cleaning, and we needed to

ban the plastic bags. It also affected our culture. From 2053 [1996] onwards we began this programme, so it has been 13 years, going to be 14 years. So during Gaijatra, we used to take all these things and pile it up in Kasthamandap, where we checked how much work we had accomplished, how much garbage we had collected. So this used to be linked to Kasthamandap. Even at that time the value of Kasthamandap was not in my mind. It was only after 2072, after the destructive earthquake, so once the earthquake took place,

3. The Living Kumari image had used on a family planning sign, there was this artwork, kept at the city museum in Durbar Marg. At the time there was a protest event at Chhetrapati Party Palace, a meeting was organized by the local government, community organizations, *guthis*, all of them, they were at the meeting to discuss that they need to be prosecuted. Exactly while the meeting was going on the earthquake happened. I was at the Chhetrapati Party Palace. All of us from the Hanumandhoka *guthis*, we were all there. So while we were there the earthquake started. But even before the earthquake, there was a blood donation going on at Kasthamandap organized by a cooperative. A friend had called me from there to come and give blood. The phone calls kept coming. I was going to tell him that I would come by once this programme had ended. The phone kept coming, so I got out and was already sitting on the motorbike with my friend. It was then that an uncle from Piganani hurried after us say we should wait, he had some work to discuss. At that moment the earthquake began and everything started shaking.
4. So the earthquake occurred and it was like being on a swing (*ping*). We had to hold on to this partition and then realized how strong it was shaking. I was not even sure whether I was going to survive. My first worry was towards my family. There are two roads to the Chhetrapati Party Palace, this way and towards the Public Youth Campus. Thinking of my family, I ran towards the Public Youth Campus, even while it was shaking. As I was running, an old house collapsed nearby. It was right there, I was covered with dust, but I survived. I did not care about anything else other than my family, since my family was staying in an old house just here, in Jhochhen. So I turned back and told my friend to start the motorbike. We exited from the other gate and as we were going, I always carry a whistle, we moved forward blowing the whistle and telling the people not to stand around and to go to an open space. From there we went through Tahanani and got to Makhan. The first thing I saw was the Kageshwormahadev. It was like a frame and the middle part had collapsed. Things were still falling and people were running around shouting. When the aftershocks came, the more you moved forward, the more it felt as if it was not possible to walk. I had my family in mind, but I felt as if I could not move.
5. So as I moved on, Majudega had already collapsed. Trailokyanarayan had already collapsed. The Laxminarayan had just been restored, the one next to Parvati-Mahadev temple, and it only needed to be opened, which was

done by Rohit Ranjitkar, that also collapsed. The people were shouting so much, but there was not much that we could do. Then I ran on. The corner of Gaddhi Baitak had fallen and Kasthamandap had collapsed. But first I ran to Jhochhen. My family members were in Jhochhen chowk and were all safe. My sister was unconscious due to fear. So from there, having taken stock of the situation, my concern was for our house. Right next door was a house that was about to collapse, in the same courtyard. Another house was being demolished at the time. When I went into our house, things were scattered around and it did not seem to be in a state for us to stay there. Things had fallen all over.

6. At the time I was also involved with the Red Cross, [...], and with the Scouts. I was also always involved in the social service activities. So during the festivals and rituals I have always been involved in rescues. I also got panicky myself. Even though I panicked, once I found out that the family was safe, strength returned. Once this strength returned, since I survived, now I needed to go and rescue others. I kept this in mind. So, I had all my things here, my rescue equipment I kept safely here under the staircase, where I had made my office. I took all this things. In Ombahal there is a Day to Day Shopping. We had gotten friends together, made a team, and had opened a shop. Among them there were four or five friends who had been trained. And once we found all of their houses were also safe, we got together and went straight to Basantapur. So once we got to Basantapur, my big brother was also in the Scout, the Kathmandu District, and they also organised teams. They included the Nepali Army and Police. They were all there, all involved in the rescue. There was the Trilokya-mohan temple, the Dasavatar temple, we moved past there on to Kasthamandap, because we heard that there were many people who had been at the blood donation. If I would have gotten there a bit earlier, I would not have survived, I was 100 percent sure. I survived, so I needed to save others, was what I was thinking, and this was linked to Kasthamandap.
7. So rescue began at Kasthamandap. There, the situation was that so much was buried under the rubble. The weight of all that wood, and the roof had totally collapsed. There was noise coming from various directions, it was not clear from where and it was not possible to tell. Then we walked around and got the people organized to begin removing the rubble from one side. So we got them to begin and we moved on the other side towards the Laxmi-Narayan temple, there was someone buried, half visible. He was moving around but it was not possible to get him out, he was being pressed down. I did take some photos, I can check where they are. We started working on him, but while we were trying to get him out, he had already died. At the time it was not possible to cry nor laugh. One's feelings began to harden, seeing such things. I still have a photo of that person when we got him out, the person's body.
8. Laxminarayan Temple was fenced off, even though the restoration was completed, but that was where a lot of people got killed. The corrugated

sheets fell on people and the bamboo scaffolding, it hit the people who were running. There were women who got caught in it, I still have photographs. I went there to help, and there must be photographs of me lifting out the corpses of two to three women. One woman who we rescued from that temple, I was holding the stretcher, and I only found out in the evening that part of the brain was still stuck to my cloths. That is how exhausted I was.

9. We were then focused on Kasthamandap, so all our friends, we said we would focus on Kasthamandap. So, we continued there and dug out people. We managed to get some people out, who were only buried slightly. But as we continued working, we started removing corpses, of the doctors, nurses, those donating blood. The blood was spilt all over. Because of that it became very difficult for us.
10. At the time some friends arrived from Nardevi, where there was a child that was stuck in a collapsed house. They came to call use shouting. We had gone to rescue wearing those jackets, so everyone used to come over all pull us away to help. So I left the team there and went to Nardevi, on the way to Tamshipakha, near the Ayurvedic hospital, just opposite in a small gully where an entire row of houses had collapsed. In the last house of the row, a nine year old boy was stuck, his name was [...]. He was buried up to here. From the other side the corrugated sheets were about to fall. As long as they are breathing, we have hope. The family is shouting outside. So three of us moved in, not allowing others to enter. We went there slowly. The aftershocks were still coming, so we had to stabilize the corrugated sheets. Slowly we removing the rubble and carried him out, since he was badly injured. As we got out the corrugated sheets came crashing down. There I also survived, is what I felt. I managed to rescue someone. I left him at the Ayurvedic Hospital and then returned to Kasthamandap.
11. My older brother focused his rescue around Triylokyamohan temple. Kiran-dai from Maru-Twaa-Pucha, his father also died there, while going to the temples, in that little lane passed the Kumari House, next to the Dasavatar temple. In Kasthamandap, even till the end, we kept feeling that there were still noises coming from there. We however did not have the technology. I had to stop them from using the bulldozers. The bulldozer arrived, from India, others also came, but I went there to fight, to stop them. I do not know whether that was correct or not, time will tell, but I told them that I will not allow bulldozers to be used, since it could be that people might still be alive. At the time I was not thinking about saving the heritage. When the bulldozers came, people could have still been alive, so I did not allow them. We will take them out slowly, but if they are alive, we need to do this manually. Other options can be considered, but I will not allow the use of bulldozers. So I stood there. So the bulldozers moved away. The bulldozers were used around Dasavatar, they pulled out things from the lower levels. At Kasthamandap, even after several days, when it was said that some noise was heard, I went back to dig. It was then that a pigeon escaped from

that deep down. I could not take a photo of that pigeon. But when we managed to get the pigeon out, we were all so happy. Even if it was a pigeon, it was released. After that there were no corpses. There were the corpses of beggars. Some had lost their legs. We also carried those corpses from Kasthamandap. The last corpses that were removed, of those who sat there begging. We also removed them. I also saw photos of that, but I did not get a chance to save them.

12. There was our visuals of us on CNN and BBC. There were visuals of us rescuing at Majudega, all three brothers. We are three brothers. The other one is also in the Red Cross. So the whole family was there, also my sisters-in-law. We also went to Majudega, where we removed those who got buried up there. So since 2077 Baisakh 1st, within Hanumandhoka, no concerts, or events with large sound systems, will not be allowed. Also, on all the *degas*, the couples who are sitting there, which was spreading indecency, we also mounted a campaign against that starting on 1st Baisakh. Messages were being disseminated through the media. We first thought a lot of people died on Majudega, but only a few died. The couples who usually sat would have been involved were not there.
13. After the rescue at Majudega, we completed at Laxminarayan. The Vamsagopal Temple, the Krishna temple that was recently made, there a policeman died. Four soldiers died, from the Gompukot side, behind Gompukot, there four died. Another policeman, he must have gone for a walk in the morning, he died behind the Vamsagopal Temple. That was the last corpse that was removed. A Japanese or Korean team was working there and we also joined them and removed the corpse. Then in Makhan, behind the Sano Pashupati, in the narrow lane, there was an old building with new structures in concrete built on top, it collapsed and killed five people in a row. One on top of another. One person went to save a child, then others followed in. So we had to take the corpses out in any case. So we went there to as well. After that crowds started increasing, with people there to take photographs. So we took an elderly couple and told them to move to the front and pretend to be carrying. There was even a big article in Kantipur, on the City page. I was angry at the time since there is such a huge disaster that has taken place throughout the country and all these people were there only to take photographs. So I scolded them, there is a national disaster here, it is for us to deal with it, to help deal with the trouble and sorrow? After scolding them, people got into a huge line to help.
14. We then used the small Indian bulldozers to clear the streets since we had to allow emergency vehicles to move. We started at Kasthamandap. The rubble was blocking the entire road next to Kasthamandap. As we were clearing that area, a phone came from Bhimsenthan. There was someone who had died there and the roads were all blocked by a building that had collapsed. We took the bulldozers and moved in that direction clearing the road. We then got a phone call from... in the evening we had a call from the nearby ward office, there is an elderly lady that is buried under a collapsed

building. One person had died. Her bottom half was buried and she was still moving. She was given juice from a small gap, while soldiers and armed police came to try to save her. The problem was that if the rubble would collapse further then the body would be crushed. Part of the rubble above her was protecting her and keeping her alive. No one wanted to take the risk. If something goes wrong then they might be blamed. The whole day they worked at it and it was at midnight, a police inspector from here, [...], I still remember, he said, whatever happens, I will try. He managed to get her out alive. There were other *dais*, carpenters and masons, they provided supports, balancing out the rubble. So they managed to get her out safely. The same night, at Kangaajima, Kanga temple, straight down from Maru, the Kankeshwori Temple, there a seven storey new building collapsed. A child died. They had already removed the body. There was also a basement. A small space and a huge building. Below there was a black market, there were selling kerosene and we managed to remove 97 gas cylinders. That is also the road down to the cremation area. So there was a risk that these cylinders could explode. From Basantapur to Nardevi Tamsipakar, blowing on the whistle, people shout on the fourteenth, two days later, since they would allow the bulldozer to go down there, so I told the bulldozer driver I would take him, and so blowing the whistle, we took the Nardevi road and dropped down to Tamsipakar. They might not have allowed it since they said that it might shake and cause buildings to collapse, but whatever the risk might be, we had to proceed. So holding on to the front of the bulldozer, blowing the whistle, we took it down, slowly clearing the way. So we removed 97 gas cylinders. At least it could be used for cooking as well.

There was no fires or explosions, were there?

15. The lab at Baphal, you know, where you could get all these chemicals, there was a lab at Baphal, and the fire there continued for a month. It kept igniting and then dying out and igniting again. It is just before getting to Dwarikachhen, on the left side, where it is empty now. It is still empty now. Because of the chemicals spilling, there was a fire. It was so difficult to get the fire brigade there. The fire continued for so long, for an entire month and then we had to tear down the building.
16. So there were more and more people at Basantapur. We managed to provide our service in 41 locations. Chamati, Gangabu, even in Changu Narayan, there was no way to get in and we went there to clear the road. The road, in the beginning, it was risky because the houses were about to collapse, so it was closed off. The temple, however, need to propping. Because we were going to clear this place starting on Baisakh 1st, we had bought a lot of ribbons/tape, so we used the ribbon. So even in the Chokse Gulli near Indrachowk, there were 12 or 13 houses, you had to go through a narrow lane, so it had to be closed off. We had to get the people out. So we went to clear there. There were also corpses there and we rescued people. In Ason as well as towards Mahaboudha. So what we did was that we managed everyone, united everyone. Army had given their vehicles for

rescue. Police had given their vehicles. We organised the transportation to Bir Hospital. It all worked out so well that in the end they started saying that they will not send until [...] says so. The army cooperated to such a degree. So in the evening whatever there was around was cooked and eaten. The Tip-Top sweet shop provided snacks for the volunteers. So we were united like that.

17. Within four days we turned the lights on in Hanumandhoka. Four days after the earthquake. In Jhochhen we had four organisations. Durbar Square and Jhochhen is on the same line. We could not turn it on, since it could cause fires. So we got NEA to immediately provide a new line, since the place where the Living Goddess needs to be lit up. We collected electrical cables from the DOA Palace Office, brought the bulbs. There was an electrician, [...], an Indian, we got him and lifting him with the bulldozer crane, we got the cables laid all the way to the Kumari House. Then the garbage, since it could cause disease, we collected in sacks. We then gave responsibilities to people who were hanging out there to separate out the garbage. For security, we arranged that every hour seven of us patrolled back and forth, along certain routes. We did security planning. The police station, we had always wanted it to be moved, that it was disturbing being in the World Heritage, and right from the beginning we raised this concern. There was an SSP, Uttam Karki, head, we had a talk with him, since this was the opportunity, and it was also the safety of the police was his responsibility. So we told him that this was the time for him to take a decision. He lobbied to the higher authorities, and within six days, it was decided to move it down to National Trading. The building, even though we said that it would collapse if there was an earthquake, however it was not damaged at all. That is why it was Uttam Karki's big contribution. He also believed that the police should not be kept here. He became DIG and is retired. He became head of the police court before retiring. Because he helped with the coordination, it made it much easier.
18. The main problems we faced were because we did not have any planning. We had shovels, pickaxe, other than this we did not have anything. What we were taught in rescue was that we needed to first ensure our own safety and then provide safety to others. But here even though we were not safe, we had to provide others safety. That is because we hardly had any equipment. So when we went to rescue, we first helped those who were still living. Then second, we worked at removing the corpses. Then third, the heritage artefacts can be stolen, or mixed up, so we started separating out the objects and listing them on a paper. So all the main statues, artefacts, we had someone from the home ministry, and the police would also be there, and we would take them there for safeguarding. The statues from Kasthamandap, we took them there for safekeeping. Also the part of the museum that collapsed in Basantapur, next to the nine-storey tower, we fenced it off since there could have been important artefacts there. Despite that they stole a bell and ran away. At the time they took the bell and ran. From here, through Jhochhen, they ran. We managed to run after them up

to here, but then could not catch them. At the time people were here for devious intent. There was an Italian foreigner, exactly between Ekta and Dhokatole, the bells from Majudega that keep ringing, they had taken four or five of them and had left. We saw them and they seemed to be pretending to help with the rescue. Generally the foreigners were also very helpful with the rescue. When those Italians took those, someone told me about it. So I ran there immediately. I was carrying the Scouts walkie-talkie, they thought I was the police and got scared and surrendered immediately. So I checked his bag and saw the bells. I did not get around to asking him why and under what circumstances he had taken them. So I took the bells and gave it back for safekeeping. I then let them go.

19. That showed us that we needed to be aware. I then called Department of Archaeology. I got the phone number of DG and called him. It was Bhesh Narayan Dahal. I did not have too much link to the Department of Archaeology. Here so much damage has been caused by the earthquake. Nepal Army is here. Police is here. Everyone is here. Where are the ones who collect fees, the Department of Archaeology, Palace Maintenance Office and the Municipality? We also called the Municipality. So at the time DG of Department of Archaeology came running. [...]didi also came. I have a photo of that event in Hanumandhoka. The photo that we took when they were all here. They did not seem to be excited about things, because anything could have happened there. There were so many artefacts, what was there before and what is there now, maybe that we will find out slowly. Even things we have not found might yet appear. So the things from Kasthamandap, we separated out saying this is from Kasthamandap. That from Trilokyanarayan we kept separate. From Majudega we kept separate.
20. However, then we had the political parties, for their promotion, they came to move things, wearing their party's jackets. Once they came things got mixed up. Even before that Sushil Koirala, Prime Minister and the Chief of Army Staff, visited. At the time I was in my scout uniform, and the Chief of Army Staff Gaurav Shamshe Ju Ba Ra, came to talk. He asked what the situation was like. His staff had already briefed him that I was looking after everything there. So he had me called, and I went to meet him, Gaurav Shamshe Ju Ba Ra. So he told me to present my points to the Prime Minister. He could not hear too well since he had a helmet on. We told him that at least things need to be organized here. The public also protested. Why did they come? Work was being disturbed. People also protested against the Prime Minister. They then walked around and left. So later they said whatever needs to be done ..., particularly safety must be provided to those who are alive. And this is World Heritage. The security for this place needs to be considered. There were only two things that I told the Prime Minister.
21. Nepali Congress and UML, they came and started moving wood from here to there, at the time we went to stop them. We went to stop UML, Jhalanath Kanal had come and we went to stop them. Let's decide a specific location,

if you must move the wood. The way this is being done, all the wooden elements are getting mixed up. This is wrong. Let us not throw away the effort, which is so needed here. So we went to stop them. We met up with Sushil Koirala again. Then we again told them. The things need to be moved to a specific location. He said that he would talk to the Department of Archaeology. I left from there.

22. Things continued and when it was going to be a hundred days, some local clubs started saying that they would rebuild Kasthamandap. The person responsible for the Hanumandhoka project from the Municipality was [...] at the time. So he called everyone saying it was a commemorative event.
23. So when we got there, they had already set up a committee for Kasthamandap. They have used the logo of Government of Nepal. So when we saw that we were surprised. Those whose faces were not seen when the earthquake occurred. Some members of various local organizations and political figures, saying that this was a commemorative event, and on top of Kasthamandap there are seats for guests. From the municipality, everyone was there even the Chief Executive Officer. Below it is also full of people. We were surprised. What bothered us was that when Kasthamandap collapsed and all the rescue work was going on, none of them around, and now they have set up this Committee. Was that correct? So one of them who we were in touch with said that people were not satisfied with this. So let us go up and talk nicely. So I was told to talk. But then they said that outsiders are not allowed to talk. So then I again sent him, [...] *-dai* for a second and third time. It was decided not to allow him to talk. So then I shouted, "*syndicate justo samiti, Mordabad*" (death to the syndicate like committee). I got up in the middle of the crowd and said that, and everyone jumped up. I told them to surround Kasthamandap. And the others ran away. Is it only their right? What we need here are experts, for the reconstruction.

We had come there at the time?

24. At the time it was Asta Laxmi Shakya, Rudra Singh Tamang, the Chief Executive Officer, he had just arrived, then there was [...]. He had set up a committee which was not active. Maybe before that it might have been active. But he called it an umbrella organization. How can it be an umbrella organisation, and when the Hanumandhoka was being privatized nothing was said. I had reached my limits and I fought against it for eight months. So many went to jail. None of them stood up against it. That is the reason why many got angry. There is a need for experts. What are you doing, sitting in a room and saying you will rebuild Kasthamandap? What have you learned from here? After that happened Asta Laxmi Shakya, [...] she told me that I should have been given a position. She said that she would tell them. I told her that I was not fighting for a position. I do not need a position. But this is not the right time. It has only been a hundred days. Saying it is a commemorative event and then establishing the Kasthamandap Reconstruction Committee? That was the first committee

that was established, based on the minutes of the Municipality. In the minutes, it even said that they will be getting a remuneration. Then they hid the minutes when I said that I would burn it. These guys from the municipality, they got so scared, they started to go crazy. I made them terrified, so then they went crazy.

25. In the later period, when a lot of talk was about Dharahara, in respect to Kasthamandap, many quiet. At the time I also told them about Kasthamandap, [...]. In Hanumandhoka area, only when Kasthamandap is erected, will it be seen as the entire country having stood up. When there was talk of giving Kasthamandap priority. That was when Birendra Bhakta Shrestha stepped forward. Then there was [...] *-dai* who was involved with media things. And then they took this forward in the form of a campaign. [...] A lot of work was done for the study of Kasthamandap. What I could not feel before about Kasthamandap, the earthquake made me feel. It taught me its value, its pain. Its pain has also become my pain. That is what I thought. In respect to reconstruction, what I thought was, ... well, all the people staying around there left their houses. The reason was that at the time they had seen it, the hope. Until it is not built, how the pain will continue bothering them (burning inside them), for those who saw it collapse. In the morning when they get up, they see the collapsed Kasthamandap and it reminds them of the same things. This would be the case for all those who have houses nearby. Because of that there have been many who have become paralyzed, the people from around there. This has become a major problem [...].
26. Then there was the question of tendering or establishing a user-committee (*amanat*). Exactly at that time the Municipality decided to carry out a tender and moved forward accordingly. At the same time they had already given the Dasavatar Temple through tendering. It was when they gave the Dasavatar temple that I said that it needs to be locked down. So I went to the related *guthi* and got them to lock the site. At the time I called everyone including the Department of Archaeology. The DG was scared. I told him that I will be responsible for his security. So I called Bhesh Narayan Dahal. At that time everyone came including Saphalya Amatya. It was there that I announced, from Dasavatar we should not see eleven avatars. This, including Kasthamandap, needs to be built through a user-committee (*amanat*). The ownership of the locals must remain. That is why there has to be a study. From there this was announced. After all that happened, it was decided that the Dasavatar project would be cancelled and would be given to a user-committee. However, the contractor and the person from the *guthi*, who said he was sick, they got together. When called to set up the user-committee, it was being prepared, and I do not join any committee, so I told him my work was over and now he could establish the user-committee. Just when I had finalized it, he destroyed everything.
27. Later when there was talk of Kasthamandap, also with the National Reconstruction Authority, and then Birendra Bhakta Shrestha brought in the

energy, even from the locals there was talk that we need to lead the project. Later on the authorities said, OK, you can move forward with this. Exactly when the elections were going to take place, two days before, an agreement was signed with the National Reconstruction Authority. Municipality, Archaeology [DOA], the National Reconstruction Authority and, they had said to set up a committee, and that committee. There I was also present, I was member of the working committee. So they agreed, there is everyone's signature, even the stamp of the National Reconstruction Authority. Only the stamp of the municipality was missing. That was the only thing remaining. They said they had not brought the stamp. Till then Bidhya Sundar Shakya, the mayor, he was with us, the events of Birendra Bhakta, he was always with us. He was the one who kept encouraging us, that we need to do this. However, as soon as he was elected as mayor, [...] the conflict began [...].

28. So we need to thank Durham University. What we said was from the twelfth century we found to be from the seventh century. Many things became clear. We were able to observe the condition of the foundations. It was a big lesson. [...] We were able to see it. I was a voluntary participant, to help. To help set up things, I had gone there to volunteer. When Durham University came to test. Getting the traffic controlled, during the investigations, I was there as a volunteer. At that time we gained a lot. Everyone, let's say even me, if we were going to do it through a user-committee, I would come to carry the loads. I might not have done it for my home, but this heritage, it was left by the ancestors and was now destroyed. It means it is destroyed also for the following generations. In future we need to hand it over. It was at that time that [...] it became clear. From my mind, in the form of a sentiment. I also told the government that they need to support the youth. We are not lacking in monetary resources. We even collect money to build a hospital. To rebuilt one's heritage, one's own citizens can spend their money. The money that is collected from Basantapur, other than for heritage and cultural activities, the money that is being distributed to the various committees and organisations, that needs to be stopped. First we need to focus on the reconstruction of heritage. If that is not enough, we can request. If we work through a user-committee, then even a small person who is sitting around there will give a hundred rupees, and we need to accept that. If he want to provide service through manual labour, let's allow that. So these things moved forward.
29. But as it moved forward, the Mayor of Kathmandu Municipality, he said that the Basantapur project brought about these and these problems, we need to talk. But he said, why are you collecting money when the municipality is going to pay? Since the municipality will be providing the money, who should you do this work? After that kind of response came from the Mayor, the discussion began. In the end what happened was, we were also carrying out studies, also from the cultural aspect. Our goal was not only to rebuild the monument, since it has to be living. For that reason, the images are important, the shrine might be secondary, but in respect to its culture, it

had to be [...]. What had been lost, needs to be revived. This is the opportunity. So now let us decide.

30. When the construction is completed, in this many years we carry out, that these are the parts that need to be protected. This is how we need to move forward. So we told the Mayor that he needs to be positive about the locals being involved in the reconstruction. But he responded, since we will be providing the funds.... That was when I got really angry. That was where our discussions began. I told Bidya-ji, this money is also the money belonging to the people. Earlier, even Rudra Singh Tamang talked along similar lines, and there was a discussion between Yogesh Amatya and him, I told Rudra Singh Tamang straight in the face, this is not money from your pocket. This is money of the residents of the city. Another things was that when the local community says it will rebuilt the monument, they are also the resident of your city. When the resident of the city want to should the municipality [...], is it the way you should talk with the public? For that reason, using the budget that you have, that money also belongs to the people. So if the people want to give money separately for that, that is also valid. So we said that is the reason that we should move forward as decide with the National Reconstruction Authority. [...]
31. In the case of Kasthamandap, we should not have a conflict, and even among our community, it should not be seen as if we have a conflict. So, the suggestion from our committee was, if Kathmandu Municipality was going to construct it through a user-committee, since according to the Public Procurement Act once the amount is higher than it automatically needs to be tendered, and we see this project to be of about 20 crores, so why do not we maintain that? If the authorities establish this vision, then we can make sure other monuments are also implemented through user-committees. Let's not focus only on Kasthamandap, but also on other monuments. So I suggested that we move along those lines.
32. However, the Mayor's ego, and the sudden decision to get it done through a committee lead by the Member of Parliament, even with that we were positive. However, their strategy of division, creating conflict between parties, dirty games, that kind of activities began. So they even started meeting some people from our committee, and talking about things to get them to join their side. So what we had clearly said, also to the provincial parliamentarian Rajesh Shakya, we are positive towards you rebuilding, there is no doubt, however Kasthamandap must be erected, but that is not enough, its life must also be established. That means you cannot forget the great contribution of the campaign. You were also not made a parliamentarian only for Kasthamandap. So this is was discussed. Also, do not write letters to individual people, like Birendra Bhakta Shrestha, [...], do not sent letters like that. Send a letter to the organization. All our achievements up to now, the cultural achievements of the organization, we will transfer them to you. Also the one lakh that we got from Cycle City, we have kept that safely. We have not allowed it to be spent. Whatever

payments have been made, it has been done personally. Also that money, we will transfer it to your project. That is why, if you do it through our organization, then this can from the side of our organization we are positive. They were however not willing to connect through our organization. So why do we contact Rebuilt Kasthamandap Campaign? Individually we have called Birendra Bhakta Shrestha. We also sent a letter to [...] to come and help. So they were of the opinion to remove us, to bypass us.

33. Also with the wards, Kasthamandap falls under number 20. There are four wards around the Durbar Square: 19, 20, 23 and 24. So among the four wards, 23 was given the post of secretary. From there the post of the treasurer. This post from here and this post from here. That was how they divided things up. So from ward 23, now that Kasthamandap was being rebuilt, the ward president started discussing who they would send as secretary. So without any meetings, he made someone who is related to him the secretary. He stays in ward 22. He is close to us, our relationship is good. Our Goutam-dai. He is also someone close to us. During the Dharahara demonstrations he was also there and was therefore in touch with us. So once he was brought, it was close to us. Instead of getting someone from 23, they got someone from 22. A lot of our friends did not agree, but because Kasthamandap needs to be rebuilt, it is fine. He is also a person who has been positive. We should not protest. So I started supporting. Considering that Kasthamandap needs to be rebuilt positively, even though they did not want to join us, we followed up on how things were being done. Mud was prioritized. Once many of the experts we believe in got involved, we were content. They are involved, so let it be built. However, those who had been contributing from the beginning, those who were involved from the beginning, they were shoved aside, a new group was established and they moved ahead. We also need to be involved, we are not doing this for a position.
34. We were looking for the unusual linked to Kasthamandap. So as the work moved forward, certain things have happened that were illegal. Illegal not in respect to the reconstruction. Can a parliamentarian sign a cheque? He is not allowed. He does not have the right. To set up a committee and then sign a cheque, he does not have the capacity to do that. For how long did the president and secretary run the committee without a treasurer? Whatever main financial transactions that are made, the president and the secretary have dealt with it. However, rather than that, what we say is that the work must be good.
35. But the disaster that happened, was the nearby Majudega project was given to the contractors. It was given by the municipality. When they went for the stone-laying ceremony, all of them were there, Rajesh-dai, the Mayor. That they all went to the stone-laying ceremony of a project that was given to a contractor, that disappointed me. He did not become Member of Parliament only for Kasthamandap. He is parliamentarian of Province 3. That could have also been given to a user-committee. There is the

chairman of ward 19, was not he a nice guy? It falls in ward 19 and the chairman of ward 19 could have led the project. A lot of experience had already been collected from Kasthamandap. It is the same team that can work, provide their services. That could have been done, but they gave it to the contractor. When we build our own house, the way we take care of the material, how is the material stored for Dasavatar and Majudega? They have thrown the bricks around. The working method is like that. Right next to Majudega, there was a white temple. Where the temple stood, work in going on. That is where the lime-*surkhi* mortar is being mixed for the Majudega construction project. I just went to see that a few days ago. Even now we tell the municipality that this is being done incorrectly. To archaeology saying, look, this is being done incorrectly. That they had to use the contractor-method, already that was wrong.

36. Then we have the Malla period Agamchhen. The Malla period Agamchhen, when in Basantapur, as a Nepali citizen who was born here, when I see the Chinese flag fluttering here, it upsets me. Then the Americans. That is because character of our country, that which allows our country to be recognized, dignity is our heritage. Why should the foreign countries come there now to rebuild our heritage? OK, they came, but what we were saying right from the beginning, that one country cannot target one monument. Let us create a fund, like the fund that the Prime Minister established, and in the same manner, we can create a fund. So if they are positively inclined, they will help. How that money is spent has to be the decision of the Nepal Government. It has to be decided centrally. If India come to rebuild the Kumari House, will I allow that? I will go and confront them. That is because Kumari House belongs to the Living Goddess. It carries the nation's identity. So when in the name of retrofit we gave the Nine-storey to the Chinese, and this side to American funding, so that is when we fell of the track. After that we announced, that we will not allow any foreigner to fly their flag in Basantapur.
37. So then we have the Japanese, with the Agamchhen. So when we were discussing Agamchhen, Agamchhen was also our Malla kings, the country's, 'unapproachable house' (*agamghar*). We also have customs, if we do not follow the customs, what is the use of having heritage. What is the use of talking big? It is because of these tantric customs that define us, that power is still present there. We only need to save it, to keep alive. It is not necessary to create anything new. That is why, there, the project has to be cancelled. We all agreed, Rajesh Shakya and us, and we went to the Department of Archaeology, and said it has to be done today, and got the decision that they will not be allowed any more. Then after the decision it got stuck. So what happened was, it also went to the parliament. NRA also called several meetings and we went. What they raised was the question of methodology. The jack-up system. So I am not an expert in this. But in my country we have our own methods. Where is the report whether it is possible or not to do it locally? I asked for that report. The experts of my country, if they say that it cannot be done by using our local methods, then

we can use their method. But how we build a temple, when we move the bottom to build the top, the tantric keeps that alive, that is still possible. Once it is raised, it is done. That system of jack-up, let use it in other place, let's learn to use it, it is good to learn new things. But this is the Malla period Agamchhen, of that period. It is not allowed to be touched like that. We are not allowed to go, so forget others going. That is why I was against a single country implementing projects. Even if all of you agree, then first show me that our method is a failure, let our experts talk, and then I will agree. Otherwise I will go and stand there. Saying that I then left. That got stuck. There is [...] in the Japanese team, he came after me daily. He went after all the people who might raise questions. So I told him, let us call the experts. I will also come. Your experts can also participate. Let us talk and finalise this. He stopped coming to talk with me.

38. As things progressed, what I saw [...] *-dai's* position to be, that he started taking on contracts for projects. The chairman of ward 24 had no idea. There are many senior brothers in ward 24 who are involved with heritage. None of them knew. Looking at getting Agamchen done, he also got involved in many other projects. I found a letter, with letterhead, from him registered in the Palace Maintenance Office saying that this project should not be given to the foreigners. That is good, since that is also our opinion. But he is a parliamentarian and he need so look after the entire Hanumandhoka area. Not look after a single temple here and another temple there. Because Kasthamandap was so important, he had to do it himself. That is wrong. I say that the Mayor took him for a ride. Mayor is for 5 years, can be for 10 years, or 15 years. Having the opportunity to rebuild Kasthamandap is a great fortune. Is not it. Just because he gave money for it, does not mean he can talk big. It is not the Mayor's personal money. It is the money of the municipality. Another thing, if he had led the way, for that reason we agreed, but then he pushed the parliamentarian in front. That was wrong. We thought that the Mayor can set an example, we had made it flexible for the Mayor. He did the wrong thing.
39. Also in connection with Rani Pokhari, there was a lot of problems. Even for Rani Pokhari we had lots of discussions. He called a protest, so, what shall we do? We found a photo from the Malla period. So let us go back to that. This is the time to return to history. So he called a meeting along the same lines. I was happy with him. But later on, Archaeology [DOA] had already decided towards the British design. So the municipality, we went there to support, saying Uncle, let's move forward, we were told. When Archaeology does not agree, how can we agree? So when he let go, there was a lot of talk. What did [...] do? First he did not prepare the design from 72, that which was there till 72, nor the design from Pratap Malla's times, the *granta* design. What he did was, he made his own design calling in *Newa-saili* or Newar design. He used *dacchi-appa*, and one part had already been made. I went there to stop it. I went to the Department of Archaeology to scold them. They sent the police, the police force. I went there and told them directly to stop the work. This belongs to our community and no more

money should be spent on this. Whatever expenses had incurred, no more should be spent. Legal action must be taken against the previous. When I asked what design, I was told it was [...] design. I said this to all media. This is [...] design, neither the '72 design nor the *granta* design. Then NRA called, and when I went there was a meeting of the experts. There were a lot of experts. Most of the experts took our position. It needs to be built in the Malla style. Saphalya Amatya, he spoke out against. He was the one who brought Bhesh Narayan. He said that if we bring back the old history then there will be reprisal / pressure? After he gave the wrong information I got up, I will talk from here, I am the smallest, so I am protesting against what Saphalya Amatya uncle said. He used to get along with me, but on that day I had to protest. Then I told the NRA guy, it should not be built from the ground. The cement structures need to be demolished. What has been done without removing the cement; that is wrong. If Archaeology does not know the heart of archaeology, then that person does not have the right to sit on that seat, even if he is called [...]. That is why you need to understand. I will tell you about Kasthamandap in a moment, but I was so angry. [...] -sir, I will go and sit there right now, if it does not get built in the Pratap Malla style. I said that and left. After that it was decided. For that reason, there was that achievement.

40. In respect to Kasthamandap, after 100 days a committee had been formed. Another committee had been formed before the one of Birendra Bhakta Shrestha. That was by Nabin Raj Joshi. That was established by Nabin Raj Joshi. His process was good, he always called everyone to meetings. Then we went to the District Development Committee. I am not sure whether you were there or not, when I spoke at the District Development Committee whether you remember, it was in the beginning.

We had met in [...] office, before the meeting.

41. I went to District Development Committee wearing *chappals*. [...] -didi had called me and I ran over immediately. I wanted to talk and signalled towards Nabindra Raj Joshi, but he kept saying I should wait a moment. And Manohar Rajbhandari was giving a presentation. There was talk that the first stone-laying ceremony would take place in Kasthamandap. I am not sure you remember, when they had arranged the meeting at the District Development Committee at Babar Mahal.

Yes, I was also at that meeting.

42. It was not about Rani Pokhari at the time, it was about Kasthamandap. So what I said was, there was talk of using concrete, and I had told Bhesh Narayan Dahal, there was talk of steel, fibres, ... And [...] said that we should not build monuments that kill people. I was against that. I then asked him how long he will survive. If you talk about age, Talegu Bhawani is still standing. It is still standing, so there is a lot still to be learned. If this is heritage that kills people, let us demolish all the inner city. Let's demolish it right away. And what guarantee is there of the cement, how many years will it last? Have not new cement buildings collapsed? If the stone-laying

ceremony will be done first at Kasthamandap, and you plan on using this kind of modern material, then it will be disaster. At the time Goutam Shakya was there, we will not allow it to be built at Ratna Park and Nabindra Raj Joshi came the same evening to talk with me. I told him I will not listen. If that is going to be of concrete, I will go and tell everyone, I will flash the information. I will instigate everyone. It will be a problem for you. It was after that that the decision was taken on Rani Pokhari. The President on Magh 2nd went for the stone laying ceremony. So then it was shifted there from Kasthamandap. Otherwise, in the beginning, it was Kasthamandap. But what we were against was the fibre, cement and steel. '*Herdadurustai, baliyoparsastai*' (looks repaired, has lots of strength) was what was said. That was the slogan. Nabin Raj Joshi could not get the work done.

43. Then Birendra Bhakta Shrestha, once he got active, set up a committee. The government supported that as well as Nabin Raj Joshi. It was all working out well, since we were planning on including everyone. We had the Mayor as the chairperson. When the statutes were prepared, for the campaign, we had the Mayor, there was going to be an election and whoever became Mayor, would be the chairperson. That was already decided earlier. That it was going to be Bidhya Sundar Shakya was not sure. The agreement was done exactly two days before the elections. We had already made the statutes in that connection. We left space for everyone. We said that the chairperson would be the Mayor. Even though we did all that, the Mayor did not agree.
44. With the present reconstruction committee, the criticism of many is, that construction began in the last moment, it was very late, so people might think it should be built in any case, but without discussing how it should be rebuilt. In the end, the only concern was that it should get built. Only then did construction begin. When I go around now, even the nine-storey, they have given importance to even the smallest things. They have kept the old things and where necessary they have added new things. In Kasthamandap what we saw is that maximum new wood has been used. Concerning the mud, I respected it, how they were working. I do not know now. The way there were discussion concerning the mud. When I met with Rajesh-dai, there was talk of the mud. Another thing that was discussed with Rajesh-dai was that maximum old wood would be utilized. As per the rules, priority should be given to the old. If you go there now, maximum wood is new. Why is this? Was it because the old was useless? And the wood, which was also what Birendra Bhakta Shrestha said, that the wood needs to be brought and then for a certain period dried. There is a chance for it to warp, which happens even our normal shutters. That is what was being talked about. Afterwards it was said that this is not necessary. The experts are there, so there must be some truth in it, Birendra Bhakta-ba, leave it, is what we said. But afterwards when we only saw new wood. We found out that it was seventh century due to the ground. Later, because of a piece of wood, it was said to be of the fifth century. Exactly because of that we found out how old. It showed us. It was a part from that time.

45. Now we are doing reconstruction behind old corrugated sheets. Work that is being is hidden. Why do they have to do the work in hiding? This is like a school. The schools and colleges need to be called, others need to be called, and shown. What we find is needed in Nepal is, we have education on modern technology for which certificates are given, but [...] we have to rebuild our archaeological monuments, because it is still alive in Bhaktapur, that is why we had the courage to do. But whether [...] manpower will be transferred into the next generation? So from the side of the government, that is the type of schooling that is required. There needs to be study, education, certification for that. The problem we have today is that when we sit with technical experts of modern technology, they ask how they can take responsibility for something that lies beyond that which they studied. That is why we say that we need to use cement, and that we need to use steel. That is his position. Is not it sufficient to make it look nice like a temple from the outside? What he says might be correct in respect to his understanding. This is however the end of the country's identity, is dying out. The concrete that was used in the nine-storey, it is still there. Talking with a Chinese, he said, that they were rebuilding whatever was there before, so that is what they were doing. They did not take out the old concrete saying that it would further damage the structure.
46. I am only observing based on my capacity. But in many cases, because of this kind of carelessness. For example in Rani Pokhari, I did not agree with the answer that [...] gave. [...] was someone born in this area. He had heard my name, but did not know each other. I talked with him at Rani Pokhari. At the time they used to bring it in a *kharpan*, can that be done now? How can you talk like that I said. Let it take time. Why do we need to complete Rani Pokhari by next Baisakh twelfth? We can also complete it on Baisakh12th three years later. Work must continue. But that everything must be completed today, by using bulldozers, that is not the situation. At least let Rani Pokhari be an example, working together with the people from Bhaktapur, based on the customary methods. We are working on returning it to the state when Pratap Malla built it. Why do we need to use bulldozers? Do not talk to me like you are building the artificial Dharahara.
47. Then there was a conflict about the artificial Dharahara. That Dharahara, when the Prime Minister came to give a speech. [...] is the thief. What he said was wrong. [...] After he spoke, it was a few days later that we went to Baluwatar to demand that it needs to be put inside glass. We should develop this as an earthquake memorial park. Let us restore Sundhara. The piece of Dharahara that is left, let us not go back to what was there before 1934. That our future generations, so much of the heritage sites were destroyed, and the people's identity is linked to the Dharahara. So let's keep it the way it is right now. It collapsed in 1934, it also collapsed in 2015, why do we need that Dharahara here. If we need something like this, let's build it somewhere else. After saying all that he answered, we like this concept, so let's go with the win-win situation, is what K.P. Oli said, he was

the Prime Minister at that time as well. That is what I told [...], if you really wanted to build a new tower, it was your technical advice that went there, so if you were going to demolish the Post Office, why did not you shift it to that corner? You could have built it where the Post Office is, next to the Kathmandu Mall. Why do you have to show it right here? Does it not hamper Sundhara. He said that they will also resolve the water of Sundhara, and demolish Kathmandu Mall first. The source of the water is still there, we can save it. Bring the source of the water. It is not necessary to make Sundhara. Why are we thinking only of the drainage? Can we not utilise the water? Do we need to dam up the water? There are many ways of utilising the water. After the discussion, he admitted that he did tell them that it should be built on this side. He could not say anything more and moved away talking to others from Jhochhen. In the end it did turn out wrong. He has now written about it, [...] from Annapurna Post. She hit the point. Dharahara, there is so much media now, why are they scared to call it the artificial Dharahara? That is a new construction. It is written that it is a reconstruction. This is not Dharahara, but a view-tower. Also the President, the other day, she was only shown the nice things. But all the things that are not correct, the President is blind to that. She was the one who did the stone laying ceremony of Rani Pokhari. In the beginning, the way they dealt with the project initially, it was because of our demonstrations that things stopped. They then said that it would be given to the Army, then to this party and that party. That was to scare people.

48. The Mayor, he manipulates so much. So in Lagan the Silkhana will not be rebuilt. Silkhana was where the Prime Minister stayed, when the Royal Palace was in Hanumandhoka. It was where the armoury was. Jhochhe was where the Ministers' quarters were, at the time when Hanumandhoka was the Royal Palace. Till Pachalibhairav was our own country. From Nepal Mandal it went on to become Nepal. So by demolishing all this, with the Silkhana, at the time he was with the Municipality from the UML party. When we were small, we used to call him Bidya-uncle, we use to be together, Bidya-uncle, we must make this into a museum of the weapons, we should not sell it to the British. Suddenly, it was all sold off. Those arms were from that period. From that period. That was something that we needed to keep.
49. There is a *guthi* house of Prince Upendra, below Sundhara, on the way to Taleju Bhawani. There is a Taleju Bhawani there. In Sundhara, right next to Bagdurbar. On the periphery of Bagdurbar. It was pulled over there from here by Tantric practitioners. Taleju Bhawani is there. It collapsed in 1934. Then it remained a single storey. That needs to be restored, but it is not done. The royal family still comes every year to do '*homa*' there, on Krishnaasthami, or so. Prince Upendra, he was tantric, he said he will not come out, and locked himself in from inside and the door is still locked from the inside. It still has not been opened by anyone. He is still inside, possibly as a *samadhi*. He is still there. Then there is a big statue of Dakshinkali, of Ganesh. Look at that place now. Bagdurbar is that kind of a place. Why

does the municipality need to demolish Bagdurbar? He said that it was from Hari Shamsheer, that is why it is OK to demolish it. That is what he said in court. Luckily, because of all of you, it survived. So the Silkhana is not going to be rebuilt. So many people go to Kirtipur to see, and here, where the Prime Minister used to live, the Prime Ministers house, instead of preserving it. What is says is that it was a Chibaha of the Buddhists and that they had stolen all that at the time. Yes, there is the Chibaha, but he needs to understand. Why are we about to demolish the New Road Gate and the Fire Brigade? If they had demolished everything, would this history have survived? First it did belong to the Newars. But Bhimsen Thapa, he did not take land forcefully, by making them cry. All that land he bought. The papers are still safe. Of Bhimsen Thapa. It is still safe. It is with [...], he has a photocopy. Such places should be used to develop Lagan. There is such a large open space, why do you need a park? They said that in Dharahara they are making a children's park. Where so many people died, why not make memorial park? There is a children's park near Bhrikuti Mandap. Why do you need a park there? There is no place for cars to move.

50. They have created such problems. I do not know how well you have understood, but what I have seen from outside, the problems that I have seen. I am not happy that they built Boudha. They even went and concreted on top. I tell them directly, the people of Boudha, I am not proud of what was done there. When you did the concreting, did not your mind burn? I told them, the ambassador, Ganesh Yonjan, and others, they said, brothers like you should have been active at the time. When you are all there, you cannot expect the next generation to take responsibility. When a nail is hammered, I feel as if it is being hammered into my chest. I had a hefty discussion with them. Now they do not allow one to go up and down. The Ward Chairman there is very nice. He takes action as soon as he is told. He is practical. Of the municipality there are a few good ward chairmen, one is of 24, and one is from there. The one from 24, even though he is from the UML party, he supported us fully with the Maharjan Complex issue. The Mayor is felt his ego towards him. The municipal committee for heritage which was established, instead of him becoming chairperson, he was thrown and someone else was installed. That is how much ego he keeps. He is an egoist.
51. Luckily at the time with Rani Pokhari, it was not the Mayor, but the Deputy Mayor who was there. I did not know her at the time. I am going to give it to him, but exactly at that time he flew to China with K.P. Oli. When we went to give grass. Instead of him, actually it is the Deputy Mayor who should be angry with me. I went to give grass. He should not have affected his ego so much. In the Maharjan complex he made a mistake. He went around talking in favour of him. At least he supported us in the case of Pashupati. It was good for him too. After eleven years, we were able to shut down Pashupati, by taking so much risk. The parliamentarian, the Mayor, everyone against us. We stayed there all night. The working style of Pashupati Development

Trust, you know what it is like. If Archaeology would have also taken their role more seriously.

52. For the Maharjan complex, the full decision still has not come. If that would come, it would be the right time to develop the regulations and law, we have a good circle of people. It would have been easy and also for the World Heritage, the mission that came the other day, this would provide support. But it still has not come. It has been a year now. The reason they cut the pillar at the top, do you know why? Because they are about to auction it off. There is a notice that that gone end of Poush (month December to January). So they were told to cut all the pillars at the top and sell the shops. The banks would be targeting him. This has been practically resolved. So it is done. So power, if you use it for the wrong thing, how long can you last? He used *sam*, *dam*, *danda* (persuasion, temptation, punishment) everything. Mayor is his. [...] is his. [...] is his. He used all that power. My habit is not let it go as long as he is alone, I was not targeting the individual, but I know how much trouble he gave to me personally.
53. How much he harassed personally. To what degree he caused problems. He wrote the document for the court. Whatever the rules that were made for the World Heritage, he is the one who drafted it. It includes the private house, since it was placed on the danger list, it includes everything including for the private houses. Our wish now is that the World Heritage should be put on the danger list, only then will the government react. So the staff here as well the ministers go abroad to conference, and come back saying we have freed the World Heritage from being put on the danger list. Now they have given a one year period, we have to put it on the danger list. However possible. Once it is put on the danger list, at least there will be pressure. And they will not be able to manipulate. In the Maharjan Complex what they have written, that until it does not comply with the bylaws, until the bylaws are not finalized, the permission for the underground should not be given. The Maharjan Complex was opened and endorsed by everyone. That is why that is a big accomplishment. It has also defined a maximum of 35 feet. The Maharjan underground, the Mayor does not correct it. The International Committee said that according to the law, it needs to be corrected. But they are still waiting for the full decision. If that would come, it would really be a plus point. So I experienced a lot, and also learned a lot. So everyone saw me as being a *birodhi* (objector). Also that custom of tagging people as being anti-development; that tag was given to me. Our worry is the next generation.

If Kasthamandap is rebuilt using concrete, then that is considered development. What kind of mind-set is that? That is the same mind-set, not only here, but also abroad.

54. There were plans to open a coffee shop in Kasthamandap, earlier, The Sidewalkers, if it would have happened, they would have opened the first floor as a restaurant, coffee shop. That is what kind of planning they had. Like in Bhaktapur, but that belongs to the math. Why do not the arrange

something at the university premises? At the university facility, we had an idea to build a Newar museum within the World Heritage site. The municipality had put aside four crores since long back. It has increased to six crores. That money is still there, to open a museum. Not in the inner areas, somewhere in the World Heritage zone, it is surely possible. At least there would be things to look at. Also your museum set up after the earthquake, it is effective. If like that, they would make it here, it would be good. If it gets done at the police facility, that is also possible. We do not have to make it empty. In respect to the police, we could also keep a small museum of the police there. The reason is that it was from the Kalbhairav that the tradition was started.

That is also something awkward. It was decided to tear it all down and clear the site. Keeping such open spaces was something the Rana's learned from the British. That was not what it was like earlier. Earlier it was always courtyards. Instead of keeping it open, it should be developed as a courtyard and a museum could be integrated. What will happen there if it is left as an open space? There will be stalls that are set up. For what would it be cleared?

55. Look at Hanumandhoka, now full of shops. The tourists that come to Hanumandhoka, not even one percent comes to this area. What kind of success? You saw the incident with the Yeti. They said Yeti, though it was created by erasing its identity. That was something made by [...]. It was his concept, and based on that [...] made it. Why was that linked between [...] and K.P. Oli? What kind of images were made? She was the one who criticized it in the media, writing about it continuously. In the end they got him to plead forgiveness. That is what happened. Always scared to act on things. Always scared to act on things. We do not think what might happen. If something is wrong, we say it is wrong, we hit at it straight away.

That is what I say. If it is not correct, we must say so. We cannot correct everything that is wrong, but we cannot just admit we cannot do anything and leave it. Even the Department of Archaeology says they cannot control certain things. Whether they can control it or not, that is a different point, but first they have to state that it is wrong. However much pressure might be put on them, they must say that according to archaeological rules, it is not correct.

56. If they do not even have to courage to do that much, what can they do? Look at how much support we are giving the Department of Archaeology. We feel as if our house or office has become Archaeology. Since then, we have continuously stayed there, to establish that. We have brought even Pashupati Development Trust in line. Archaeology should not leave their stance.

That they do not listen and we cannot do anything, leave it. That is not right.

57. Look at the houses that are being built here since the Maharjan incident. They are not even 35 feet. That is how they are building the new houses. To continue this is their work, not mine. Is not that correct. It was such a big

incident. We arranged for 108 cases to be filled. The Jhyapu *samaj* of Patan got involved. Also let us take the case of Indra Jatra in 72. After Baisakh 12 of 2072, we supported the Indra Jatra and Seto Matsyendranath festivals. In respect to Indra Jatra, there was a suggestion to use a palanquin. In their fear, they got the palanquins made. I went to see it. There were so many house with props. There are so many temples and monuments with props. People, even those from the Guthi, moved towards not having the chariots. So there were those in the Guthi who did say that they must use the chariots.

58. Since the beginning, I have been the one giving them security. It has been nine ten years. I told them that we should not do things that breaks our customs. Whatever the situation might be, [...] this time we will carry out the festival, and we will use the chariots. We will not use the palanquins. If we start using the palanquins, in future they will continue using palanquins. We said that even if we are unsafe, we are ready to provide the safety. At the time I got so many people to work. That year, never in any other year, has the chariot festival been so good. [...] In Khohiti, all those houses with props. The earthquake had not been long back. So there, that it might hit the props, people lined up. And considering the possibility that something might collapse, from our *tole*, there were two carpenters who ready on duty. We had stretchers and a car on standby. But the chariot was pulled in such a [...] manner, we did it so well. So now it has continued with the chariot. It did not divert to using the palanquin. People never think of such things, what to say, how to say things. They just make remarks. They had already made the palanquins. That was when they started carrying Ganesh and Bhairav from their houses using the palanquins. They used to carry them. They were going to use it for the entire procession, but once they used the chariot, at least from the house to Basantapur, they used to palanquins.
59. What I still need to do is shut Setobhairav. They have opened it. How did they pick up the courage to do that? There is such a large organization. Since I was involved with the Maharjan Complex, I did not take the risk there. I only went there once to reprimand them. They shut down the shops and closed Setobhairav at that time. After a few days, a few months, they again opened Setobhairav. The shop they removed. He showed the clothes outside and his wife used to sit inside and sew, with a machine. I went there directly to reprimand him. I had the brother's number, and I went there and shouted. He encroached on the *pati*, the *pati* below Bhagwati shrine, in front of Mahadev Parvati. The *toran*, and such nice shutters, were made. He is still trying, to put the shutters. He opened a shop there. It is right in front of the Mahadev Parvati. Now there is a rope there. We said that for 12 hours the *pati* has to be there. If at night for security. We could not say do not do it since there could have been complaints. On top of the Bhagwati of gold. There were solders there, but they were removed. The *pujari* there was the president of the Ganga Club. I got into a tussle with him. The way he shouted at me, no one had ever talked to me like that. Sitting up on that thing, he gave a speech. A-News was there to do an interview. I had

already gotten angry. I told him I do not have anything with him, it is with the Guthi Sansthan. He responded, get rid of the one at Kumarighar. Are you the one to give me orders? I am not a staff of any organization, so be careful how you talk with me. I could not sleep all night. I had this bad feeling. So at 6:30 in the morning, I put it on my Facebook status, those with bikes should come, those who do not have bikes should get friends with bikes to come. Then a whole troop of bikes went. I went there on sitting on a police bike. We went there and reprimanded him. There was a seven day notice, but I kept the paper in my pocket and got them to clear the place immediately, while got the person who had come along to drink tea. I told him that the police would come within half an hour. Then we called the carpenter, with the support of [...], and we removed the door shutters. He started to close the shop and leave. So we scared him that we would break the lock. In five hours we cleared the place. We got there at 12 o'clock, after going to the Guthi Sansthan, and by five o'clock, we had cleared the *pati* and raised the flag and left. The shopkeeper came to me and said, you know what, that you protested because you did not it. [...] So we got into a tussle. It was [...]. He had invested in the shop. It ended up in a tussle. I got a message from [...], why do you have to go and get involved everywhere. I replied not to 'overtake' me in these things. It became quite an incident. Her boyfriend stays abroad. He later sent me a message saying sorry. His uncles had told him, saying sorry. In respect to heritage, I do not know what went on yesterday, in my mind that also needs to be improved, but what I see today, that must happen. That is all. So at the time we really got into action.

60. In Boudha, as soon as they put the screen, I called up a friend in Boudha, and asked if a screen was put up and he said yes. When I went to see, it was put up in a permanent manner. As a first step we went to give a letter. The ward chairpersons were all new, so we did not know anyone. Then Archaeology called a meeting. Archaeology [DOA] tricked me. Lots of people were there from Boudha. How did not recognize them, the Tibetans, who was I to recognize them. They scarred me.

It is very complicated in Boudha. In respect to putting up the large bell, which they did later on in the back. Some Rinpoche from California was funding it. They had arranged things with lots of people. There were sheds where they used to light lamps. They were removed to make a small garden and erect this bell. It was stopped since it is not correct that to allow an individual to do something like that.

61. The present Chine Lama, he is a druggie and has two passports. I found his citizenship certificate from Hong Kong. I have copies, if something happens, I will use it.

His father, when all the Tibetans fled, he used to get the artefacts and sell them. He earned a lot of money through that. One son is Ganesh, the present Chine Lama. He has six seven wives. One of his son was with my son in school. It was the third or fourth wife of Ganesh.

62. When we went to go there to remove the screens, there were only women there. When Archaeology called the meeting, there were many people from Boudha there, I had no idea whether they were positive or negative towards this. We were only three of us. A *bhai* who was photographer, Sunita and myself. And there was [...] uncle, the guy who showed us Dasavatar. So we went. [...] was really scared. They were shouting at Archaeology [DOA]. The DSP, they do not respect the police. [...] had arranged the meeting after I contacted him about this. They had taken permission for one day and fixed it in a permanent manner. Later, he announced that a heritage-lover has come from Basantapur, pointing at me, and he has been protesting against this, let's listen to a few of his words. So I had to say something. For a moment I was not sure what to say, I got nervous. But then I did talk. You are from Boudha and have the full right, but I also have the right. From the point of view of Buddhism, you are full believers, I only believe in certain parts. You believe wearing the dress. After 26 days, something that was going to be put up for only one day, do you think this is correct? Then talking, I steamrolled it forward, and they started jumping. It would be good if you removed it yourselves. If you do not, within 24 hours, that the authorities remove it, is all that I am hoping. If they do not, then we will come ourselves to remove it. That led to chaos. The police came up. The situation became such that they nearly had to get me away, to save me. What happened was that some were against, others for, then people from outside came in. At that point, the ward chairman stood up, Dipendra-dai. He said we need to thank this *bhai*. Then everything changed. Purna Raj Joshi talked in my support, the ward chairman supported me, and the guy from the area Development Committee supported me. Once four of them talked in my support, the main people, the decision was taken for them to remove it within 24 hours, and if not then it would be removed. The municipal police were also there. The Archaeology DG got up and we also got up. They told me to go ahead. Their lawyer came to get my number. I gave it to him.
63. The next morning he called and reprimanded me. I was going to Boudha. I told others to eat and then come. He said that the people from Basantapur should remain in Basantapur. I told him, wherever I step, it is my place of birth, so I went to Boudha. When I got there an old lady told me not to go towards that gully. They had place *gundas* there. Even last time the police had removed *gundas* from the *guthi*. The people of Boudha had gheraoed the *guthi*. They then removed lots of *gundas* from the *guthi* building. They were caught and put in the police cars. Otherwise they would probably have killed me. They are that type. I only got to know Damodar-dai after that. At the time Sher Bahadur's government was about to come. They were close. If it would have been delayed only slightly, it would have been difficult for us. The same evening the DSP called me. The work will not take place today, it would not be done for another two days, you do not have to stay there, is what the DSP said. I asked why it would not happen for two days. Some of their people need come. No, we will not accept that. I told the DSP that it would be better for him not to agree. We will remain here until it is

removed. I did not want it to be there over 30 days. There was a *mela* for a month, and if we allow it, maybe they would do it again the following year for a month. This time they only said for one day. So I had to make sure it got removed within 29 days. That was my target. They were forced to remove it. There as well justice had won, 'I flew the flag' and left. Then I went there again when they were earning money by put up lamps. They were all *gundas* there.

Even in connection with that bell, there were 15 or 16 different groups.

64. There are many different guthis.

When they were going to rebuild Boudha, China was going to give money for the work, but we stopped it from Archaeology. What I heard was that for the work that was carried out, it was money from China, so much money came, so the money was divided up and everyone was paid off, allowing the work to be carried out very quickly.

65. It was carried out with security.

So they had to carry out the work in a hurry, since they had to hide the fact that the money had come from China.

66. There are many who are not happy with the work there. I have flashed the news that the first project that was carried out, it was done wrong. That is our feeling now.

There are photos.

67. Yes. There is still big discussions that it might get removed. The bones of some big Rinpoche was brought. It is still a big controversy. It is still going on. But everyone is united to remove the Chine Lama. There is a case in the courts. They went to the CDO. They demonstrated. They are still working at it. He is however powerful. The Boudha Area Development Committee is not powerful. It is like our committee here. Already the decision has been made that it cannot collect the entrance fees, from the lower courts. There are decisions that have made the *guthi* strong. It was Jung Bahadur who established them there. But they are the ones who are powerful.

Interview A7

14 February 2020 (voice recording translated from Nepali)

I have started the recording.

1. Even before the earthquake [...], in day to day activities, I was related to this. Also after the earthquake, I have been related in the same manner.

Were you involved in any other way? People go there to do puja or then to attend various activities. Where you involved in any such manner?

2. In respect to the Department of Archaeology looking after tangible heritage, even if I did not do it directly myself, through the section and through the Hanumandhoka Durbar Maintenance Office, to prepare conservation notes and when it is necessary to carry out conservation for tangible heritage, in respect to doing this only. Not in respect to intangible heritage or other related aspects.

Your previous generations did not have any link, and you next generation is also not directly linked through the community? So what do you think is the significance of Kasthamandap? In short.

3. Kasthamandap, looking at it historically, it is an open space to carry out socio-religious activities. Since history there is continuity. Even at the time of the earthquake, from the side of the society, there was a blood donation going on. Including such activities, as well as a local who carried out Bhai-Tikka there. That is why, the significance, apart from the physical local people, all local, all Nepalis, wherever they might be staying, this space is where socio-cultural activities take place, that is the significance, is what I think.

Before the earthquake, in what manner do you remember Kasthamandap? Did you visit the place for inspection? Many people know that Kasthamandap is there, but never entered, other than the local community. It is rather curious that everyone knows of Kasthamandap, but they do not have any link. What could that be? Even photos, when we were looking for them afterwards, we found relatively few.

4. In addition to my official connection, I also have a personal link to Kasthamandap. It is because there we have the four Binayaks of Kathmandu. In the four corners of Kasthamandap, there were the four Binayaks. Those and the Maruganesh on the side. When we went to do *darshan* to Maruganesh, we also used to do *darshan* the four Binayaks. Also linked to socio-cultural activities, I used to go there. Also, in respect to socio-cultural activities, even before studying culture, it was a unique structure. We used to sit there. Since there were also relatives around that area. When certain socio-cultural rituals took place, we used to go there. In that sense, I am also directly connected. More than just saying that it was this kind of a monument, I had direct links to it.

After the earthquake occurred where did you hear about the collapse of Kasthamandap? I first heard that Dharahara collapsed. Kasthamandap was the second one. At the time there was a lot of talk of monuments collapsing. How did you hear that Kasthamandap had collapsed?

5. In respect to Kasthamandap specifically, as you mentioned... after the earthquake, for two three hours there was no information from anywhere. About two hours later, when the main earthquake seemed to be getting over, I tried to call many places. Some connected, others did not. When it did connect, probably it was around 4 o'clock in the afternoon, when I got information on Kasthamandap. Before that I had already received news on Dharahara. I had received a text. When I checked on what all happened where, then I found out that 25 to 30 people, who were there for the blood donation, when the earthquake occurred. There was also someone who, while it was collapsing, managed to run out. I could not get any further information on that. At Dharahara, in the same manner, we heard stories of people who were on the tower that survived. So, hearing about the 25-30 people, out of fear, I started checking what happened in other places. That went on till four to four thirty. I then went around the Patan area on a bike, keeping to the big roads, the main roads. I went around the Patan area and then returned. The same day. The following day we came to the department. I was in touch with all the senior officers. The following day, we all came here and started working. The following day I came at around noon to meet up with everyone and discuss. From the follow day we started coming right from the morning at six o'clock onwards. On the fourth day we all met up at UNESCO.

Two days later I also went to UNESCO. After that, if we focus on Kasthamandap, for three years, things were quite chaotic. From the Department of Archaeology, there was talk of giving it to the Municipality. Then there was the thing with the structural design. Then the activists got involved and worked against it. How do you understand what happened during this period? The reason for not being able to carry out any work.

6. The priority to work on that came from the community. We had actually put the collapsed structures under third priority. That would have meant that it would have been OK to begin work on that now. There was a lot of work that actually needed to be done between then and now. That also could not take place. The reason was the local community and the political pressure, their political consciousness was that, whatever might be, projects like Kasthamandap, Dharahara, and others, monuments that had totally collapsed, that they needed to be rebuilt immediately. There was separate pressure. Because of that pressure, the department, the concerned authority, there was no thought on whether it could be carried out in that manner or not. On the other hand, the local community had directly link with the municipality and by putting pressure on the municipality, they said that if the department does not rebuild it, if the government does not rebuild it, then we will rebuild it. They had the support of the local community. That is why they moved towards rebuilding it themselves. On the other hand, for

us, rebuilding it was on the third priority list. Considering that would be too late, with the political pressure, if you do not rebuild it, the municipality should do it. Even then, the Department of Archaeology has the responsibility, not only for monitoring, overall.

7. As we were saying, when we found only few photographs of Kasthamandap, and did not have the drawings at the time, we when we searched, we also found a measure-drawing from that time. Based on that, the drawings were prepared and there was talk of giving them. At the time when the blood donation programme was going on, when it collapsed, so many lives were lost, because of that, from now on, our monuments should not be weak. Stone, mud and bricks are not that strong was the opinion of the community. Because of that, since the municipality had adopted a new set of structural bylaws, that kind of strengthen is also required here, or at least it has to be made strong. We should not allow people to get killed like that. Those kind of sentimental things appeared. Because of that, strengthening methods were proposed by structural engineers. There was no thought on considering how to strengthen the monuments using traditional methods, the only thought was how to strengthen it. That led to a huge conflict. Because of that conflict, actually, it was delayed. It is not because the department could not do it, it was in that context that the project was going to be given to the municipality, the pressure, and it was not even that the department said it was going to give it to the municipality. If you are going to put it as third priority, then they will do it. That was what was decided by the government. Later, when preparing the drawings, and strengthening, and many other reasons, it turned into a conflict, and so it got stuck.

It took three years, however, it was also possible to carry out archaeological research. Even before that, a lot of things took place, in anticipation of an earthquake, the Revisiting Kathmandu Symposium for example. There was the question of preparedness. If we had been more prepared, then what would have happened? Could we have been able to deal with such things right from the beginning? Or the three years, would it have required time anyway? What could have been done for preparedness?

8. Even before the earthquake, considering that this is an earthquake prone zone, from very early on we tried to be prepared. It is also there in the government system. It was however focused mainly on saving human lives. It is true that we were not able to coordinate with the Home Ministry. We were also not able to do a lot of work related to the preparedness. That is why we were not able to do a lot of things that we should have done at the time. Even during the three years, if there were a lot of things that could have been done in respect to preparedness, one, a lot of things that needed to be done in the response phase could have been done at the time. Also during that phase a lot of things went wrong. In the response phase, we should have said what all needed to be done, but we did not have a strategy. There was also no standard. Because of that even something very simple, the bricks that were piled up by volunteers on the

one side, or other materials, and the next group of volunteers would come and shift it to another side. Because of that, a lot of material was damaged. Even for something that simple, we were not able to do anything at the time. If there had been any preparedness, the three years, even for ten years, even if nothing could be done, then we would have known had to respond. But we could not do it. That is why we do need preparedness.

After three years at last the work began. That after the provincial MP to responsibility for it. The ongoing work, in your opinion, or what is your basic assessment of it?

9. There are a lot of things. Saying this in short, there might be various things that are missed out. Firstly, as we previously mentioned, the preparedness did not take place. Even then, during the three years, the collapsed structure that we had put in third priority, the things that needed to be done, we were not able to do. Due to different political pressure, after three years, work began. But before starting, even though there were conflicts, the good that came out of it, was the preparation of the drawings. Because of the conflict, it was possible to do that. How did that happen? As I mentioned in the beginning, for strengthening there was the concept of using new technology and materials. That was slowly removed. In Kasthamandap, what we saw was that it was possible to strengthen even when we do not use that. It set an example. That is number one, in the assessment, it is a strong point in my mind. The second, community participation has not been focused on sufficiently in cultural heritage. In this context, what I have understood, after the 2015 earthquake, whatever might have happened, even though the activists might have gotten involved knowing a bit too much, let them have understood too much, or understood less, or without understanding were following others, the percentage of those saying, “heritage is ours, our identity is linked to this, and therefore it is our responsibility to preserve this,” has increased dramatically. Because, previously when the Department of Archaeology carried out many awareness programmes, they used to say they did not care, it was up to the government to do it. There used to be only such talk. Later on, ...
10. Awareness, the community got their awareness because of the earthquake. Because of that awareness, Kasthamandap is being rebuilt by the community, is what can be seen. The reason for this is, if the community had not been aware, just the activists, the two to four activist are not the representatives of the community. We were also looking into that in detail. The activists, are they actually doing it for the original community, or where did they come from? Once the representative stepped forward, that was surely the representative of the community. That is why, the government has allowed for Kasthamandap to be rebuilt through a user-committee, as a compromise. Because that also has a link to the municipality, so it is the local government, then the Parliamentarian from the province, so the provincial government is also linked, and the separate involvement of the Department of Archaeology. So the community, the local government, the provincial government and the central government, all four are working well

together, can move forward as a good example, that is how I see it, my assessment. Whose role is what, that needs to be looked into more in detail.

That is exactly the point. Talking with others, this is the point that was raised. That this work is being done through the provincial government, is that correct or not. Through whom should this work actually be carried out? Then there is the new Constitution. So the as per the act, the government has taken on certain responsibilities. Then there are many levels of government. On the other hand there is what we refer to as community. The government is the representative of the communities. But then there are the activists. So in future, how can we arrange these things? In Patan things are running in a different manner. In Bhaktapur it is in a different manner. Now, instead of saying right and wrong, in future how should we move forward? In future what kind of a management system would be best?

11. Like I was saying, the four layers, they are four different communities. Even if they are government, they are communities. Central government community, provincial government community, local government community and real people's community. These are four different layers of community. Wherever and whatever we consider in Nepal, they are trying to get things one community based. Only then, in heritage, will it be possible to link it with the intangible. We have not talked a lot about the intangible. However it is through the intangible that the community is directly linked to the monument, through day to day activities. That is why it is impossible to get any work done without their involvement. That is why for community involvement, we have to have the local government there. Between the local government and the central government, there is the provincial government. If we look at it now, the legal status, it is not clear how the provincial government will get involved. Even if that is not clear, considering the ongoing renovation at Kasthamandap, there the provincial parliamentarian is taking the lead, in that sense, certain initiation must also come from the provincial government. For this reason, this project is also very important. If we could use this modality everywhere, it would be very good.
12. Though, what is needed is to understand how far the community can play its role. The role of the community. The same for the local, provincial and central government, who will get involved and what are the responsibilities. And the accountability, who is accountable for what. These things need to be clarified, is what I believe. Otherwise, if in future, all the work is carried out by the central government through their resources, then the local government will say they are not informed and do not know what is being done within their area. In many places, in our own experience, when we go outside Kathmandu, in the villages, when we carry out conservation projects on monuments, we coordinate directly with the *gaunpalika* (rural municipalities) and the respective wards, with the chairperson directly. So they get involved, not institutionally, but as an individual who is there

coordinating. This leads to them feeling that they are working there not representing the institution, but as an individual. That should not be allowed, even if it is an individual of the village, is that individual representing the village community, or representing the local government? Or it could be both. That needs to be clear and whose involvement and to what degree, and what to do, there needs to be a limitation. There needs to be overall coordination of this.

All this will come into the IMF review. This will also link to how the government will function in future. What is going on with the provincial government, they still have not been able to arrange it properly.

13. In many cases, it is running based on individual relations. In many cases, they are only involved because people say they are close-by so they should be involved.

The question is how the government will function in future, and the communities, there are many different communities. For example we have from the side of engineering that that strengthening is required, even the design was prepared by our senior engineer, and looking at it from the point of view of engineering, possibly it was OK. Looking at it from the point of view of conservation, what was prepared was not appropriate. The involvement of artisans in most places was lacking. Even if they were involved, they were not involved in decision-making. They are given work such as wood carving, since they are the only ones who can do it, but in respect to management. Even though we know this, it has been difficult in Kasthamandap. Where there is no focus on this, it is even more difficult. They have not been able to do anything. So what is your opinion on this? On the one hand we need to follow the rules, building code, our thinking is also towards engineering, but how can we move forward in future? In many places because we say it has to be stronger, modern materials are also being used. How do we deal with that in future?

14. The department has kept architects exactly for that kind of coordination. They do not focus on the structure. What architecture is there, and it is the architecture, as you mentioned, is only done by the artisans. It could have decorations, some design in wood or stone, different types. That is where the confusion lies. The engineers are there only to make the drawings along with the estimates. All the supervision is what the architects should be doing. That is what the department was trying to arrange. In that confusion, they go and ask those artisans, the carpenters, “how did you used to do this *dai?*” they would ask. Even though the carpenters and the masons are not involved in the management, the architects get their opinion before coming to a decision. That means the decision is totally influenced by them.

15. We also have said, on and off, that they need to be directly involved in the decision making process. We should at least, as we tried earlier, to prepare a roster. We then have to list of projects and we can figure out how many people we need, they can then be chosen based on priority or merit. That

would be very good. If we could do it in that manner, their role would also be in decision making, since as soon as they are employed by the department, it is not only the financial part, the financial might be that they arrange with the contractor, the other part would be, as we were discussing, the decision making part, they would then be able to provide their opinion, or it would become mandatory. If the department says these are the carpenters and masons for this and this project, then the carpenter will be able to say that all the work with wood has to happen as I dictate. For that, not only a roster, but as we mentioned earlier with the community, local government, or central government responsibilities, in those projects, there will also need to be clarity in the level of responsibility and authority that they would have. If it is possible to arrange things in this manner, then that would be very good. This modality would be good, and there probably is not any other option. If they are hired by the contractors, then the contractors when they are getting their contract would need to say these are the type of people we have, and get it attested from here. Or they might bring anyone, and what would their qualification be? By just watching them work, they cannot get qualified. Because of that, things need to be arranged as we move forward, I believe.

Last question, there needs to be maintenance, every year. There needs to be monitoring and maintenance. By whom should this be done? The guthis, when I tried to find out, who has taken responsibility. It seems as if there are many people who have taken responsibility. Everyone is doing their own work. Overall, there is no group that has taken ownership. There are those who are trying, but one cannot find it happening. The maintenance and monitoring, whom would it be best arranged through? Should it be the government? At which level? Or should it be the community? Should any group be given the responsibility? How would it be best?

16. Like what we said about the different layers of community, in the same way there are different layers of ownership. There are the local *guthis*, that are not related to the Guthi Sansthan, communal *guthi*, or what you might call it, the community's own *guthi*. Legally, we would have to treat that as private community. Then there is the Guthi Sansthan, that was established in 1933 BS [1964 CE], that organization has a type of *guthi*. It has ownership. Then there are different, in the name of the government, the Department of Archaeology, or others of the Nepal Government that have authority. For example there are many places in the name of the Forestry Department. There are also structures there. Under such situations it is necessary to coordinate with them as well. The overall responsibility, those with the overall responsibility, would be the *nagar* or *gaunpalika*, within their area. Finally, ultimately, it is within their area. The Department of Archaeology's palace, whose is it? Even though it might be in our name, it is within the area of jurisdiction of the municipality (*mahanagarpalika*), of Kathmandu. Or say if it is in some place in Darchula. When asked, whose is that? It would belong to the *gaunpalika* there. Even though it is the central government's, it is their working area. But, as we said before, monitoring or periodical assessment needs to be fixed.

17. That system, in respect to cultural heritage, would be something that should be done by the Department of Archaeology. However, within the structure of the Department of Archaeology, at the base level, there is nothing. That is why in our Act, in the districts, the CDO as well as the *gaunpalika* have been given certain things. Now the Local Government Implementation Act, now there is the Local Government Implementation Act, replacing the Local Self-Governance Act, has given certain authority to the *nagar* and *gaunpalika*. We need to link things to that, involving the local authorities in some manner, and to assess that, we would also look into it periodically. This kind of recommendation of doing it in this manner, and there is an arrangement to coordinate with the local government in this manner, it will be locally maintained, and if it is arranged in a similar manner for local use, they will easily do it.
18. Now they say on the centre, but in the centre there are no people. For the entire Nepal, it is necessary to send people from here. Even by running around it would not be possible. Wherever they say, if they get there, the similar thing will have happened in a different place. There is no system there to carry out assessment. Nor do they listen to what we recommend. That is because there is no mechanism in between. There is no coordination. They also do not have any instruments to carry out assessments. They also do not have resources. If we arrange all these things and set up a mechanism, it would get active involvement of the local government. They can also mobilise the local community. If the use and reuse is also arranged along the same lines. Then in this process the involvement of the Central Government would also be seen. Then if we could slowly work towards this modality, in truth, no one will be able to say that we are not looking after this. Because regularly, from top to bottom, this would keep happening. Decisions would also be from the local level, as when we were talking about the artisans, then the assessments would get done by the local artisans from there. Then the solution of this is how it needs to be done, will also come from them. We would only need to recommend, based on their proposal, this is how it will get done. Once this is sent, the work will be carried out actively by them.

So the government system is also being set up. It will probably take some time for it to function. But certain things have not been arranged, such as certification of artisans. So artisans are artisans, but if someone comes saying he is a carpenter, how do we know that he can work, that he can do the wood carving? Understanding how the main structure is built? That also needs to be arranged.
19. That needs to be arranged. Just saying an artisan, if that person knows how to build a house, does it also mean he can build a temple? That is not possible. That is why, this being a technical department, the department, as we mentioned earlier, like carrying out assessment for maintenance, to that level, how to get the artisans involved and what kind of certification can be given, linked to a systematic refreshment training, also providing the initial

training, linked to setting up some form of vocational training institute. Regulating that would need to be through the local government, I believe. That is because, technically, it will be difficult for the Department of Archaeology to deal with everything, also in these circumstance. Also once it is set up, the Department of Archaeology does not have branch offices anywhere. Or at provincial level, in seven locations.

Is it handicrafts or vocational training, like through CTEVT, where do we link this?

20. Or should there be a training centre in each of the seven provinces. When they have recommended and provided the training, then a system for the Department of Archaeology can be established. For other things fine, but for work that they have to do for us, this is to certify for this level.

All this we still need to arrange in our work.

Interview A8a, A8b, A8c

15 February 2020 (voice recording translated from Nepali)

I have started the recording.

1. **[a]** So what can we do here to construct this [Piganani]?

Long-time back I also came one two times to meetings, but there were many people working here, measuring, and also engineers had come. There were also people here from the municipality. I felt awkward to say too much. I stayed quiet. If it is stuck, we can see how to move it forward, think about it. I can probably help you with the technical aspects, but concerning funding, I do not know very much, from where it comes, whether from the municipality. NRA is also shutting down soon. If towards the end some money can be shaken from them, that would also be good.

2. **[a]** They do not have any budget. IF they had money, they would have invested.

This is their last year. They are trying to show work, that projects are going on, [...].

3. **[a]** Yes, [...]. We need to bring him here.

He always talks big. He is trying to extend for an extra year. By showing work, projects, and if he gets support, then it could come from there. But I do not understand such things very well.

4. **[a]** If we get him to enter this place, then he will have ideas.

Technically, what needs to be done, we can see. Are there copies of what was done previously?

5. **[a]** There is.

We need to look at the drawings and the assessments, and then we can see how to move forward. If we can arrange the entire area, it would become quite an example.

6. **[a]** It will be an example.

If we can keep that in mind when we work.

7. **[a]** What [...] did was she brought a lion to scare everyone. She got forms for everyone to fill out their income. Everyone got scared. Once scared people did not agree. That really was not necessary.

I really do not know such things. What the processes are. If we look at it from the technical and planning side, if we make it nicely, it would be extremely..... and right next to Kasthamandap, keeping that link, something good could be done.

8. **[a]** You had also said earlier, I am interested exactly in that. We were ready to call the person who was there before Sushil Gyawali, some Bhattarai or

something, we were going to call him, everything was ready, but then he resigned. I do not know Sushil Gyawali at all. The only option would be for us to go and meet him as a team.

It would be good to meet him. Maybe present some drawings. We have already done this and this, and the ideas are like this. We will also fund part of it, but doing the whole project on our own will be difficult, if we could get support from there, Maybe if you arrange things along those lines. Something can come out of this.

9. **[a]** How can we make the arrangements to meet? It might only work though you, since they did not allow us to meet. I already tried the other day.

I will find out. There is also ICOMOS Nepal, we have two members from NRA. I will find out from them. Maybe we should talk with them and they can arrange the link.

10. **[a]** We need to work on this project quickly, since a lot of these buildings are become empty. That one is empty, that is as well. My house is also empty. If that collapses, then it is over. If one of them collapses, it will pull all the others. All of them are linked.

We need to fix them one by one. Can I ask a few things in respect to Kasthamandap? I am also helping with the project which is going on. We are also publishing a book on it. We are also arranging some events, discussions, calling it Kasthamandap Symposium, a series of them. I am the one who is supposed to bring out the book. That is my work. On that one hand it is that, but then on the other hand I am also doing research on Kasthamandap. In respect to Kasthamandap, firstly it is a mandap, or a sattal. First it was a sattal and then it turned into a mandap. What is a sattal and what is a mandap?

11. **[b]** Mandap is a boundary for gods. Mandap usually have four corners, a quadrangle, and a square, with four doors. In the middle, the activities take place, whatever they might be, for *puja* or games invitation, it activities, that place is called *mandapa*. Mandapa, is actually what the Vajrayana Buddhists use, later the Hindus also began using it. So in respect to Kasthamandap, *kastha* is wood, of which the *mandap* is made. In the heritage of our Vajrayana Buddhists, there is a custom of giving donation. Now the custom is to do that once a year. *Panchadan*. That is what we call *panchadan*. *Dan* is an offering, *pancha* means five different elements, which the *bhikshu* (monk) cannot do without. Nowadays they have become *brishta*, before they were *bhikshu*. Once Jayastiti Malla came to Nepal, he forced the *bhikshu* of all the *vihars* to marry, and made them *brishta*. We give them offerings. In these times, in Bhadau, which falls in September, towards the second or third week of September, we still follow that custom. And so in respect to Kasthamandap, a *mandap* built of wood was built and they were seated there, and we all go there to give offerings.

12. So the real reason for Kasthamandap was meant for that. What the government is promoting as Kasthamandap; that is a *sattal*. ... In a *sattal*,

there is no god. *Sattal* is a place where people rest, or if there are travellers, they came and rest there, or could even spend one or two nights here. They would keep their luggage there and spread their mats, at the time they did not have airbags. Only such things are called *mandapa*, sorry *sattal*. There is no god. In a *sattal* there is no god. Here also, there is no god. What they now call Gorakhnath, that was put there much later, much later. Now there are even four Ganesh. It might be a hundred years since they put the four Ganesh. About that much. In our Newari language, we call it Marusattal. *Sattal*, the original word is *sala*, and *sala* means a resting place. That comes from Sanskrit. From Maru-*sala*, it became Mardu-*satta*. Now we Newars have stated calling it Marusattal. It is some kind of distortion. That is what happened. At that time there was a *vihar* there. Very many years ago. Maybe two thousand years ago. The name of the *vihar* was Kasthamandap Vihar. Some say that it was even during Buddha's period. That that *vihar* was from the period of the Buddha. During the period of Lord Buddha, when at that time Lord Buddha came to the *vihar*, to rest a separate house was built, like a hostel. Something like that is called *gandakuti*. *Gandakuti* is only found where Lord Buddha or Lord Buddha's main follower (*agriha*) or assistants (*sewak*) go. It is not found anywhere else. There is only this one *vihar* which became a *gandakuti*. In India there are many such *gandakuti*, In Nepal this is the only place where there is a *gandakuti*. Today, where there is a kind of *dabali*, we call it *kaakuti*, in our Newar language. The name *kaakuti* comes from *gandakuti*. It must have come from the corruption of *gandakuti*. It is associated with the Kasthamandap Vihar. Kasthamandap Vihar, we know that every hundred years a large earthquake occurred. At some time in the past a large earthquake might have occurred that destroyed everything. They were maybe not able to restore.

13. Later, it was a Malla King, Lakshminarasimha Malla, or who, built this. It was around seven hundred years ago, according to the present calculations. Between six hundred and seven hundred years. It was built during that period. When excavations were done there, two thousand year old artefacts were found, eight hundred year old were found, fifteen hundred year old were found. None of that is from Kasthamandap. It is from the old *vihar*. Where there are two lions, you must have seen. Those two lions are from the old Kasthamandap Vihar. In Kathmandu, I do not know about India, but in Kathmandu, where there is a *vihar* or *bahi*, at the main entrance, there is a pair of lions. Everywhere that is the case. If you look here, you can see it. During the Shah-*vamsa* and Malla-*vamsa* period, the Kings have taken and moved the lions wherever they wanted. To exercise their power. The lions that are placed on the eastern side of Kasthamandap as well, if you look at the lustre of the stone, if you look at the polish, they are at least fifteen hundred to two thousand years old. Such polished stone, it was only possible to make that during the Licchavi period. Later they were not able to make it like that. So that lions are that old, the Kasthamandap which we find there today is relatively new. That cannot be. There are many controversial things.

14. It does not matter how much we talk since what we say does not make any difference. So we keep quite. If you really want to see what Kasthamandap is really like, you will have to wait till September. When we are giving our offerings, we can show you what it is like. It could be that at the time when Kasthamandap was a vihar, the place where offerings were given might have been inside the courtyard like here. It must have been inside there that the offerings were given. After all that was destroyed, was dismantled, where should be sit to give our offerings, they must have come to the side and done it there. That is not something that happened now, but thousands of years ago. We also have a book called *Pragyaparamita*. At the time of giving offerings, of doing puja, we worship that book. *Ashtasahashrika Pragyaparamita*. It is written on banana leaf. We have not highlighted that, since we are scared that it will get seized. So, at that time we read the prayers for a month, but now there is not anyone who knows how to read it. It is supposed to be done by the Gurjus. People like us, layman, or not the ones to do it. But fortunately, once I have read the prayers. I learned the letters, it took me three months to read the prayers, the one book. I have already forgotten it now. They use three different types of scripts, in that one book. When I talk about that topic, the year, I believe it is from the Nepali year 29, when that book was written. The Kings name is Mathadeva. But here no one knows of this King Mathadeva in history. In some place on stone inscriptions or on banana leaf, it is found, but his name is not mentioned in any of the history books published by the government. But it is written there. Also the archaeological experts have come to know, that that is not Kasthamandap. But that has been announced throughout the world, so the name cannot be changed. So this will remain, is what they have said.

Some of these things come out, we have come to understand, also with the dating, but we have not been able to say exactly what it is. If we can put together all the information, which might be different, maybe people will be able to improve their understanding slowly.

15. **[b]** Our Guru, the guru from two generations ago, told us once. Where the Kasthamandap stands used to be where there was a *vihar*. That is where Padmapani Avalokitesvara was established. He said that Padmapani Avalokitesvara has to be there. I heard this maybe forty years ago. At that time I was not so aware of Buddhism, and did not know much. It was the first time that I heard of Padmapani. It could be that what I heard was wrong. At the time of the earthquake, when Marusattal, this Kasthamandap collapsed, they found a Vajrapani Avalokitesvara which was kept on the top-most floor. It could have been the *gurju* said 'Vajrapani' and I heard 'Padmapani'. So where did this Vajrapani come from? Vajrapani is a *tantric* god. It is not something to be kept in the open. Afterwards Archaeology took it. So that Vajrapani must be from the time of the Kasthamandap Vihar. There is also a Vajrapani figure here. Here there is a small one. It must be a Vajrapani. A similar one but larger was there. at the time when this

was removed, I was in America. Unfortunately I was not able to see it. It happened when I was not here. Otherwise I would have gone to see.

So it was on the topmost floor? At the moment we are only talking about the bottom floor. The top part has not been discussed.

16. **[a]** There were lots of gods there.

17. **[b]** None of them were really installed there. They were kept like in a museum.

So these we taken there from other places around here.

18. **[a]** There were different sizes, from quite large to as small as this. The guard used to allow us to go up. There was a statue that was stolen and then it was stopped. We used to go there.

When was it stolen?

19. **[a]** Many years ago. Then they did not allow it to be opened.

How is the community here connected to Kasthamandap?

20. **[b]** Concerning Kasthamandap, some who know history have said, also on the archaeological inscriptions, in this courtyard, we are Tamrakars. Maybe around a thousand years ago, the Tamrakars, no not a thousand, maybe five six hundred years ago, the Tamrakars restored Kasthamandap. They said that. We do not know. On a television talk programme, they said it, and we only heard it. That we do not even know. They said it. Someone from Mahaboudha, someone called Sangha Ratna Sakya, he also said the same thing in an interview. The *vihar* in Mahaboudha was built for them by Tamrakars. That is why the name of that *vihar* is 'Ta Vihar'. Ta is another word for Tamrakar. In Newari they say, 'Ta'. Tauwa Vihar means, a *vihar* made by us for them. It was then given as an offering to the Shakyas. He also said that for Kasthamandap, at certain intervals, when restoring was carried out, it was done by the Tamrakars. That is the history, is what they said. He said that he has certification of this. I told this to one or two people but I do not know whether they went there to check.

We found the copper shoes. That must be very old. We have not found that anywhere. That is quite surprising. We have not been able to understand that properly. We have not found the use of copper connecting the post and the saddle stone anywhere.

21. **[b]** It is to protect the wood.

Since when has this been used? For example in Japan and America they use, well in Japan the use copper, while in America they use copper sulphide so that insects do not eat the wood. When did they put these here? And it is not seen anywhere else. So, since it is copper, it must have been put there by the Tamrakars.

22. **[b]** The history of the Tamrakars, even we do not know exactly. According to our *gurju*, we used to be Shakyas. That is it. When Manadeva ruled, we left being a *bhikshu*, we became *brishhta*, we started household activities and that is when we started working with metal crafts. That was during the reign of Manadeva II. Manadeva II was the one who took us to Changu Narayan to construct the copper roof and gild it. After that we became Tamrakars, is what we heard. Before that we were Shakyas. There is this *vihar* there, Layku Bahi Vihar and Sikhamu Vihar. We are closely connected with that. They have a *guthi* there and when they do *puja*, the *pujaprath* or *bakhya* needs to be read out loud. All those related to the *guthi*, from many generations ago, their names have to be recited. They also recite our Tamrakar names. Even till now. The real knowledgeable ones will now some of these things. There is one Yagyaman Pati *gurju*. When I once talked with him, he said, 'yes, your name needs to be taken, at Layku Bahi'.

He comes regularly and we have requested him for a paper for the symposium. Let's see what comes out of that. This will now continue to be built. We have not really started discussing this, but afterwards, it will be necessary to maintain the monument. According to legislation it is up to the Department of Archaeology to look after it, particularly since it is a main monument of a World Heritage. If we review this, we find that it is due to a lack of maintenance that the monument collapsed. If it would have been looked after better, it would not have collapsed.

23. **[a]** Some time back this side was practically collapsing, Ba got some funds. That was when Girija was Prime Minister. At that time forty lakhs were sanctioned. Ba said we do not need forty lakhs and he returned twenty five lakhs. They sued him and because of that he had a heart attack. Then they sued us saying that the Ganesh shrine shutters were sold off, by Ba. It caused him a lot of tension, someone who had never dealt with court cases, he came here and was sued. That is why he died. He would otherwise still have survived. Because of that tension. Even though we told him not to take that tension of the court case, he could not leave it.

We saw it, the wood that was rotten and the connection of the posts that were not correct. When they did the maintenance, they did all kinds of things. In 1934 it did not collapse, even though at that time it was a stronger earthquake. They say it was much stronger. So, considering the required maintenance, by whom would it best be done? By the communities living around? Or by whom would it be best? Who should take the ownership?

24. **[a]** In my opinion, the only ones who would take care of Kasthamandap would be the people from this *tole*. There are not anyone in that side nor that side. Since we see Kasthamandap each time we exit from here. You might as well say we are the protectors.
25. **[b]** Where the Archaeology Department is doing, we cannot get involved. We can only watch.

But now that we have seen that it did not work in the past. And in the new Constitution, things have changed. There is talk things like this should be looked after more by the communities. Even at the Department of Archaeology, when talking with them, they say that they cannot look after everything. So would the local community here be ready to take such a responsibility?

26. **[a]** We would.
27. **[c]** But that is only talk, because the Nepal Government, in my experience, before the earthquake, there is Singhasattal. It was about to collapse. Water was leaking and it dropped all the way to the bottom. If it collapses it would kill many people. There are 18 shops there. So those people would die. Even if there is a few people in every shop, at least 40 people would die. We said that it needs to be fixed, over and over again. It is the municipality that charges entrance fees to the tourists. All the property has been taken by the Guthi Sansthan. Everything that is of archaeological value has been taken by the Archaeology Department. The three of them never get along, like a trident. We shouted and shouted and shouted. People will die, we will die. Nepal is a place where earthquakes occur. Alerts were on radio, television. Alerts were there all the time. So from the tole we decided we need to get this done, and from here I become the representative and I went to fight, I went to Guthi Sansthan, to the Municipality, went to Archaeology. Archaeology said they do not have money. Municipality collects money, 750 per person, so they have money. Guthi Sansthan also said they do not have money.
28. Then Guthis Sansthan got together with the municipality and with a ratio of 60:40, sixty percent Guthi Sansthan and forty percent Municipality would fund and they formed a committee. So they agree to construct it, and they say they will tender it. This will never worked with a tender. It needs to be rebuilt as it was before. We will not rebuild it fully, we will only restore it. Even if it is a renovation, it still needs to get done. If this is not fixed, it is not acceptable, we shouted, but the shops did not agree to get out. They said that water was not leaking into their shops, so why fix it. So we got all the shops united, once it is fixed, it will be good. We will give you the first priority. Even now you have gotten it by tender. If you are going to take it on tender afterwards, I will take that responsibility, I arranged a meeting, and got them all to leave. At the time of demolition, the municipality tried to demolish it quickly and I did not allow them to. This is archaeology, all the items need to be registered and then only can they be removed. I will not allow you to just demolish it, I said. They were delaying the process discussing when to start and how to get the tender done. At that time on Nepal Television, that would have been 14 October, I remember, I had given an interview on Nepal Television, on exactly that problem. In Kathmandu there is the fear of earthquakes occurring, Kasthamandap will also not survive, Majudega will also not survive, and Dasavatar will also not

survive. After that, at least they could have changed the *chukul* (wooden pegs), but there was no concern. The municipality has not kept anyone.

29. Whatever work is to be done, it is through tender. Yes, tender, for large things tender, but at least for the protection they must keep people. If they do not have people, none of these will remain, I said on October 14th. In April everything went. Just imagine what happened. So they built Singhasattal, after building it, we built it together, at the time where was our parliamentarian? There was a parliamentarian, of seven number, there was Late Nabin Raj Joshi. We arranged a talk programme to ask him for how much he would do it. It was publicly announce for how much it was going to be built. There was that Shiva temple that was mentioned before, they took four years to rebuilt, only in bricks. When I went to the Municipal Site Office and asked them why it took four years, they said that the contractor ran off. When it was being demolished, they did that, they took the material, then the contractor ran away. Other built half and then the contractor ran away. Then it had to be retendered. That happened four times. When I looked into it more in detail, I found out that the contractor was the same one, registered in the daughter in law's name, daughter's name, in his name, in his *bhatiga's* (nephew) name, set up a company and then run away. But the person constructing is the same. All the workers are the same. It is only the procedure. I told them that I will not allow this to be done. Give me three generations of the contractor and give me guarantee when it will get done. Guarantee, in whose name should it be written? In the twenty wards, there are twenty clubs, will you write it. That is also a good idea. So there is only one parliamentarian, so write the parliamentarian's name. So they had to write it. They wrote that it will get done in eighteen months. They wrote the letter and also went to give to the parliamentarian, and he said, why did you get me involved in this? This is your work. The work you are supposed to be doing, we are doing. If people die there, we will be the ones dying. When we rebuilt that temple, no parliamentarian came. We had to sit there and get it done, but it was done very well, but in any case it did get built.
30. Even before it was completed, before eighteen months, the earthquake occurred. In spite of that he did build it. At the time, the hard work that went into making it, the regulations of the tole is, I do not know which religions you believe in but, in this area, most of the people are Hindus. When we do small events, the people who have the shops in front, we go to collect donations. Even if it is only five rupees. With the big people we collect more money, but everyone must be involved. For example during Indra Jatra we all sit together, or during the twelve year dances, we go and collect money. Whatever amount you want to give, some people give five rupees, but Christians do not give a single paisa. Forty percent of those who have shops here have become Christian. They, of course, do not know, who is killing our culture. Already forty percent have become Christian. It is known that Maru and Ason are the places where we go and buy what we need for our death and rituals. Wherever in the world there are Nepalis, do you find it in Maru? Do you find it in Ason? They do not know where else. It might be

found in other places, but the main known place is there. So forty percent Christians have already taken over. We said that in Singhasattal, we will only allow those shops that were there when it became registered with UNESCO. Even when it is tendered, I told the Guthi Sansthan. They also said OK. Afterwards, once everything was built, the parliamentarian said that shops are not allowed. Even the tender which was released was cancelled. Where were they when it was being built? Afterwards they say they will not allow them.

31. When they are not there, those selling on the footpath, those selling apples and bananas, they will profit. Or for parking. At least if the shops are there, people would not park, would they? The shopkeepers would not allow them to park. In this happening place, in that eighty years old, no hundred year old video that has been put up on Facebook. If you watch it, it seems as if there is always a festival going on in Maru. If there are lots of shops, then it becomes like a festival. That is also an attraction for the tourist. The chairman of our ward says that they will put a tourist information centre in Singhasattal. I really do not know his logic, what is the reality. When that Singhasattal was being made, the hard work that we did, but now we cannot do anything. So when you have rebuilt Kasthamandap, it is only something to say.

That is why certain points are being raised already now. In my mind, all the points that have been raised since the earthquake, many people got a shock. They have understood that it cannot be managed the way it was do not earlier. At the time when I prepared the management plan for World Heritage, we did not look into this in that detail, but now there is talk that such things should also be included in the management plan. Even according to the new Constitution, it is clear that the central government needs to be reduced. If it is reduced there, others will need to take on responsibilities. There is the municipality, since the municipality should be the representative of the community. Is it or not? To what degree can it be? Or can the management be arranged at the level of the community? Earlier everything was looked after by the guthis. Then the Guthi Sansthan got established. How much can the Guthi Sansthan do? Or can we again establish the guthis? Or something that is like the guthis? There are discussion going on in this respect, the municipality is collecting the money, but they have not agreed to take certain responsibilities.

32. **[c]** In respect to the collection of money, first, the collection of fees by the municipality, that was started by our earlier Mayor [...]. At the time in front of all the members of our *tole*, we made an agreement. We went [...] and made an agreement. The locals had protested against the collection of fees. When they protested they said that the money would be spent here for protection. Another clause which was also included was that for collecting fees, it will be done by the local people. There was even such a clause. But that is not there anymore. Sometime back we protested, I myself put in a complaint and several were hired. What I protested about is, I am from here and if a foreign friend came along with me, they held his

arm. When I asked why they were holding his arm, they said pay the ticket. He was wearing an earring. A man wearing an earring held his arm. Who are you to hold the arm of the foreigner? I am a staff here. Neither do you have an ID card, nor do you have a uniform. Who is your boss? Phone the person, I said. At the time it was Basukala. So I called him and said, remove this person immediately or I will remove the counter. Who is this person, I asked? It was someone from Bhaktapur. He put some relative of his from Bhaktapur. Remove him immediately, otherwise I will remove the counter. So we locals are not allowed to bring tourists? We need to pay a thousand rupees? The local people should be allowed to bring their friends. I told them, you collect money, at the time it was 750, so where are toilets for the tourists? You must give the facilities. I am also a person who has travelled abroad, you have to give the facilities. Where are the toilets? They have put guards here, who look like the police. When people see the police, they get shocked. If people get shocked when seeing the police, should you put guards that look like police? In our place? If the police come, people will get shocked. I am work in the restaurant service and when the police come, people quickly eat and leave. They think something might have happened and get scared. Wherever abroad, when you say police people get shocked. Here they have guards with uniforms like the police. I told them that this cannot be. At least they should have a tie, the tourists pay. They should be able to speak in English, young people, even those who might just doing an internship, a little money for them would also be good. It would be good to have only such people. When making the agreement you say you will take the locals. Now you put whoever. It is also our dignity.

33. As soon as the tourists come, stay outside and watch, when the Chinese come, they are not around now, but they have become so smart, it must be written in their guidebooks along which road to come and then they quickly run away. The counter is here and they run through from the back. We sit outside and watch how many of them run through. We know. Those at the counter sit inside. What can they do to catch the people? If they put any guard, then it does not work. If we locals will arrange it, we have the agreement, we have not done it. As you were mentioning, having the locals do the protection, it might only be in name, others will benefit from it. We are all busy with our own work, we do not have the time. If anything happens, they say it the locals. If you look at five, there will be a traffic jam out there. There is such a huge traffic jam.
34. We shouted many times. At least provide the facilities. So they said they would put a security guard. They have paid a private company. They hired him for the evening, but they are there ten to five. They have paid the money. We shouted, to have the security guard for the night. If the security guards of the municipality do not have the time, then get others. The budget was also passed. They also put the security guard. But then it was from 10 to 5 and is paying them just like that. I will give the money, you put the person. Do I have to go to court? Am I going to that the tender? We shouted so they put a security guard, and even with the guard from 10 to 5

they are sitting there and taking commissions. So for us this kind of responsibility is really good. If we do not do it others do not do it. As with the Singhasattal, where for ten to twenty years, it was kept alive because there were people there. Then there are the exchanger, those who exchange coins, that did not collapse. People stay there. So even if it leaks a bit, the people take care of it. They also take care of mice. Nothing happened to that. If you go to the top of Kabindrapur, it is made well. Yes it is made well, it was done when our [...]sir was there. He was the chief from Archaeology, was not he, or the palace maintenance. Anyway, he was there when Kabindrapur was built. Go up, it shakes like this. But it did not collapse in the last earthquake. Go up. It shakes like this. If they had at least had shops there, they would at least protect it. Who protects it?

We saw, even in Kasthamandap. When Archaeology took the responsibility, they did not come to look. Those who are around, it is not their responsibility nor do they have the authority. How to deal with this, we must consider. But we saw that it cannot be done by the Department of Archaeology. Then there is the Guthi Sansthan. Also the Guthi Sansthan is very much government. How can we arrange things from there? They are supposed to look after this, but they have not been able to do it. The guthis, did the government take all the land? I do not know what it was like in the past with Kasthamandap. Was it cared for by a single guthi? What was the case here?

35. **[c]** It was only looked after by the municipality.

36. **[a]** It's the municipality that look after all the foreign guests. That is all we know.

37. **[c]** When there was the Pradhan Pancha, like the Mayor now, it started with Kamal Chitrakar, that if visitors came, this was where the keys of the city was handed over. That was also when Elisabeth came.

At that time they plastered and painted Kasthamandap.

38. **[a/b/c]** It was when Elisabeth came, that is when they put the cement. [...] It was 2022 BS (1965/66), the first time that they did it. [...] Then then next time was 2031 BS (1974/75).

When they did the restoration, they did not do a good job. They even pushed the tile under the main post. For the knowledgeable artisans, even now we have to bring them from Bhaktapur. Has it always been that way, or were there artisans in Kathmandu and are now not there anymore?

39. **[b]** There were in the past, but now there are not any. Now there are not any like that.

If we are going to get them to work, for example with mud mortar, it is so difficult to find people.

40. **[b]** There is no system anymore to preserve the old technology.

41. **[a]** In Bungamati, the one that the Sri Lankan government is building, there they did good work. I keep going there. The construction of the temple, it has been done systematically.
- Something happened to the contractor.*
42. **[c]** The contractor died. You, know, one of them died.
- Why, how?*
43. **[a]** I keep going there, but there is no talk about anyone dying.
- I just heard it.*
44. **[a]** go and check there, no one says anything. Why? I am again going there now.
45. **[c]** It was suicide, no?
46. **[b]** Yes, suicide.
47. **[c]** Yes, there was some rumours about it. [...]
48. **[a]** now the locals themselves are building it, they stay there themselves.
- That is what I heard, there were problems there, and it got stopped. When I went long time back, they had removed the foundations, they had put in a stone soling, the locals themselves, finding the contractors work not good, removed and redid the work on Saturdays. When we asked, what they will do if the contractors do not do good work on the superstructure, they said that the contractor will continue building and we will continue removing and redoing it better.*
49. **[a]** There is a contractor, but they have to build it the way the locals want it. [...]
50. **[a]** If Kai is writing a book, then our area must also be linked with Kasthamandap.
- I am trying to discuss exactly that. I am involved in Kasthamandap, right from the beginning, then in between it got complicated, but then, at least it is being built. However much we try to arrange, it is not easy. If we look at the wood. At least Laxmi-dai is doing a good job. Later on there should be some link with this community.*
51. **[a]** that is true.
- How can that be? What was the link like in the past. What was it like before the Department of Archaeology and Guthi Sansthan were formed? Was there a direct link with this community?*
52. **[a]** There was not.
- It has always been looked after by the Palace, from above?*

53. **[a]** Now I think the ward will look after it a bit. It falls under Ward 20, so the ward will look after it.
- Yes that was also discussed, for it to be looked after by Ward 20.*
54. **[c]** It gets politicised, this party, that party. But this is our heritage. If they always say our party, or our party members, then it will never get built.
- Because of that there has been some activism. Such things also need to be discussed, I believe.*
55. **[c]** If one party does it the other opposes, if that party does it these oppose. If they all got together and said 'ours', that would have been good. So one of them does it while the other watches. Rajesh Shakya was also saying, the stone-laying ceremony was done by UML, will the inauguration be done by Congress?
56. **[a]** It could be.
57. **[c]** Things might have been delayed. Instead of saying that, it would have been good if he had said that it is 'ours'. Whoever is working on it, supporting that person is good. It should be like that.
- When we prepared the planning of Madhyapur Thimi, we got all the parties to agree on it separately. As soon as one party says something against it, the others will oppose that since they also feel the plan belongs to them. That controlled each other. Even now the same planning is being implemented. That was in 2001, so just about twenty years. I do not know how well they are implementing it, but at least we managed to sort out the party to party issues. It is the same thing here, it should not be a party-party thing. Everyone should get together and work on it together.*
58. **[c]** They should think it is ours, not mine. It is ours, all Nepalis'. Whether you speak Nepali or Newari, you are still all Nepali. Temples belong to the entire country.
59. **[a]** Example is Kai.
- That is why I am in an awkward situation.*
60. **[c]** Everyone should get together to rebuild Kasthamandap. They say it was done this way or that way. I heard there was also a court case that was registered. Do you know or not?
61. **[a]** Why not? For one brick they have put 40 Rupees.
62. **[c]** It is not about money. They said that they could take money, but that is not it. Everything has to be done according to the system. If there is no system, then there is place for people to question. When you register a committee, there is a president, members, a secretary, a treasurer, that is how work gets done. When there is not treasurer, how did they spend the

money? So if there is no treasurer? In a system there is the chairperson, the treasurer and the secretary, and when signing, the treasurer's signature is compulsory. According to Nepal's Act, the treasurer's signature must be there. When you open an account in the bank. There is the compulsory signature of the treasurer, and under or it is the secretary of the president. Here there was no treasurer, how did they take out the money? If there is no treasurer, or then they have to have someone designated as the acting treasurer. If there is no minutes on this, then people will raise this questions. That is why they put a case, I heard, though I do not know. Then immediately they got a treasurer. They should have had one according to the procedures. For a president to do everything, people will raise questions. The process must be followed. I am the president, everyone has to do what I say, only what I say is right, if it is not according to the government rules, then people will question it. Then they got a treasurer and it was over. They were forced to get one immediately.

It has been difficult to work openly. When they tender, they never say how they tendered and how the one who received the tender actually earned it. When I tried to understanding

63. **[c]** Its not transparent.

So they say it needs to be tendered, otherwise it will be difficult. So in tendering anyone can submit a bid. But when giving the contract, how was the decision taken? So when doing work, or getting work done, in respect to transparency, it has become awkward, it is also because it is all about groups and their fights, it is awkward.

64. **[c]** Here there is not fights between parties. It is only about transparency. Like you were saying, the decision were taken on his own. If there is a committee, there needs to be minutes. If a decision is taken, then there must be minutes.

Financially, I do not know anything, but technically, I have said that whenever a decision is taken, the reason must be given, and it must be written down. If questions are raised, we can explain, because of these and these reasons we did this and this. When we work, in respect to details, there are times when we do not know what was there. If we had measured everything in detail before it collapsed, that would have been one thing. With a lot of things, we were able to find out what was there by studying the old timber pieces. For certain things we had to take decision, whether to do it in this manner or this manner. In the decision-making process, we have to give the reason, is what I kept saying daily. Why are you doing it like this? We could have also done it like this, so why are we doing it like that? How was the decision taken? I ask practically every day. That process, documentation, we do not keep anything written. We do not have the habit.

65. **[a]** This temple is being built under your supervision, is not it?

We have a committee.

66. **[a]** But I feel that it is being built in [...]’s own methods.
- Not is not correct. In respect to the technical aspects, we have been looking after that. Then there is [...], he worked with me earlier. But we found out that it is not that easy. However much we try to arrange thing, we find that we need to keep taking decisions. In respect to the technical aspects, it is being built quite well, I must say. Other things I do not know. But technically, as much as possible we have sorted things out.*
67. **[a]** in [...] part, there was only the technical part.
68. **[b]** I noticed, at the bottom, the step, at the edge of the step there was wood. They put stone.
- Yes, that became a big thing.*
69. **[c]** I had even put it on Facebook live. We of course know such things. Why did they have to put the stone? They had already given the tender and brought the stone. Where to take the stone, it was wasted. They put stone, not only the stone was wasted, but also the labour was wasted. Everything was put. Then they again put brick. Every time I have taken a video.
- Also in that decision, we had a small crisis, but we will not compromise. That decision came later, the initial decisions were not that clear. The stone was already ordered. Then when we looked at the design we said that there is not any stone there. We also do not do site supervision. We look at it technically and take decisions. When we saw the stone, we said it that was not supposed to be put there. The stone was already brought, and we knew it might be awkward, but we will not compromise on that, that we will remove it and get it done was it was before. We took a strong decision.*
70. **[c]** First they put stone, then they put brick and only in the end did they put wood.
- With the stone, there was a bit of a crisis. What will the people say when we remove it? But I said that if we need to remove it, we should remove it. The stone can be used in a different position or can be sold. It can also be used in front of the plinth. The last step was not here previously. It was put later. The buying of materials was on the one side and the technical discussions were on the other side. At that time there was a bit of a problem.*
71. **[c]** There was time waste. When it was decided that it was not correct, all of it had to be removed.
- In such cases, it is not a question of time waste. It is difficult to walk a straight line. It always runs off it one direction, then the other, and it takes great effort to bring it back on track. In respect to the technical issues, we are moving everything on track, is what I believe. The upper floors still remain. Getting wood has been another story.*
72. **[c]** Is the wood seasoned?

In such large sections of wood, you do not need seasoning. The large main posts, even when you keep it for ten to twenty years, it would not be seasoned to the inner parts. That much movement will keep taking place. I was hoping that a bit more could be reused, but our carpenter-dais said that it cannot be, and for the wood, they are the experts.

73. **[a]** So how are we going to proceed with this?

There are two things, one is the technical aspect, what to do and to what degree. The other part is concerning funding, financial support. So considering this, there is money with NRA.

74. **[a]** Until you do not introduce us to Sushil-dai, we do not have an idea.

As far as I know, they have. They only have a year and do not know how to spend their money. If they can show work, there is talk that their mandate might be extended by a year.

75. **[a]** How can you make that link to [...] -dai?

Or there are friends in NRA, I can talk with them. I will ask them what the situation might be. Then I will arrange the link with him. If we can present there, then what comes out of that, we will have to wait and see.

76. **[a]** If we can sit here and talk. Bai has also made a design for this place.

If we can show that we have done something ourselves, that would be good. We have interest and we are doing things, but to continue we are waiting. Instead of demolishing everything, it is better to do it in an appropriate manner. If we can present this.

77. **[a]** When he comes, we should not miss it.

I still need to find out how this would work.

78. **[a]** You can arrange it through your links.

I know the people but I do not know how to present this.

79. **[a]** If you bring him here, I will talk with him.

Let's also look at it technically. How much has been done. ... Drawings were prepared, is that not correct? And the structural issues, was there a structural engineer involved?

80. **[a]** There was

Is there a proposal that was prepared?

81. **[a]** No

That there is not.

82. **[c]** I have got everything prepared.

If I could see it. If all the details are there on how to do things, then that can be reviewed.

83. **[c]** All of that has been prepared. The only problem is getting everyone's agreement. Everything has been prepared.
- We can look at that and then to implement, also decide what the process would be. If that can also be discussed.*
84. **[c]** If you sit with him and discuss, everything will become clear.
- Everyone says tendering, but here? It would be good to clarify that as well. One thing is the work, what work and how to do it. Then the question of how to get it done. Will this be done through local artisans, where do we get them from? It would be interesting to talk to them as well. There will be some local work and also other work, no?*
85. **[a]** If [...] can contact [...] -dai, then the people will be convinced. But [...] -dai has not gotten involved.
- I can also write him an email.*
86. **[a]** The other day when the President came, I did not manage to meet him. I quickly talked with [...] -ji and left. And later the President had also come here.
- I did not come.*
87. **[a]** I was sure that [...] would be there.
- When the very big people come, I am not around.*
88. **[a]** I thought I saw him on the photo. [...].
- Yes, he should have been here. First they went to Durbar High School, then to Rani Pokhari, it their own, then went to see Dharahara, that is [...] own big project. Then they came here.*
89. **[a]** Dharahara is also [...]?
- That is NRA's. There, there are also stories. There are so many books that can be written about all this. From where to where the stories went, in the end.*
90. **[c]** Do not write otherwise they will send you away.
- They cannot send me away, but they can lock me up.*
91. **[c]** In Nepal if you talk the truth. There is no value to speak the truth in Nepal.
- The drawings, so, how do we move forward?*
92. **[c]** There is no tension here, there are not technical problems now. That phase is still remaining. There are a few things internally in process. Once that is done. Not everything has been included in the proposal. So we cannot talk about how we are going to make it without getting the agreement from everyone. We are discussing this with the lawyers, there are points that still need to be discussed. The lawyer has put points down

as per the rules of the Government of Nepal. It does not mean everyone is happy with it. We still need to discuss and make the amendments. Like an MOU, between the project committee and the individuals, we will make an MOU. That is still remaining.

If I get all the names. I can tell them at NRA that we had a discussion.

93. **[c]** We have not made it public. Here things have not been finalized. We have not gone to the media yet. We prepared a project. Have you seen the model house? Have you seen the model house that I made?
94. **[a]** Mock up. [...]
95. **[c]** Whenever talking, if you do not find it right, then provide an answer. Then it is over. If people only comment but do not give answers, then that is useless. Whenever I say anything, then ask a thousand times, I will explain it. It could be that certain things I cannot explain. It could be that I cannot explain things well. I try doing that. In my mind what my target is, this is my house, even if I have money and say I will make my house, I cannot. Because the old buildings, the partition was only with ply-boards, between this house and that house. We used to go through a hole into the other house to eat and come back to sleep, when we were small. It is possible to go.
96. **[b]** There used to be a door. These buildings there, that one was mine, it was only separated with partitions. There were no walls.
97. **[c]** When there were feasts, then all the shutters would be opened to make a big hall. We would have feasts from that building till this one. We used to open the shutters. We had the feast from there the here. In a place like that, if we say that we will only make one house, if we make one, the other will collapse. If two of us make it new and the third one does not have money, then how can he stay in a partial building?
98. **[b]** But we cannot assume that everyone can fix their house.
99. **[c]** That concept, what I think is, I want to tell you, I have told the dais here many times, at the time of making Singhasattal, I said that Kasthamandap, Majudega and Dasavata, none of them would survive, if an earthquake occurs. I ran from here. At the time there was a blood donation going on at Kasthamandap.
- You were there then?*
100. **[c]** I had left just five minutes earlier. After surviving from there, all our friends survived. After surviving, we only returned two days later. When we came from Bhimsenthana, we could not see Kasthamandap. I had spoken from Singhasattal, how did I feel? My spirit broke. Then I went around and came from Nardevi, coming from Nardevi, I could not see Majudega. I became crazy. I came from New Road and I could see my house. When

everything I said actually happened, it really hit me. I then came here. Ajay's father was there. I said that this cannot happen. I will make all this again. I said I will make all this. At that time that is what I said. I said that, my wife was pregnant at the time. My house was damaged, so there was no way we could stay here. After the next earthquake, on 29th, I came here. How long can you stay out on the streets? I went to Thailand, from there I went to America. From American I requested all my brothers here, I have friends here, if you send the blueprints, I can get all the designs make from here. So I stayed there and got the project prepared. I did not have any other work. All the *bhais* here, they helped, sending me information, thought here they did not know this. Only two three *bhais* knew. There was an office here and I got all the detailed designs prepared. Information on who has how much land, all that has also been prepared in our project. I finalized the project while I was there, I got it prepared and brought it from America. All is done, but we have not publicised it. I do not know what [...] *-dai* has told you. Let us first get everyone to agree. Let us do it working together, do it as an example. There is no one here who can finance this on their own. I believe. There might be. I have a donor. For this there is a donor.

101. Right after the earthquake I wanted to do it quickly and talked to the donor. The donor was also such that he requested me to be allowed to put in fifty percent. They are my own clients. They were happily wanted to contribute. When he said that, I was going to bring the money. At the time Sushil Koirala was Prime Minister. He made a statement that all the money that comes for such relief should be put into the Prime Minister's Fund, so I was slightly scared. I had already brought that. But I got scared. So what is the process? They said that you are not allowed to build. After arranging things I got scared. For example, even the temple that UNESCO was going to build was stopped, the people in Nepal are like that. The guy from UNESCO, what is his name, [...], he came to my office to discuss the construction of that temple how many times did we have meetings? I told [...] he should build it, that I will stand in front, but he was scared. I told him I would stand there and he can get it done. [...] wrote such a letter, if I publicized it, [...] would have to resign. [...] friend showed me, [...] is not allowed to write a letter like that. Can he say that he will put five crores of the provincial fund into that project? What will he spend in other places? Writing a letter like that? Writing it on his letter head? He wrote that we do not need foreign money? [...] must have told you, has not he?

I have not talked about this. I am not involved, and I am also not interested. There is also the Japanese story and here the UNESCO one, I am not going to be involved is what I said. What I also talked to him, in respect to the link to Kasthamandap, once Kasthamandap is built, what kind of a link should there be with the community? How do we arrange this? With the Department of Archaeology this has become an awkward issue, in respect to danger listing. They would not want it to be put on the danger list.

102. **[c]** What you are saying is really true. When this is built then automatically it becomes an example. It is a heritage area. What I say is that we are born in a gold mine and we do not know what gold is. I have foreign friends, I know how valuable this is, how much we can profit from this place. I cannot always make people aware of this. They say that I talk too much. So I want to do the work and show it. Once the work is done, then people will understand. Time has passed and it is already five years. ... [...]. If anyone does not agree with something, they have the right to ask why? But once they have received the answer, either they must say that I will not participate, they have to say they do not like it, they need to be clear. It is like cutting the meat of a buffalo, cutting with a blunt knife, goes on cutting, but it does not cut through. I think it should be like cutting a carrot. You cut though once at it is done. It does not join. It is easy. You have also done a lot of voluntary work, I am also doing voluntary work here. They ask how much it will cost. I do not know. I do not know, because making an old house, this much is not this much. Or we need to put in a lot. [...].

103. What the situation is like here, I have told you before, we have met in many events, I have also talked to Manhart about this, and I have also explained all this. All those in Nepal, they all know, but we must try, we are not here only to talk. Here some of the people, the have talked, even to the Mayor, I asked [...] who said it, how did you know, did they have the authority? Without work there cannot be talk. We have this internal MOU left, the legal requirements, with such arrangements then work can begin. It will make it easy. In future, this work will not be easy. It is very difficult. There will be thousand reasons for people to question. But this needs to be clear now. So many people ask me individually, where will the money come from? Where will the money come from, the donor? Who is the donor? When it comes, we will know. Without giving the donor a proposal, only once all the costing is done, will we know how much. Minimum this much, maximum this much. It cannot be exactly this much. Even for one house, or even a room, when someone puts aside a budget, it usually is not enough. Here we have a total of 28 houses. This is the first phase. Once this is done, I will get other donors to work on other phases in the area. My target is the entire area. This then will be alike an example. Also other areas, such as the one behind Kumari House, friends there are also asking me, that this also has to be done there. Let's first do it here and then we can do it there.

We have this area, that area and some of these areas here would also be very interesting.

104. **[c]** We are now only targeting the first phase. Once that is done, it will be easier for people, we will also how to reduce costs, everything will be known. Then people can follow. Over there people are ready, they say start with our area. If it does not work out in our area, start with our area. I said I would do it here first so I will stick to this. They keep saying start here.

We this area, that area and when which ones?

105. **[c]** This is all areas around Kasthamandap.

This area behind Kasthamandap. So others have also shown interest.

106. **[c]** Yes, very much.

It would be very good, even commercially. Once people start coming here, it will be commercially really good.

107. **[c]** Now in this area you do not even get five paisa rent. It is all free. Once I have made this, the rent would be at least one lakh. Minimum. Everyone will get. I will take the guarantee. If others do not I will give one lakh myself. That is because I know. I have the concept of making a live museum, it is in the project. Once that is made, people will come.

If this is presented as a place that everyone must visit, then everyone will come. For example even places like Babar Mahal Revisited, everything is built new, whatever they might have constructed, and a lot of people go there. Compared to that, this is so much more.

108. **[c]** This is a gold mine.

If this can be presented as a place that people must visit. In Patan there are also single buildings that have been converted to home stay, for tourists, they have individual buildings. But they have not done anything in a larger scale.

109. **[c]** Even if we do not rent it out, we can also stay here ourselves. It would be an example.

You can stay above and make the lower floors commercial.

110. **[c]** In this project, we can only show the possibilities. We cannot force people to do anything. Possibilities for way of income, what kinds, that is included in the project. So to study all these options, I also have many architect friends. We have an entire group. They were also very interested. It was not for money. It is for the image. All those who have been involved, they are not here to do it for money. Even the lawyer is involved, but not for money. Everyone has done it for free. I will come here and present what I have worked on, interact with everyone. Even that much of a platform we have not managed to establish. If only we have an MOU with the lawyer, then it would not be difficult to move forward. Because once we start, if people say they had not given permission.

That has to be clear, otherwise it can lead to a lot of problems.

111. **[c]** Rebuild Kasthamandap, you know the story. How many people got stuck in between? They registered an NGO, and did everything. Why did it end up like that? Because they did not involve the locals. It was not the municipality that was criticizing, it was me. I know everything, all the internal things, that is why, when they went in to do all the mapping, I locked it. In the papers, they wrote that the municipality locked it down. It was not the municipality, it was me. I said that I will not allow people from outside to do anything. I also wrote an article, in Samachar Patra. Kasthamandap is not something to be rebuilt by an NGO. I will not allow it to be rebuilt.

They called me two three times. I told them the process was not quite right. Voluntary, even if you do it positively, the process is not right. So how should it be done? At the time I said that the main people who work, they need to be brought forward. It does not matter how much we drawing plans, it is not going to be rebuilt. That to get started, we must decide who will actually do the work, I do not know, things seem to go around in circles.

112. **[c]** I already had an MOU. They had already done an MOU with the municipality. With National Reconstruction Authority, the four of them, the MOU, I have a copy. At the time the elections had not taken place. There was the Executive Officer. The Executive Officer signed but there was not stamp. He had left the papers. And as soon as the Mayor came, this was stopped. You are not allowed to do this. I also went to stop them. ... They got registered at the CDO, and one week later, they got the MOU. To build such a large Kasthamandap. As soon as they register an NGO, they get such a big project? What happened internally? I know the internal things. I went and said I will not give it. If we are not informed, we do not have any problems with it. But from here, not a single persons was involved. There was only one member, from Hanumah-pucha, that [...] forced them to take on. [...] put one person there. Of twenty people, there is only one person. No one else. They have meetings in Swayambhu. Inside Hanumandhoka. In Dwarikas. If you have meetings, why not do it right here? It is to rebuild Kasthamandap. They are not rebuilding Swayambhu. You cannot do it. To do good work, you can talk anywhere. If there are other things, then there is fear. At the time, with mapping, the [...], he got twelve to thirteen lakhs from the municipality. To make the drawings of Kasthamandap. At the District Development Committee, they presented this. I criticized it and said it cannot happen. Using prefab and things, something like fibreglass or something, that cannot happen.

Yes to put fibres into the mortar to make it stronger. That was poor [...].

113. **[c]** I do not know, but I criticized it right there. It cannot be done, because all the details are with UNESCO, if you need you can get everything at UNESCO, if it is going to be built in the old design, then we will support it. That is because Kasthamandap is a historical place. To make it 'nice' like at Dharahara, we will not allow that. We criticised it right there. After it was criticised, then it was decided to form a committee and get it decided through the committee. They then ended the discussion immediately.

That was at the DDC hall, I was also there. At the time we even taught [...] what to say.

114. **[c]** We criticized there.

When we talked no one listened. When the criticism came from the people. At the time [...], he said, yes, now that the people are complaining, we must make a committee to sort this out.

115. **[c]** The old person who was responsible for making the Ganesh Temple, we said that we are people who build temples, we will voluntarily build a

part. Why do we need to give tenders? We will build it ourselves. Then that led to discussion, there was conflict. He had to leave it there. Then the committee was formed, and after that we were not called. We were not called, but there were a few, like [...], they came to interfere in the project. In the beginning. Even for Rebuild Kasthamandap, he had come here, he came in here. I told [...], I was explaining to [...] my ideas of what I was planning. She asked how much it cost. I said I do not know. Maybe it cost 50crores, I said. Just a guess, I said 50 crores. How many houses are there? So I said about 25 houses. Will it cost 50 crores for 25 houses? I just said it was a guess. He then asked me to get him involved in this. I told him that he is not a person from this tole. This is not your *mama-ghar* (uncle's house), it is not your *maiti* (wife's house), and I cannot get you involved. Then he said, I will see how you get this done. If you do not get me involved, let's see how you get this done. I told him not to hit me, I will show you by getting it done.

116. **[c]** He then came and by being friendly with [...]-*dai*, with others, he started sitting in on meetings. I kept quiet, since I did not know why my big brother invited him. We then had a meeting and saying that this persons is not coming to help build but to break up things, that which I am trying to build. Is he important or am I important? A meeting was held in the evening, because he was coming in the morning. For a meeting to be held here, for the minutes, he called. There is a meeting tomorrow, please come, to me. It is my courtyard, he calls me, he is neither an official, a secretary, he is no one. What I then said was, to Alok and those two, I told them, we will resolve the problems of our chowk, you can leave. Outside, the two of them were wondering around, they met Birendra Bhakta, then they started talking about the fund for Kasthamandap. That there was one million Euro funds in Italy to rebuild Kasthamandap.

Yes, what happened with that? Now I remember, what happened?

117. **[c]** The money that came to Rebuild Kasthamandap, that was the money. So those who took the money, they were really in trouble. There was a fair at the time in Italy.

Yes now that you mention it, I remember.

118. **[c]** So where did that money go? That was done to digest (*pachchauna*) that money.

Yes, now I remember. That was somehow just forgotten.

119. **[c]** About 10% was taken by Kathmandu Post and Kantipur.

Interview A9

27 February 2020 (voice recording mainly in English)

I have started the recording. Generally what is your connection to Kasthamandap?

1. Generally I just found out in the last few years, I come from a trader family, with my father being in Lhasa as a trader, as my grandfather being there for many decades. Also the earlier generations. Both my maternal as well as my paternal. They possibly used Kasthamandap at some point as a trading spot, or storage, which I personally did not know. I only found out know, because, after getting to know the history of Kasthamandap. And besides that, there is not anything, because, though I live nearby in Makhan Tole, I used to pass by from here. Maybe I went and played there as a child. After I grew up, I found I was not very religious, so I never went there for specific purposes. Once I got into preservation and cultural heritage, I found Kasthamandap to be like no other, because, you know the story, it is so unique. As you said, we are discovering more and more new things about it, learning new things, not only about the physical construction, but the value it had at different times in history. [...] My connection will still remain into the future, as new and new information is literally dug out and are discovered.
2. And the most fascinating part for me was, during the Rebuild Kasthamandap Campaign, the study we concentrated on was called 'Decoding Kasthamandap'. We still have that report. We assigned an architect, to basically decode Kasthamandap, not only in a scientific way, but even a mathematical way, how Kasthamandap was built. Of course she worked on the research together with a lot of local experts and historians, like [...], who had already been studying it for many, many years. And the maths that came out of that study was simply incredible, because all the ancient methods of, even things like measurement of the structure, or how the mathematical numbers related to the philosophy of Vajrayana Buddhism. All of that was very much retained in a modern mathematical way. Things like, we have studied what a cuboid is in school, in geometry. Now suddenly after 30 years I hear that Kasthamandap is a cuboid. Those were the things that related to me very personally because I am a man of science, physics was my most favourite subject, I worked in the technology field for almost 25 years, and now all of that is coming back to me as, our heritage and culture is very much logical and scientific.

I was going to ask you about the past generation's link to Kasthamandap. In the future, the next generation. In short what is the significance of Kasthamandap? Why do we talk about Kasthamandap in a slightly different way than other monuments?

3. Because Kasthamandap, as I just now said, as being our heritage and being so scientific and logical, because the word here is future generation, I think it will capture the imagination of the younger generation. They will

know that, they will understand that heritage is not only based on blind faith, it is not only religious and cultural, it is based on science. It is all about stem nowadays, stem education. So the people of the new generation, they will get involved in it, they will explore more, and besides that, the other angle of Kasthamandap, which is different from all the other monuments is that, Kasthamandap was built primarily, the religious and cultural reasons as well possibly, but it was *Marusatta*, a *sattal*, a *falcha*, a public shelter by the roadside, where anyone can go and spend the night there. So that reflects how philanthropic our society was. So philanthropy is something we have forgotten now. At that time, our ancestors, because of reasons of philanthropy, they formed *guthis*, they built all of these structures, for public welfare. That is what I liked from the story of Kasthamandap and make sure future generations also learn of the importance of Kasthamandap, for social wellbeing rather than personal profit, of personal carriers and for one's own family, for the society in which we live.

Because it is interesting, as you were saying, it is not a religious monument and the whole question of ownership arises. So this has sort of changed over time. Who owns Kasthamandap? One can say everyone owns Kasthamandap, but how do you look at it in respect to ownership, since if it was a temple then you have the priest and the devotees. This is something that is very different.

4. It is something very different and challenging because in respect to ownership you get this complications because of the reasons I said earlier. It is a Falcha where, we do not have historical proof of who built it, so which were the guthis that were there. If you look at the list, read the list, there are several guthis that are directly associated with Kasthamandap. Most of them have died out except for two. So the two remaining guthis, the Sa Guthi and the one of the Tamrakars, the Panchadan Guthi [Ta Chatan Guthi], on the day of *panchadan*, the *dan*-giving *guthi*. The *guthi* of the Maru Piganani Tamarakars. Since they are still practicing the two rituals there, and I am sure that if we are able to trace their legacies of how those guthis started. What were their endowments to conduct those rituals? Especially the Sa Guthi, I have heard, is also linked with the physical maintenance of the monument, because, although they do not do it now, earlier someone said, one of the Manandhars who are part of the Sa Guthi, although Manandhars are out of that Sa Guthi at the moment, it gets complicated, it is only the Maharjans from the Tabwo Bhindyo Twa Clan who conduct the rituals. Earlier the Manandhars were responsible to climb up to the *gajur*, the finial, and put the flag up. And because it was so risky and their payment of that was only 1 paisa, if I remember, they gave it to the Jyapu community, who were obviously poorer than them, and they thought it was worthwhile to pay them and give them the responsibility. At the time that was the social hierarchy, I do not exactly know when that happened. So what that persons also told me was, when they climb up onto the *gajur* to hoist the flag, one thing that they also did was to pour a lot of oil inside the building from the *gajur*. Since the Manandhars were in the trade of making oil. So what could be the reason for putting the oil, pouring the oil

into the building? So my simple logic would be that eventually the oil would find its way to the wood, under the roof, and keeping the oil would be a way of keeping it rotting away, as an insecticide. So somehow, all the physical maintenance things were linked there. So what was the question?

Yes, in connection with ownership, because it is not defined, you have multiple...

5. So the guthi, the Sa Guthi, sorry, it was called the Ta Chatan Guthi, from the Tamrakars. TaChatan Guthi. *Ta* is the word for brick. *Chatan* is the ladle, with which they stir the *khir* (milk rice) that they make.

A yes, I remember they came and cooked inside.

6. Because they are still surviving, I believe they should take the biggest ownership, and then expand to other groups, who historically had different rituals there. For example from the Baha the Gurjus, Vajracharyas, they had a Mahaballi Guthi. They would cook huge amounts of rice and give it as *balli*, a sacrifice, right in front of ... at Bhutisatta, I believe, in front of Kasthamandap. Similarly, the other *guthis*, the Kanphatta *jogis*, the Kapalis, who we know, historically, it is documented, they lived there for many decades. They even used to collect the rent from there, from Kasthamandap. People their generation are still living. They should be involved, to be second tier owners, ownership. And slowly spread it to, sorry, and the traders. There were many traders who traded with Lhasa and India, who used to live there.

One of the things which will also come up, which is linked to what happens after Kasthamandap is rebuilt, who is it handed over to? I think this needs to be clarified, and set up, and it should not just go back to the government, that it is just rebuilt and left there. How do we set this up? This will be a very important part, that we identify this and set up the communities, and how they come together, to ensure the continued protection and upkeep of the monument.

7. This is a very important point, because, we already, as activists, feared that the municipality is putting in all the money to rebuild this, we have a fear which could be very true, that the municipality will start charging an entry fee to get into it, because, we know they have very, very bad intensions, about all of these public places in Kathmandu. So that should not happen.

This has to begin immediately that they become part of it before right away, that it is something that is accepted even before it is completed. Because once it is completed, there will be the handing over, probably we will even have the Mayor coming and cutting a ribbon.

8. The Mayor has already said previously that when our foreign guest come, this is where they are given the key to Kathmandu. He has already said that this is ours, that Kasthamandap belongs to the municipality. So to prevent that from going further, as you were saying, by clarifying ownership, the actual community that is associated with it. The *guthis* and their intangible

heritage, they should be at the first level. And only when all of them have been included, then on the second level the local government, the municipal wards, will need to be included, is what I believe.

It can be a support system, but active involvement must be local. That is my interest as my research, because this multiple layering, over history, but also in the present. I think that really needs to be understood, and then established as the basis for the management and upkeep of the monument.

9. There are also pitfalls in that. For example in the present scenario, the strongest community organizations are the local, what they call youth clubs, because they are strong in terms of muscle power. So after the earthquake we wanted to lead the discussion on the Kasthamandap. At the time the tendering had not yet taken place. No one was looking after Kasthamandap, it was only the Dharahara. So we had someone who had done his own study on Kasthamandap to come in, Dipesh Risal. So we wanted to do a presentation with him at Kasthamandap itself. The local youths came and said that nothing is allowed to be done here without asking them. The situation just about led to stones being thrown. Luckily it worked out and we organized a good presentation. This is the kind of attitude of the local 'muscle men', saying that this falls within their territory, so they are in charge.

This is the situation throughout Hanumandhoka, even when they want to arrange a concert.

10. It is a basically cartel. There might be some fifty such local youth clubs, but there are five who want to be the 'king', who want to control the other 45. That wrong practice must also be discouraged.

So those issues need to be sorted out, of those who have historically been involved and those who are now trying to use or misuse the situation. More on a personal note, how do you remember the Kasthamandap before the earthquake? Because I remember that the Kasthamandap was there, but it was never something that was impressive. I went there with friends, but I cannot remember it in detail.

11. Exactly, same with me. I used to remember it as a ... also before the earthquake, in the few years between the time the earthquake occurred and the time I getting interested all these culture and heritage, just a few years, because most of my life I was not, I was only going after my own career that totally detached me from my surroundings. But during those years when I was interested, I used to sometimes take groups, sometimes also visitors from abroad, on short tours. Kasthamandap was just a big monument, where you go inside and it was a large open space where you go inside and I really did not, ... may be studied a bit on the history which was already written, how old it is and it did not really strike me as a significant monument in terms of art or the purpose it was built and how it evolved. It was just a common, well, not common, but a normal looking, not really artistic, it was a big building.

That is really interesting, it is very simple, it is quite large, even with ornamentation, it is really very functional, down to earth. And only once it collapses, and then one realizes, when one really looks at it, its significance is far beyond a lot of the other monuments. I find that really interesting, we also need to understand, it is like a dinosaur, which you look into the past, and if you look at it, there are no Licchavi Period buildings anywhere. Even though there are many little things change, but as a structure that has lasted since then, there are very few. We also know there were a lot of timber structures during the Licchavi Period, the palaces, one hears many stories, like Kailashkut, and this seems to be a remnant of that that, which then later changed into an architecture which then developed during a different phase. But this, it got adapted slightly, but to a large degree it is still that original structure. So looking at its past, it is the only one, or of a few – we do not know.

12. I think it is the only one that was studied to that extent, especially after the collapse in the earthquake. It opened up a whole new chapter about subsurface heritage for me, and for a lot of other people. There were cover stories in magazines. A lot of people who were hardly interested in heritage itself, they got much more attracted because now you could suddenly look at what was under the ground. We have of course heard of Kailashkut and all those. Now because of Kasthamandap there is talk of studying Kailashkut. People who were only interested in other stuff of heritage, not the technology, those interested in the philosophical aspects of a monuments, suddenly they get new information like the nine-pit *manda* - I would like to call it the original name *manda* not *mandala* - inside the foundation. There was a *manda* inside a *manda*. There were nine-pits within one of those nine-pits. I think in the second excavation they came up with that. Things like that. So many layers, all of these are coming out because of the total collapse during the 2015 earthquake, which is the positive side of the earthquake that does not gain much publicity.

That is one of the things again, when an earthquake which has happened in the past. One it that in the 90's [BS] earthquake, the 1934 earthquake, the Kasthamandap did not collapse. That is the one thing that we need to understand. So why did it collapse now? So there is that discussion. On the other end, because it collapsed, it became such a big thing, and suddenly we have all this research going on. In respect to this, how do you remember the period just after the earthquake, and how did you hear of the Kasthamandap collapsing? How did that lead to the whole response to how the Kasthamandap was being dealt with?

13. Immediately after the earthquake I was actually very busy with the relief activities in the villages. So I was out of town mostly. I did not even know how it was being addressed. Suddenly I hear about the Durham University is here for the excavations, and when I saw the 'white people' on top of the Kasthamandap, I was very curious. I went and talked to them and found their study very interesting because I knew it was one of a kind. After their report was published, it just so happened that I attended a seminar led by

Yagyaman Pati Vajracharya, who was talking mostly about how his ancestor 43 generations back, Lila Vajra, had built Kasthamandap. He did not know about the Durham University excavation. So I told him at the venue that the report is already out, have you read it? No, he had not. So I gave him a copy of the report later on and then started getting involved, basically, much deeper.

How do you remember, at the beginning, two parallel thing happening. One, there was that very interesting aspect of research going on and the interest that developed. On the other hand, the pressure of reconstruction, which was not really working. What was the situation when you got involved? So from your point of view, how did things work, also in connection with the authorities, and the activities that were going to take place? You were also very involved in the activism that was linked to that.

14. So if I remember, while the Durham University excavation was going on, in both phases. One of the reports was out I believe, when suddenly we hear of DOA creating designs for the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap. The concept that they had already submitted, and DOA put out their reports in public, right here in Basantapur *dabali*, for one week and also had a little form where people could submit their comments on the drawings. It was like a questionnaire. Things that I remember from those drawings were – of course being a non-engineer or an architect – I could only see there were some modern interventions, in modern materials, immediately which I wrote down in the paper and submitted, in the questionnaire. There were also trivial things that did not matter for the reconstruction but that showed how negligent the DOA and the consultant was. In one of the drawings the measurement was in centimetres, while in another drawing it was in inches. I thought that this was a major flaw, which represented how carelessly it was done. So one or two of those things I submitted and they even did a review at the newly rebuilt Singhasattal, of all the public comments that came in. DOA and the municipality, the elections had not happened at the time. When they presented the feedback of the public, I was not invited. So it was a very small group, 15 to 20 people. I was surprised that there were some ten people from the public who had submitted a feedback. The longest was from [...]. I do not know whether he was there, but he had very long feedback, because he was totally unhappy with the proposed drawings. That also triggered off in me and some other friends who were there, that the process of the construction being contracted out to the lowest bidder, and all the modern materials and interventions. I think soon after that the DOA came to the conclusion that, OK we have to revise the drawings, so they asked the consultants, [...], who had a lot of complaints about [...] drawings because they had a lot of steel and concrete tie-beams, or even glue lamination.

Then also some artificial fibre in the mortar. I will have to look into that a bit more in detail. [...]

15. Yes, exactly, my point also is that by filling out that survey questionnaire, feedback questionnaire, and by gate-crashing into the review meeting, I was unconsciously, unknowingly, pushed into the activism part.
- All these are steps within the longer story. We must look at it positively. Because without those drawings things would have been just tendered out and it would never have come to this. So, I am trying to look at this story not in a black and white sense. It is a process, and everyone had their little part in it. And as long as in the end it all works out, with at least an acceptable outcome, then we are all part of this.*
16. Knowingly or unknowingly they contribute for the good.
- I am have been trying to convince everyone that we need to see it in that way, and also present it as such. And we need to learn in this process. So in respect to the ongoing process, what additional activities do you think should be taking place, now or even after it is completed? Because there were some comments saying that, yes it is being built, but there is still a hesitance to allow everyone to participate in this process. I have heard these kind of complaints.*
17. I think number one is that we need more transparency. I know there is a website, sorry, I do not know whether this is a website or not, but I definitely know there is a Facebook page, which has very little information, not updated enough. A website is a much better way to give out information in a more organized way. Is there a website?
- I do not think so.*
18. Secondly, I know there have been periodic briefing, but these are only every three months or six months, which is not enough. So basically, the lack of transparency is a big issue. This is a publicly funded, funded by the municipality. After so much of controversy on how it should be built, how we should fund it, I believe it deserves much, much more transparency. It would be a good idea to put up a big public board. If possible a digital, at the location, where the information can be updated every minute if you want. Or every week day, or week, or if that cannot be done, it could be a written board, where new financial figures for example, or new percentages of how much has been achieved, how many people are employed, how many feet off the ground, so much of information can be presented in an interesting way to get the attention of the public in a much more major way, than just a Facebook page. Not everyone is on Facebook. A lot of the people, the older generation, they are not on Facebook. In the public interaction, you can hardly get 50 people to come. It is like, forced, being done only because it has to be done. They are doing it just because they are compelled to. They really do not want to publicize the event before. It is almost as if they are scared that there will be people who come and complain, and they cannot answer. I get that kind of feeling. Even internally I heard that there are a lot of people who are within the committee they are there just for the sake of namesake. Just to prove that there is a committee.

19. Is it real public participation? There is a big question from within the people in the committee. So transparency is number one. The other is it was promised early on when the Reconstruction Committee took over, that they will raise public funds, which has not happened till now, which they probably do not intent to do. Because raising public funds, even to whatever percentage, to whatever amount, it does not matter. That will take it to a totally different level of ownership. That ownership of the public was the biggest agenda of the campaign which we ... the Kasthamandap campaign. And now that is not happening. The whole.. who should take the ownership, the previous question, that community ownership can be obtained very much by allowing the people to donate, even thousand rupees, ten thousand rupees, whatever, so that they can tell their stories about how 'my grandfather donated a thousand rupees from the salary that he earned as a *jyami* (sweeper). He earned twenty-five thousand rupees per month, from that he donated a thousand rupees. So that legacy will continue for a long time. In that way the ownership can be retained with the public for many generations. So that is not happening, whereas, as I was saying earlier, when the municipality is funding it, we have fears that they might even want to get that investment, get that return on the investment over a course of time by, I do not know, by putting up billboards on Kasthamandap for advertising, or by charging an entry fee, or whatever, because obviously, we hope this does not happen. But I am truly suspicious of their intent, of the municipality.

I read that in 1966 there was a restoration/renovation done when they kicked out all the people. That was clearly linked to DOA having been established, and then the Guthi Corporation being established in '65, and suddenly the government takes on that responsibility, which means you kick out communities. Whether it was good or not, that is a different story, whether these people should have been living there or not, but I think that that ownership issue is something that really needs to be looked into much more in depth, and how it is used. Because there is a lack of clarity, there is a void, and it belongs to everyone. And then that can be misinterpreted. I think that is something that we really need to look into, of how that is organized. We have sort of mentioned it during the discussion, but how do you think we need to set up this system of ownership? Ownership, or at least of managing it, looking after the maintenance, how would that function?

20. That is very complicated, that I have not really thought very much about. Before I try to answer that, one more reason, one more dimension of the 1966 renovation is that it was possibly during that renovation when the government kicked out the local people and did their own conservation when they changed the roof, I believe. The one after that, maybe in the '80s, both during the visit of Queen Elisabeth, and that is where we have been told that, in the present reconstruction that those were the major flaws that possibly caused for the Kasthamandap to collapse, especially on the north-western post, in the middle, is it north-eastern? Where the post and the saddle stone is not properly connected. So, those things happened

again when the government takes over the reconstruction, and most probably there was a lot of corruption, where there was not enough supervision and it was done in the wrong way. Renovation was done in a wrong way, of which we see the result now. Maybe it could have been prevented. Of course it is just a theory because I do not know whether we can really pinpoint, saying that was the real reason of the collapse this time. Please correct me if I am wrong.

[...] The interesting thing has also been artisans. The work that was done from the '60s to the '80s and '90s, were probably done by contractors with no idea of conservation or traditional technology. So the question was also with this whole reconstruction, all the people come from Bhaktapur. So also in connection with that, in your opinion, how would this best be managed in future? What can we expect from the technology, but also from the skills and craftsmanship? Would it be something that we need to develop here? Or is it something that we need to make sure that it remains in Bhaktapur or in Bungamati or in Kirtipur?

21. I think there has to be a proper, if not a formal, at least a semi-formal institution, like a vocational academy, if not a university, where crafts like these are given academic value. So academic, would mean purely university and they get credits and a degree. If that is not possible, eh, I do not see why it is not possible. I am not really an academician, but it is just a rough dream that such a course will roll out in the future, on all the traditional artistic carving and metal moulding, stone carving, wood carving, handicrafts, all would be part of the university course, as well as construction, masonry, woodwork. If not that, then at least a vocation school that CTEVT, I do not know if that is still there, they would certify private institutions who would train people on just this. And of course there needs to be totally employment generation, employment oriented. So that they are just picked from the vocation academy even before they finish graduation. For that to happen, a lot of these constructions, these commercial reconstruction, renovations works need to be going on, for which there is a lot of scope. There is still a lot of earthquake reconstruction remaining. That also might need to continue. I believe there will be a time when, not happened in the last few decades, but I already see temples, new construction of heritage buildings coming up. Totally new. Probably the newest temple, as such, is possibly, of a certain scale, the Chandragiri Bhaleshwor Temple which is built for tourism purposes. Maybe Bhaleshwor did exist there or not, but the monument is totally new. Though I am sure it is RCC in the inside, at least there are a certain amount of carvings on the outside. Before that is Jilan Ajima in Sanepa. Did you know about this? Maybe 15 or 16 years ago. Someone purchased the it is a *deu-ama* who lived there for many years before she passed away, but her *maiti* is in Kilagal. So she is a Maharjan or a Dangol. She had a dream, and because she was already a *deu-ama* there, she collected more money and bought more land, around where she had this plot. Where this *ajima* already existed. But just like a typical regular *ajima*, it had no proper shape. She collected money and built a 3 storey temple with wood and mud mortar and

everything. It is called Jilan Ajima. I thought that was amazing because it was the youngest temple that I could find at that time, sixteen to eighteen years ago.

22. Now there is the original – now I am going of track but I will link it to your questions – you know the Annapurna [Asmina] Ajima in Ason? The Annapurna. It seems that is brought in from somewhere outside. By the people in Ason because they wanted the *ajima* to be closer to where they lived, so that it is easier for them to worship. The original is just outside Ring Road near Swayambhu. It is called [Simtabulu] Ajima. The *ajima* shrine is there without a proper temple and the people of Ason are getting together, putting together funds to build a temple, the original of the [Asmina] Ajima, in the original place, but now the temple will be a copy of Ason. So it is interesting how ... my point is people are starting to [become aware of such things], and physically build monuments. In my *chowk*, where I live, there is a *sivalinga* with the four wall, the plinth and the *gajur* of the temple remaining. So now we are thinking of ... we have measured up the existing structure and made a drawing. We are thinking of rebuilding it as per the original, with the tiered roof, but we have no evidence of how many stories it was, except that my father, who is now 86, he seems to remember that there was only one roof, of *jhingati* roof. And maybe based on those stories we will come up with the proposed drawings, because when I look out of the window that is what I see. That is in my courtyard. So more and more new quality construction I see happening. That is where the skill sets are required. That is why the skills need to be revived in a more organized way, in a more formal way than, more formal that what is happening right now. Right now we are losing it because it comes from Bhaktapur.

My last few questions. A question on reviving guthis. I still hear in many places the reviving of guthis. This is linking back to the whole discussion on community organization. So the government, it has gone through various changes. Now with the newest Constitution, with provincial government and local government, one has the acts, and everything is clearly defined. On the other hand, the whole community level setup has deteriorated over time. So you mentioned clubs, so other things are being created. So how are we supposed to move forward in respect to this based... or is it something we cannot deal with, whatever is there is there? Or is it something we need to try to recreate? Something re-establish? What is that?

23. I think we have to revive, but as you said, it is at a very challenging and crucial stage right now. It is very much on the decline. But at the same time, the fact that you have raised this question, and many such similar questions are being raised elsewhere, is a good indication that, okay, people are at least aware that *guthis* need to be revived. Luckily when the Guthi Bill, the Guthi Act came in which hopefully enlarged this question about not only saving the existing *guthis*, but also reviving what is already lost, or in the process of being lost.

Was that the new Guthi Act where there was the whole protest and all?

24. ... protest. I think it was a blessing in disguise, because that refreshed everyone's memory. OK, we all had *guthis*, we belong to *guthis*. It is all lost. Whatever is remaining, at least that should be saved. There is always knowledge that is being lost about the *guthis* that came up. Younger people watched viral videos. One was a video, where I went to an interview without really realizing, without really knowing what would happen, it was just a YouTube video and a journalist had me earlier. His was running what was his YouTube channel, is actually called Christian Team. He was just a Nepali guy, he was a Christian, but because he thought it was a worthwhile issue, he put a one hour interview of me. He was talking about various issues and in a week 20,000 people saw the video. Because apparently there was supposedly a lot of knowledge for the younger YouTube crowd, about what *guthi* is and about what is happening.

The act, has that been finalized, afterwards we did not hear anything.

25. No, no. They withdrew it. But right now the thing is, the general suspicion of the people is, they are trying to pass the same things, the same clauses, in a backdoor way, without calling it the *guthi* bill. So people are alert, but we really do not know what is happening. We are not as organized now as during the protest.

So this comes back to the Kasthamandap, exactly in the sense. How is this going to be functioning afterwards? Because very clearly we talk about the intangible aspects, but somehow the government cannot deal with it. The government can deal with the tangible, rebuilding, etc. But as soon as it gets into the intangible, they get very nervous and cannot deal with it. Even the Guthi Corporation. I do not know too much about it. All I do know is that it is not functioning too well, because, how can the government be involved with community's daily activities. In what sense is this linked, and it is not working.

26. The Guthi Corporation first of all needs to be dissolved.

Yes, that is possibly also one of the points that I have come to a conclusion at some point. You talk about community based activities being organized by the government. That is exactly where it does not work. Either it is government or it is community.

27. The relevance of the Guthi Corporation being established was probably there during Mahendra's time. In theory at least. That is not relevant any more. It is now a Federal Democratic Republic, local bodies are strengthened, and people have more freedom to exercise their rights. On top of that all of the corruption, the mismanagement of Guthi Corporation is already there. So how this relates to the Kasthamandap in my opinion is when we were deep in the Rebuild Kasthamandap Campaign, one of the clearly defined goals was that once we raise the funds for the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap, we know that from past experiences in other such endeavours, where the people contribute money, we will have

lots of surplus of funds by the end of the construction. We intentionally wanted to design the fundraising campaign that we have billions of rupees left as a surplus, and that would be set up as an endowment fund for the two existing *guthis*. Especially Sa Guthi which is surviving, because it is run by a poorer community of Maharjans. They are even poorer, in the lower strata of the Jyapu community, the Sa Guthi people. [...] even within that they have a very pronounce hierarchy. So they are really surviving. But once you strengthen them, of course they also need to not just receive the money and take it as a grant, but they need to be empowered in other ways as well. And the other one, the Ta Chatan Guthi of the Tamrakars, if they are strengthened so that they have a fixed amount of money in the bank, or even something else, more than just interest from the banks, encourage them to open a cooperative [...], or some other way that they can engage in entrepreneurship to multiply that endowment. But with the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap, as the source of the initial funding, then that would be an example of how overall Rebuild Kasthamandap can [...] it is about showing, eh, building up a model where the community takes the ownership not only with the physical reconstruction but also in the reviving of the local *guthis* or the intangible, or the funding mechanisms. So ideally that can still happen. But of course it is a big challenge. In other areas where we see a good example in Patan is the Bhimsen, Bhimdeu Temple, is being rebuilt. They did a lot of fundraising, even right after a big presentation by Satya Mohan Joshi, within a week after that we had a local businessman coming up with a one crore cheque, in Patan, a Shrestha I believe. It was already a large chunk, maybe half of what they intended to raise.

I think that even our community system would need to adapt to changing circumstances. And there is a major change, especially since the Guthi Corporation and all that, so this needs to adapt. We really need to find the right means of how these communities can be sustainable within the given situation. I really think that this is something that needs to be worked on and we need to see what models would function.

28. At the same time I wanted to let you know, it is very challenging because, although, to rebuild Bhimdeu or the Kasthamandap, people will come and contribute freely, out of their personal money, but among the existing *guthis*, just like in the past 50 years, or say 80 years, the tendency to see that *guthi* land, whatever is remaining, is totally unproductive and useless, and is being converted into personal benefit, basically selling the land. That tendency is still there. Right now even within my family, I am fighting against my own brothers and cousins, and parents, in the argument of whether these two particular plots that our *guthi* still owns, we are not even getting a single Rupee as return any more, because the *mohi* (tiller) has taken over, built a motor-garage, with a shed, and keeping all the rent for himself. We do not have any proper document about the ownership, but I know that traditionally we did receive the *anna* or *bali*, the actual produce from the land, part of it, to run our *guthis*. And because the *guthi* was just related to intangible activities, this one is particularly known as the Gulpa Guthi. We are a member of the *guthi* family who take *gulpa*, it is an earthen

or metal pot. It is filled with rice and offered to the god. So this one involves, I do not know how that *gulpa* is, I have never it. The activity died away before I could remember. Every year we go to Swayambhu with just this *gulpa*, filled with rice and offer it to the Buddha there. That is all we need to do, and maybe call all the *guthiars* for a *bhoj* (feast). It would be maybe 20 people, I do not know. And just keep that alive you earn this huge amount of revenue from the land. And because there was no proper documentation, the ritual has died away, the land is being overtaken by the *mohi*. And the *mohi* is trying to take advantage of the situation and trying to buy off the land from us. He is too scared to sell it to someone else. So my fight is against all the rest of the *guthiars*, who say, let us sell it to him. And I am saying no. So to revive the *gulpa* activity, let's fight with the *mohi*.

Do we know what land was owned by these guthis of the Kasthamandap? Was there a specific link between the Kasthamandap and this guthi land or ...

29. There was of course. Since it is an oral, it is a tradition where maybe documents were created much later, but originally there were probably no documents because it was all based on a system of trust of each other.

Everyone knew. Everyone was part of it.

30. Yes, I remember when I was in high school, my grandfather used to take us all, my siblings and myself, on a picnic to Boudha, every year, where he would go deep into the farms passed Boudha and collect the cash, which was compensation from the *mohi* for the *guthi* land we owned. He would treat us to momos there. Of course I do not know what happened to it now, but my grandfather knew exactly where to go and how much to collect. I do not know about the other *guthiars*. Eventually what happened with all these *guthis*, the Kasthamandap *guthis*, why no one really wants to talk about this? The Gurumapa Guthi where they still sacrifice a buffalo and cook one *muri* of rice every year, during the night of Holi, and take it from Itum Baha to Tundikhel to feed the Gurumapa there. All that is sustained because of the huge amounts of land that they own. But no one really wants to publish whatever documents they have, or no one really wants to talk about it, because they have so lost all of the land. Just like the example I have given you right now, where all the other *guthiars* want to sell off the land and discontinue the *guthi*, it has happened in the majority of the *guthi* cases where the *guthiars* themselves do not want to speak about it because they will be trapped. The Gurumapa Guthi, there are only two *guthiars* remaining, out of maybe twenty or fifty earlier. And we went to talk with them as part of the Occupy Tundikhel Movement and ask them, 'we will promote your *guthi* very much, come out in the open and speak about all of this'. The main reason why they do not want to do it is because all the *guthi* land is gone. So that is the real problem where in that sense the *guthi andolan* we had, the protest, is all fake. Because, I think the number one reason, maybe not the number one, but a big reason why all the *guthis* have disappeared is because the *guthiars* have eaten up the land themselves. They have sold it illegally.

There are two sides. One is the government intervention at the time, but it was not only the government, very often one hears the stakeholders themselves being corrupted. Which then becomes very difficult to deal with. Then the last one: artisans and engineers. So we have building norms, the whole government system, everything is based on engineering. On the other hand, these structures are fully based on artisans' skills ...

31. What do you mean artisan. How do you define artisan? Craftsman

Craftsman, ok. So they built it, it was not based on scientific, modern scientific, maybe traditional scientific understanding, or more learning out of experience. [...] The language is not compatible. Yes, to deal with this whole modern approach, in a certain sense, whether it is legal. The whole legal setup is based on norms of engineering and whether it is the legal aspect, whether it is the construction process, whether it is our tendering and everything, it is based on a totally different system. We are looking at something that is based on improvements that have been done over centuries, which is an experiential kind of understanding, which cannot be calculated. Why did Kasthamandap not collapse during the 1934 earthquake? Generally, since there is no specific solution, how do we bring these two things together, where we have two different systems, where the language is not the same?

32. I think there is a way. You have prioritized... I do not think it is a question of priority, but how to amalgamate these two. And I think these traditional craftsmen cannot be taught engineering, but the reverse can be done. Engineers can be taught traditional craftsmanship. So the way to doing it is, going back to my earlier point, semiformal or formal education is introduced or, jelled together with engineering and architecture courses, where the course material, the curriculum is revised in a slightly different way, or one extra semester of concentrated traditional craftsmanship is added. One extra year, or two years. Maybe a Master's. Where modern engineering technologies are utilized in construction. For example, I do not mean interventions of modern materials, but traditional materials and methods can be really examined and studied in a scientific way. That is possible with modelling, from what I understand. Computer based modelling of ... I remember we did a bit of that on Panchamukhi Hanuman, where all of the 3D models were built before reconstruction and they were put into a computer software where certain simulations took place and that simulation predicted till what kind of a movement this be sustained. So there were obviously a lot of assumptions. Simulations means a lot of assumptions.

We still need to learn how to assume. I think that is where things have not gone right. I really think this is where we need to learn, even in the Kasthamandap, they did some of these modelling, where I was clearly telling them the assumption is wrong, because of the mud mortar which is different than how they assumed. I think that is something that we need to work consciously towards.

33. In respect to assumptions, not only in the Kasthamandap, but globally it is a problem. But I think there is a lot more that can be done. Even things like, last time someone was talking to me about a new material that they discovered, where they found out that the *dacchi-appa* layer on a building is stuck to the inside wall with a material made out of *gur* (molasses), and the sap of the pine tree, the resin. So it is a traditional method where the people use to create a mixture of this resin and other material, they did not know what.

Even this we do not know enough about. I think a lot is also being lost. Even with the timber joinery, what I have heard is that we use a certain amount of joints, but a lot of them have already been lost or people who have retired, they still know but they are not working anymore, so that whole process of understanding better is still...

34. I was hoping that that is being done in a large extent in the Kasthamandap, if not in other monuments, where they are researching and documenting all of the traditional knowledge that has retained just because of the word of mouth, and the actual practice.

What is happening here is, but that is not sufficient. I think we need to actually go and expand it beyond the work that is just going on. I think everything there is being documented very much in detail.

35. Good, hopefully it will be accessible to the public at some point.

Yes, one, we will have the publication, but we want the entire documentation as a soft copy, we will not be printing everything out, but that it is all available for research and whatever.

36. Especially for engineering and architecture students.

It has to link up to something much more. Because in the Kasthamandap we have a certain type of architecture, which links some type of technology, but that is one example. So we really need to expand it to, far beyond that.

37. What about reverse engineering. For example, say the mud mortar that was used earlier. Or the resin layer that sticks the *dacchi-appa* with the inner layer, is it not possible to take it to a lab? Maybe that is not available here, and find out what are the chemical compositions of these. The leaves that we see in the Licchavi *chaityas* and *sivalingas*, what is the chemical composition? And that would unfold a whole new layer of knowledge.

There is no research. Everyone talks about it? This is the first time there was dating done and excavations into the foundations. This conservation, actually since the '70s, we have done modern conservation in Kathmandu, but none of this was ever done.

38. Conservation following the western norms.

Yes, western norms, but none of this was ever done.

39. Are there labs in Nepal that can do reverse engineering, material analysis?

Simple things yes, but it is something that we need to look into improving. I think, we could work on setting up something that would really focus on this.

40. Who owns those labs, the ones that are here?

DOA had a lab, in Patan. They were actually doing some things, even things with chemical testing, they were doing there. But that is shut now. Now the only labs are, the testing, engineering labs, basically I think it is IOE and private colleges.

41. For material testing.

Brick strength and such things. But chemical stuff, I do not think it is... everything we did was through Stirling, it was taken abroad, anything that needed to be tested.

42. I really would be interested but could not find any openings to do the reverse engineering, because, do you know this *tamra-liep*? The theory is widely accepted, only the Licchavis knew this greenish coating for the *shiva-lingam* and *chaityas*. And the Mallas did not know of that technology. Suddenly in the Jilan Ajima in Sanepa, that I mentioned earlier there are such *sivalinga* that resemble that *tamra-liep* (copper polish), and the guy claims he invented it in Patan and it is modern and he says he cannot give out the secret, and he says it is *tamra-liep*. It does look similar.

This whole research thing, there are two sides, either we need to take them parallel and try to keep them communicating. One is really the traditional approach, the artisans, that as you were saying, that we have some kind of certification, and documentation. [...] But in connection with trying to understand things, there really is a lack of openness to really research. Doing what one needs, and then hiding the information.

43. What about the university angle that I mentioned? Is it really feasible? Will it possible?

They would probably be two different things, which I have also been discussing. One is this CTEVT or some kind of certification. That would certify the traditional carpenters. What level they are, we cannot certify that. Engineers cannot do that. Look at the engineering. Whatever detailing that they do, they say that the timber elements need to be joined here, but they do not provide the detailing, because they do not know. We ask these guys (the traditional artisans), how this needs to be done, and they answer like this. How do they know?

44. Is Laxmi from Kirtipur?

Bhaktapur. He knows. He is sure, this is how it is done. He will explain that it has been done there and there. This is how it is done. So we need to set up the standardization. Why is Laxmi-dai our expert who is doing this? He does not have any papers to show. But he knows. We can say, yes he worked there, so he will do it. But just saying that is not sufficient.

45. Almost as if we need to connect a USB cable to his brain and download.

In a certain sense, yes. But how do we know he is a head-carpenter who knows all this?

46. Even things like the material that is being use. It is all about sal/ wood now. But you have probably heard of *guhe-chhan-shi*, right? I do not know the Nepali or English name. I worked with it before, in other conservation projects. *Guhe* is *supardi* (betel-nut). I believe it is the betel-nut tree. *Chhan* means hard in Newari, very hard, since *guhe* is very hard. And *shi* is wood. So that is supposed to be much stronger than sal.

Even the testing of let us say that fifth century, we are not sure what wood it is. It could be sal. Then Laxmi-dai said, that if it is a different type of sal, it would come from a tree that grew slowly on a steep slope. It is not any other type of sal. He is also not sure, but he thinks it could be a sal which has grown in a very difficult place, where it grew much slower. It has not been tested for that. That is why I was saying that we need to, that is still remaining to be done.

47. Is it possible to find out?

It can be done, but we need to start sampling. In Europe they have sampling of all the different types of wood. Here we do not have it. So Durham and Sterling started setting up, even for Lumbini. They got the remains of the roots, within the sacred... meaning the Mayadevi temple, they got a piece of that, but without comparative samples you cannot tell. You can explain what it is, but they cannot name it. The sampling, up to now it has not been possible to get it done. They have not yet officially announced what root that is within the Sacred Garden. It can be difficult, before making such a statement, you need to be 100% sure. Research is going on but that has not been announced. So we need to have sampling of all different types of trees and then you can do comparative analysis and say it is closest to this. It can be done to that level.

48. The reason I mentioned the *supariko-ruk* (betel-nut tree) is because it seems even now that obviously even though the sal tree is used, if there are people who know about it, they will bring a small piece of that *guhe-chhan-shi* and use it as one *chukul* (peg), out of thousands of *chukuls*, just as a symbolic gesture.

I think even with the wood there is no research. They say sal, sal, sal, but if you look at the chariots, 20 to 25 different types of wood are used, is what I read somewhere. I do not know whether that is true or not. So it is not just one type of wood, it is a whole understanding of different types of wood. There is zero knowledge of that.

49. But in terms of practicality also, the investigation and knowledge is very important because, just in 2008 or 2009, when I was involved in the renovation of the temple of Janabaha, of Seto-Matsyendranath, right here, where the sanctum where the deity is, the rafters just above it, was getting

rotten and it was time to replace it. It was so much more challenging because it was just above the deity.

Inside the temple?

50. Yes, inside the temple, just above the god.

I regularly go there. In front they are rebuilding, it is astonishing.

51. Not that, it was around '08 to '09, and we found at the time, we got a *gurju* from Patan who was also a craftsman, Indra *gurju*, I hope they are still living. He was very good. He told us we should use *guhe-chhan-shi*, and it is available in Nagarjun.

Really. That is very important. For example even soil, where do you source it from?

52. Exactly, and Nagarjun is much more accessible than Kanchanpur or Dhangadhi. And I remember personally, at the time Gyanendra was ruling, we went to Narayanhiti Durbar. A couple of his officials got into our jeep. We went to the Ministry of Forestry and got a couple of experts from there, and went to Nagarjun Durbar. The experts from the Ministry of Forestry pointed out that these were the seven trees that are already fallen, you can take them. I was the one who went to where the fallen trees were. Of course, it was deep in the bush. I tried to measure it, at the time we were there. I fell several times. I did the initial documentation of the trees and handed it over to the [...] at Janabaha. We went there every week for 37 weeks, according to my report. On a picnic, where they would all sit on the ... 20 people sit on the back of a truck, carrying food and *aila* (liquor) of course. So once they cut up the trees that were identified and measured, tried to put it on the truck with the pulley system. They call it *twuen*, but it is actually a pulley. Many times they had misadventures where the chain broke, and the people were... and the truck fell in the ditch in the Monsoon and all that. That is why it took 37 weeks, just to bring these joists for the temple. For the joists, once it was time to inaugurate it, eh, once it was time to raise the money, we set up 8000 rupees for one large joist and 1000 rupees for a small joist, and we only had a limited number of joists. There was *kat-mar* (literally cut and kill) basically of the people who were queuing up to pay that money. Because we promised two things, that their name would be inscribed on [joist] and also because it was in the main sanctum, so it was of huge religious value, and of course the people who live there are all Shakyas, Tuladhars, [...] The lesson I learned from that is the material that is so easily accessible, which is known to be even stronger than wood, than *sal* wood, we are not talking about that any more.

Sal has already been standardized.

53. And the linseed oil, you probably know about it. For *sal* and *guhe-chhan-shi*, for their seasoning, someone from our team went all the way to Birganj, and bough barrels and barrels of linseed oil, to season the wood. For the seasoning, of course once the wood was cut to size, which was maybe 15

feet long, or 18 feet long. We do not get such large barrels. We manufactured out of aluminium 18 feet long and 12 inches wide, we kept it in there for months and months. Then there was the problem of finding the space to put these 15 feet long... we found a house under construction in Gairidhara. So there were all of these learning processes. I do not hear of any of these linseed oil treatment any more, in any of the heritage reconstructions.

I think that these are the things that really need to become part of the process. We have certain things, let's say the craftsmanship, the skills they have, but then what is the process? The rituals, in certain places they are being carried out, but shorten it. Especially when projects are tendered, then it is done in a 'contractor-manner'. That is part of that whole process. It has to be standardized.

54. Even the process of cleaning, cleaning the gilded roof of Janabaha-deu. We went out to search for traditional methods. We ended up cleaning it with, we did not use surf or soap, what do you call it, traditional soap, that even I remember my grandmother washing her, taking a bath with it. You can buy it in Kilagal. The soap, it is a seed, of some plant. You put it in water and rub it for some time and it gets all soapy and bubbly. My grandmother used to wash her hair every week with that. I forgot the name. It is in my blog. I wrote a blog on Janabaha in 2007. We used that to wash the entire roof and we used elephant ears, the *karkolo* plant. That was one of the ingredients for the soap and ... so many things we learned. When we were washing the roof, a whole lot of Bengali people found out about it and he came and started collecting all the water that was being washed away. Eventually we were able to stop them from doing it. But they were taking away buckets and buckets of water to process it for gold. In the alley where I lived, there are all the Shakyas, the goldsmiths, who do the work. Every day they sweep the floor with a broom, and all the dust goes out. Every 6 months we have these very labourer looking Bengali types, Indian, who come and sweep the alley and take all the mud away. They are basically mining for gold. There are so many surprising things that come up.

Interview A10a and A10b

22 June 2020 (voice recording in English)

I have started the recording.

1. **[a]** From around 48 to 78 hours after the earthquake we were very busy, initially with the rescue from buildings that had collapsed, the civil construction buildings and all. And then as the army was deployed and working in these distributions and then it came to our notice that the temples were also down and there was a lot of rubble. Movement was hampered. So the people were saying that, the rubble, needs to be cleared. Suddenly I said, good lord, temples means you cannot clear the rubble. Send the people immediately, there are going to be some really, really expensive stuff over there. So the first thing we did, before anything, we sent little, little teams to sort of look after the temples, give security and all that, so that any artefacts is not taken away, stolen, whatever. And then the question of rubble came. So we have what we call the Valley Division, the Commander, they are responsible for any activities, military activities, whether it is operational or other than operational. So I called that guy and told him, this is the problem, put your security around, and make sure none of the artefacts, not a brick is lifted from these areas.
2. And then later the issue of rubble came. So I said fine, be sure I told the division commander, that they are in touch with the locals and clear the rubble. So we started clearing the rubble. We had no idea about archaeology or architecture or anything, was in the military clear, so it is cleared. Then I got a phone call from [...], saying what is this, you know, the army is clearing everything up and you know, these are heritage sites and you are causing more damage than helping out. Then I told him, look, that is not my problem. Why did you not tell me before? The people had said that movement is required and I helped them out. Now if these technical issues are involved, then fine enough, it is up to you to take the initiative. I have done my bit. Oh no Chief, you got to ... I know the Archaeological Department. Fine then you have civil society, the Archaeological Department, liaison. And then I gave him my Division Commander's point of contact and said do everything... and I gave the order whatever task is given to you by the Archaeological Department, you do it. So I just slid them under their command. And the Division Commander, apart from rescue, relief and all that, this became an additional task, a separate additional task to look after.

We have been going through a lot of examples throughout the world in connection with the army's involvement, which includes interesting discussion on Iraq, cultural heritage sites in Iraq and the impact of the war, and especially with the US bombings and things. [...]
3. **[a]** I can contact you with that General also. Probably for your research. Now the really interesting one is the Bungamati. How they found the *bhoto*. The *bhoto* is lost and they were all – was it Bungamati?

Yes Bungamati, Matsyendranath.

4. **[a]** The Matsyendranath, the *bhoto* they found. So that would be interesting.

Initially we had not prepared, how it would work, but then I also heard from the Department of Archaeology side, that there was this response towards the army clearing things, and then very clearly the communication began directly between the Department of Archaeology and the Army.

5. **[a]** That you can attribute to [...], [...] is the guy. Otherwise I was doing my thing. I did not know about archaeology. Archaeology should have come and asked.

That would have had to be in the preparation phase, and this should have happened immediately, but it only happened two or three days after.

6. **[a]** It all started with the rubble, the temple rubble. It was public, so no one was.

There was the issue with the temple at Thapathali, they had actually just started working.

7. **[a]** We went there as well.

It was during that that the issue arose. How should this be done.

8. **[a]** The army was clearly the rubble. In places where they could take these dozers, or whatever, ...

But then when we look into what went on in respect to both security as well as the kind of work that was carried out, I think it was really exemplary, the involvement. So connection with that I also wanted to understand how that worked a bit more. Maybe it would be interesting to meet a few more people. Because these would be examples which would be interesting to also highlight.

9. **[a]** It is very simple, you know. The military, it operates on orders, clear cut orders. So once we realized, these are very... they are heritage, very valuable artefacts, everything, it depends on... I took the initiative. First, provide the security and ensure nothing is picked up. And then we start off with (bull-)dozing. And then [...] came, and said what is the army doing. And I said we are doing what is required. And he talked about the heritage I will be more than happy. Let them come and take it, I will support them. So I gave clear cut orders for the Division Commander. He created a completely different set of tasks and responsibilities for division, re- this thing with cultural heritage sites, and then attach them, send them there and do exactly what they tell, from lifting bricks, placing bricks, anything manual. Because in the army, when we look at these sort of issues, rescue, relief and reconstruction and whatever, these humanitarian disasters, situations, we have three categories of manpower. The skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled. The skilled are the pilots, the doctors, and all. And then we have these guys who can go into collapsed structures and all that. We had two or three teams at that time. That is it. That is our skill level. Then all the

rest have to come out from the UN and NGOs, and other people coming. It is all about how you coordinate. And it is very important, the Army, does not take a lead role or anything. It is very important for the military to slot itself behind and assist. So we did that. The Army is semi-skilled. I would say we have 90 percent, in such situations, 90 percent of the organization are all unskilled.

One of the fears after the disaster was also security, I think. Suddenly we were not quite sure about resources, accessibility of the Kathmandu Valley, the road, was also a security issue. We heard of the collapses, and the first 72 hours is more about immediate response and rescue, and the trauma of loss, the people who died, and very often after that initial response, people start looking around and see what is going on and reacting. In many places you can see that the security becomes a major issue. There is looting and people going out and... but here there was none of that.

10. **[a]** Yes, it was amazing.

Yes, and it was quite a major disaster.

11. **[a]** And people were all helter-skelter. I think, number one, that disaster, the shock effect lasts, my feeling, is that shock, it shocked everyone. So, no one did anything apart from looking after themselves, and organizing themselves. By that time militaries are organized, to take these type of shocks, you know. If the enemy attacks, you know, the shelling. We are trained and organized for that. So when you get a shock, we are quicker than anyone else. To get back on their feet. So I think that factor, the shock factor and the military reacting really fast, putting in our soldiers over there. Then the *guthis* also. The *guthis* were also very concerned, is something would happen. So it was a coordination. Then the concerned authorities themselves of course, everything is happening, and they came in and said this is our ... and so we said ok, take it. But then there was the problems between the *guthis* and the Archaeological Department, how to reconstruct, what to do and all that. That is another area.

That is the next phase, once you have to start to plan.

12. **[a]** The egos and all started and shock effect. The military, our modus operandi, is to go in the quickest and come out the quickest. Because, there is no problem going in quick. That is to our benefit, also for the government. But if you stay longer, then you are going to get dragged into controversies. All sorts of controversy, so we worked on that. And then later on, slowly, these guys also woke up [...] then the Armed Police Force started coming in. The Police also started coming in. And another important aspect is our, you know, Hanumandhoka, and the temples, in Durbar Square in Bhaktapur. Two areas I am sure. I am not sure about other areas, but in these two areas the most important ones. We already have the military in there. So it was so much easier for them to ... and it is their responsibility.

13. **[b]** Can I remind you of Changu Narayan? [...] So that Colonel Gaurav Gurung and ...

14. **[a]** That was Changu Narayan, they went, and others also. But this was rescue. The music school, in Bhaktapur. There is that German. Now that institution is affiliated with Kathmandu University. School of Music. They are now coming here. You can talk with him also. [...] The army went in and rescued all the instruments, this, that and the other building and shifted it. They had a huge collection.

Because there were various situations, just in connection with Hanumandhoka. So the palace itself was damaged. The south wing towards Basantapur collapsed. So that was the only part that collapsed. So half it collapsed, and in the other half we still had artefacts. I was at that time involved with the Hanumandhoka Palace Museum, trying to see how to deal with the situation. So there were various artefacts, there were canons in there. There were two thrones. The question was how to get them out. So we had all these international teams coming in, from the search and rescue teams. I was not directly in touch with them, but had also come, I guess, to see Hanumandhoka, and they were also helping out. There was some Israeli team, there was a Turkish team, and there was another from New Zealand. And all of them came and from the museum they were asking how to get these artefacts out, because no one was clear. There were still aftershocks going on. So we could not just walk in. It was really interesting because they all gave wonderful concepts, of what should be done, but impossible to implement, particularly under those circumstances. Putting in metal framing and whatever. It would have taken us months. We could never have done it. So we were really working on how best to get these artefacts out. In the end put in this pipe scaffolding, and the army went in and took it out. We discussed this for just about three weeks. How are we going to do it? They were all in line with ropes and whatever, trying to make sure that they are as safe as possible. Of course there was a risk.

15. **[b]** So they were just passing the stuff down? Passing from one to another.
Yes, but of course there was ...

16. **[a]** There was a risk.

... risk, because, had a larger after shock, there could have been more collapse. So it was very awkward, how to deal with this. But they took out the two thrones and some other artefacts. We were mainly focusing on the thrones. I mean there were the canons, but even if it would have collapsed, nothing much would have happened to them. But especially the thrones. Those were removed afterwards.

17. **[a]** [...] That was there. Another thing we were talking about. You said the Nepalese Army went in. It is a question of ownership. This was Nepal. It was our heritage. It is always in such a situation, I mean, when your country, your thing is involved. People tend to take more risks, or whatever to save it. For example look at in France, that thing burned down, what was it? The

gargoyles, and whatever, the Hunchback of Notre Dame. The Notre Dame, over there. [...]

18. **[a]** So that is also another aspect. Felling of ownership, because it is your country, it is your property, it is your culture, and ... that feeling is there. So that also makes people take a little more risk, and more this thing, and rather going into abstract, temporal aspects. Others come to look at it technically. OK, technical later, first, just grab it and take it out. That is the ... way of thinking.

During those first three four months, I used to get up at four in the morning, go through all my emails, because at that time I was also with UNESCO dealing with all this international involvement in culture sector. And then from six onwards I used to go around all the sites, and really it was like ... every day, it was like ... and wherever you went you could see people involved. Like really, for them it was ... they were involved because it was part of their context, their surroundings, their own heritage. And that was somehow, the destruction was sad, but looking at how the people responded, you really felt sort of motivated.

19. **[a]** These are also factors, you know, that ... what we call morale, *esprit de corps*, these are things that you cannot [...]

And there was a kind of positive feel to it. It did not get into conflicts, initially, that came later once they started thinking too much. The other thing that I wanted to ask was, in connection with Hanumandhoka, was, the Gompukot area. We have been, I was also involved, eh, with re-planning, meaning, documenting and seeing what can be done in that area. I do not know whether that was every discussed.

20. **[a]** Gompukot is the one behind?

Yes, the Kot area, where you had the kot (armoury) incident.

21. **[a]** Kot, which one, the army's...

Yes. The army area.

22. **[a]** The army area where they do the Dasain ...

So there have been discussions, this might have been discussed later on.

23. **[a]** Since we have a battalion, a [...] battalion stationed there. No one contacted us about that. I do not remember.

Maybe it was ... the discussion might have come much later. But, there are two three things there. One is, was that really sort of the military initial setup when Prithvi Narayan Shah entered, would that have been sort of the main, the headquarters of ... where the army was stationed? Because a lot of rituals and I do not know, some of these, I think even the officers take their oath.

24. **[a]** They do that. But it still requires a little bit of research. Everyone says, there is a stone also, on the southern side, where there are cuts, sword marks. But some people say that that is not the *kot* (armoury) itself. *Durbar* was inside.

That is the point.

25. **[a]** There was a tall building there, Shish Mahal. There was another tall building there.

There was the Shish Mahal, I do not know, but was probably destroyed in the 1934 earthquake. So we have photographs of that and they want to rebuild that.

26. **[a]** Yes, that is the connection.

And even now there is a shed there. Supposedly that is where all the arms are kept. And it has a sort of ritual

27. **[a]** The arms and the colours, you know. At that time the Gompukot Battalions. We talked about the Gompukot Battalions, I think there were seven to eight battalions over there. There were eight. You had Jung Bahadur had two or three. Gagan Singh had ... you know in history. A very good book is by John Whelpton. It is called, 'Soldiers, Priests, ...' 'Kings, Solders and Priests'.

Really, I must check that out.

28. **[a]** You must read that. I do not know if I have a copy or not.

I will check, because I have read some of his work.

29. **[a]** It has been reprinted as well, I think. John Whelpton. 'Kings, Solders and Priests'. You will get to know about the military. He talks about the Gompukots, the Kot Massacre, and all that.

I wanted more information on exactly this, because, even there, the Major ... we hear stories, this and that happens there and there, but when we ask where it is written, or documented, then no one is quite sure of what it is.

30. **[a]** You will have to talk with historians.

It really would be interesting to understand this a bit better.

31. **[a]** You take an appointment with one of this ... I will find out. I can give you this thing. These guys at TU university in history department, probably they will have some ...

We will see. You do not have within the army any...

32. **[a]** Archives?

Historians, or someone who is dealing with these kind of things?

33. **[a]** In the army there is one guy. He is for us quite vociferous. He is a retired Brigade General. It is better to go with the civilians. Civilians, who

have done research on military history. Nepal's army. There are some very established guys.

It would be really interesting, because, the whole question was how to restore those. We have photographs, so the question was ... we worked on a few things, some proposals, and I even presented in Singha Durbar to ... I was taken by motorcycle. I was told to come immediately, so they took me to Singha Durbar by motorcycle and I had to present this at the ministry. But we need to understand it better.

34. **[a]** Exactly. I will look into this.

Yes that would be very interesting.

Interview A11

23 June 2020 (voice recording in English)

I have started the recording.

1. [...]

So, in connection with the Kasthamandap, you mentioned that you regularly visited Kasthamandap. Did you visit Kasthamandap right when you were small, or was it something that came later?

2. Yes, after my graduation, just morning walk, just for morning walk. From there I used to go to Mahankal, in front of the military hospital, and then go to Bhadrakali, and then return back.

You mentioned that you found the Kasthamandap to be very interesting. What was it, a structural thing, or a spiritual thing?

3. Also, it is the name of Kathmandu came from Kasthamandap. Supposed to be that they did with one tree. One tree. How far it is true I do not know. Maybe I think they must have been smaller, one smaller one ...

A previous one

4. Even somewhere it was written that tree was so big that there was surplus timber and southwest of there, there is one raised platform and there they have put all that timber there.

As a storage.

5. As storage for future use. It must have been written somewhere. I can access this when I was doing some [...]

And so you had also mentioned you were involved in this documentation. So you were previously in the government.

6. Yes, in the Building Department. [...] Yes, from '64, 1964, our 2020. So from '20 to '35. [...]

So when you were in the government, you were also responsible for the monuments, or was it more out of interest that you ... as you were saying, you got Kasthamandap documented.

7. Our Chief Engineer, of the Building Department, he was Krishna Raj Pandey. There was a small office that was especially for maintenance of temples, and maintenance of government offices. Like that there were a number of offices. So he dealt with all the construction things and drawings. In fact the big Shiva temple near Makhan, when you go, first this temple comes, on the right side. The priest from there, he came to my office. Please, I want to repair it, renovate it. Please do the estimate of how much it would cost so that I can apply. So I did, just preliminary and the government granted him and that was renovated at that time.

So through this Department or was it ...

8. Through the Department. And at one time, you will not believe. My office was just in front of that ... now it is only one storey. That used to be two stories. That long building ... below Taleju. If you do some research, you will find it was two storied.

Yes, I found a photograph.

9. [...] my office used to be in the upper floor of the buildings. Ground floor it was all store. Shop. Rent all goes to King. That belonged to the royal family that time.

So that was demolished, or what happened there?

10. The upper floor was demolished and made into one floor. [...] 1964 I was there. [...] Next office was Bhadrakali. In Bhadrakali, on the upper floor.

It is interesting that the offices were in these kind of places. So these belonged to the guthi?

11. Must be *guthi*.

So then you must have been there in Hanumandhoka. So when was this new police building built? So we saw some photographs. There was some red building. Then that seems to have gone and this present building came.

12. Yes, upper floor all police officers and lower floors all the jails. [...] it was after 2007 (1950).

The Department of Archaeology was already there. I know in 1966 there was a big restoration of Kasthamandap by Department of Archaeology and Guthi Sansthan.

13. Yes, that was just before coronation or something like that. Coronation was supposed to happen... That was Birendra's coronation. Mahendra died in '29(1972). So *sunasal* (year ending in zero) is dangerous, so not to do in *sunasal*, not to do in 2030, it mean that it was not auspicious. So in '31 they did it.

So that would have been in '74. At that time all these other people were also there, like John Sandey and all, no?

14. John Sandey, he came just to renovate the nine-storey palace. Renovation. He came there. Of course I was interested. I went there to watch. He made big tank so that he can immerse all the timber for disinfecting. He used chemicals, he immersed there, then take it for building.

Because the other question that arose was ... so all that was in the '70s. So also your ... when you said you had done the measurements for Kasthamandap. So that would have been in the '70s? Early '70s or already in the '60s?

15. That would have happened sometime after '71. [...] My senior person, who used to be involved in doing all these stone paving thing, stone paving inside the Durbar area. Some bumblng happened and so he was accused of that. [...] I could only hope that he did not do that. Just because he is

Newar. [...] Above him was Gauri Nath Rimal. [...] He had all the ministers, all the connections in the Durbar, everyone is connected. All his uncles, all his brothers, all his nephews were in government offices. [...]

So, coming back to Kasthamandap. So you were saying, the documentation... so those drawings were made through your assistance? Measurements and whatever. You were saying you had ...

16. I used to keep two brightest, perfect draftspersons in my ... I used to have a big room for me in the Building Department. Always I used to keep two persons, because I had to do a lot of private buildings. I used to pay the 200 rupees. This is for my uncle, this is for my niece. I did not want other people to see it, so I gave them quietly and they did it. I used to have two very bright persons. And one is very good in this traditional architecture, called K.K. Joshi. For that building I gave Korn. This is very good person. He will do perfectly. And he even did, in all his drawings, you do not see a rope. Here used to be one rope hanging from up. Yes, even that rope was drawn in that drawing. Rope was drawn carefully. He is a very good drafts person, in fact. And that was also there. I used to have elevation and section in my office. I would have liked to take it from the office, but I was scared. If somebody accuses me of stealing. I could have taken it, and no one would have known. Being a Newar, Newar people are scared.

So it was not officially done from the office, but you got it arranged from ...

17. I used to have Russian jeep for travelling. I used to send them in my jeep. '29' yellow Russian Jeep. With the number '29'.

So after that we had... in connection with... so in between we had all these different restoration, and then the most recent one. So now, after the earthquake. So you were asked to look into it by the Department of Archaeology? Or where did ...

18. Archaeology, of course. My client was Archaeology. And the Archaeology Department gave the measure drawing for that.

So the measure drawing was given by Department of Archaeology. Was it Korn's? Or was it a separate one?

19. I do not know. There used to be a number of architects, young, young girls. I then asked who did it and one young girl said that we went and measured it. I do not know whether that is true or not. Since Archaeology Department gave me, I used it. I was hurried to do all the calculations. [...]

20. This foundations, how they did it I do not know, but they, this Durham University said that the foundation is enough. They never said that, I went through it carefully, only the wall, foundation wall is very nicely preserved. That is the only [...] The thing is, this time I proposed pile. Pile was to ..., the horizontal displacement is usually half of ... the vertical displacement is half of the horizontal, we assume. But in this case, almost same, same. Vertical and horizontal is almost same. So if you go through it, ... please make a

note and inform me and I will also come. This I did long time back. Then someone said I will file a case against you, if you do pile. And that person has done timber pile in Lumbini. Timber pile.

You were not involved there, no?

- ^{21.} Almost, but not involved. Almost I got involved. At that time there was real controversy, who should design it, who should design it. [...]

Wonderful, so many stories.

Interview A12

1 July 2020 (voice recording translated from Nepali)

I have started the recording. Before the earthquake, what kind of connection did you have with the Kasthamandap? Did you used to go there regularly?

1. You are talking about association? Actually I grew up in that area. Right next to Kasthamandap, there is something called Gandakuti, a Shikari style temple. In front of Kasthamandap there is another *dubali*. On the left side of the *dubali*. Right next to that there is a house with a balcony. That belongs to the Jhas, Shankar Jha. We were staying in that house as tenant. That was when I was very small. When I was around 7. My association is, that that was where I played. In the Kasthamandap, the four balconies on the corners, how many times we climbed on them and played. We used to climb on the lions on either side, when we were small. [...] We used to go and get water at Maruhiti. There was always a shortage of water and we had to go and get water at Maruhiti, my brothers and me. My two elder brother twins and me. The grownups went to earn, while we studied and went to get water. There they used to sell rice and things, and we used to stay in line whenever there were such events. There used to be sales. The government used to give rice at a special price and it used to be inside there. Standing in line, that was our work, and to get the rice. Mom and Dad would come to carry the rice, and my older brothers. That was a place to play. And the Ganesh shrines, every day ... now it is not like that in our culture any more, but we had to do *puja* there every day. Not only on Tuesday, but every day. My mom used to send me. We went there to play, look around. Inside there are Ganesh in four places. I did *puja* there and returned. That was what it was like. When I grew up we moved to Gaushala. On Indra Jatra we had in that house ... even though we moved, our *dai*-s stayed on in the house there for a very long time, till 2046 VS we had it there. So when there are *pujas*, on Indra Jatra, we meet there, even now. Until I was in class 8 it was regular. The people of the *tole* know me, though I was junior. When I was 14 – 15, we left the place, but even know everyone knows me there, generally. The *dais* know me. Some are *dais*, others are uncles, who know me. There and Singhasattal. We used to play in Singhasattal as well. In the evening it used to be allowed to climb up there. There used to be *bhajans* (hymns). They also used to give *prashad* (offering to god) after the *bhajans*. Those two places were like that. After that I got linked with environment, and only later did I go towards heritage. So my early relationship was very intangible. With my social life, my association was that. After I came to the Municipality it moved also to the tangible, the physical component. As much as I got to understand its value after the earthquake, before that it was only a place where I used to play. Now at last I have come to understand. After the earthquake, there was a great loss.

So at the time what was it like. All the children from the area used to go and play there. There was not control?

2. It was open from four directions, and playing there was allowed. There mainly the users were the porters. Now they do *prabachan* (spiritual recitations). They did not used to do that then. All the locals used to sit there. At the time the locals used to have time. Now the locals do not have time. The elderly also stay on the terrace, or go and stay in their new houses. The young people have to go to earn. Everyone has motorcycles, to they work outside. I do not see people from outside coming here. There are a few, mainly the porter, but not many others. There used to be all the grandfathers and grandmothers, as well as the children who played there. Before the earthquake, I used to go there, on certain days there used to be *prabachan* for women, on other days for others. This is something new. It was not like that in the past. Mainly the porters, and then there were those who sold flowers. Even at that time it was a place where they sold flowers, along the outside of the fencing. There was also not much interference from them.

Did they also sell things from inside?

3. No, they had already been removed. No, I never saw shops stalls inside. Outside they used to set up stalls for some time, but permanent were only those selling flowers, the *malis* (gardeners). Work used to be done there. Over here they used to sell oil lamps, but there were not many. As I mentioned when there were shortages, rice would be sold at a special price, from Salt Trading, I do not know by whom. But I do remember being told by my parents to go and stay in line and let us know when our turn comes. It happened right there. We were three of us, playing around, checking out the things, whether they were in sacks or tins, we played. We did not really care. Staying in line was part of playing there. When our turn came one of us would go and call them. That is what we used to do.

So Singhasattal was also like that?

4. At Singhasattal on all four sides there were shops, below.

Right from the beginning?

5. Right from the beginning, as far back as I can remember. There were small grocery shops, and they sold things for *pujas*. Even up to now the same people were there. When I went there the other day, I bet the *dais*, my dai's friends. *Tapari-haru*, (*tapari* is a leaf plate, *haru* is plural, but can mean 'and such things') that which is required for rituals from birth until death, things for *pujas*. Only such things were sold there. And on the second floor, as far as I remember, we were allowed to go there in the evenings. They also opened it once and played *bhajans* (hymns).

Where did they come from to play bhajans?

6. From the same *tole*, they were my father's friends. They used to do *bhajans*, and we used to run around the outer balcony. Inside they played

bhajans and outside we ran around. It used to be covered with cloth, with carpets. The elderly used to come.

It collapsed during the earthquake. At the time, how did you hear of what happened at the Kasthamandap? Did you only get involved later on?

7. Kasthamandap, at the municipality, being in the culture department, it was important. But the importance it gained after its loss, I never realized it. That it is such a nice place, I recognized ... since right from the beginning it was a play area ... concerning its architecture and things, the wonderfulness, I was so ... [...] In such a nice place, nothing ever happened. Nothing happened. They only say pujas, and the association to that is only with the Newars. I did not know how they associated with it initially. Then later they said Gorakhnath, they have started to say was a later god. There is a conflict. When the Newars go they do *puja* more to the four Ganesh. Those who believe more in the Gorakhnath, they go more to the Gorakhnath. That is what I remember. No one was allowed to go up. At the time I was not in the technical field, which is where I am now, let us say. When getting the youth involved, with events, mainly it was with cleaning up heritage sites. To get heritage sites cleaned up, is what I thought, Kasthamandap, not Singh Sattal, Pratap... no, Kabindrapur. When cleaning Kabindrapur, I was very surprised, what a nice place that is.
8. After that we ... there is the World Heritage Day, around then we had a one week programme, when we cleaned Kasthamandap. We cleaned the lower floor. We were allowed to go to the second floor. We even went to the third floor. I had not known of anyone going there. We cleaned, and only then realized how nice it was. It was also strong, there were so many of us who went and cleaned there. There were some 25 of us who went and cleaned there. The reason why we went to clean there. There is Ekaram Singh, the artist Ekaram Singh, he has kept his artwork on lost Thangka paintings, wall paintings as well, such. He had some 25 such paintings of things not available in Nepal any more. He got it from some other source. So he had this artwork, and we planned an exhibition of this art. He told me and I thought it a good idea. Where shall we do it? We thought up there. So we cleaned. Cleaning it, there was a lot of that biting, itchy, like that. Then there was such a lot of pigeon droppings. Such a layer, up there. Such layers. We scrubbed it, cleaned it and we got the municipal sweepers as well. We cleaned it and got 15 sacks of that. And there was no place to throw it. How to collect it? We then asked the shop-keepers below ... we first sprayed disinfectant, like pesticide, against that itchy stuff. We then went to ask for sack from the shop-keepers. What for they said? We went to buy. We told them that there was all this pigeon droppings up there and we were going to clean it up. You do not need to pay, but give me that, they said, to put in the apricot orchard. We gave them 15 sacks and I kept one for my house.
9. So we cleaned it and, we said we would do the exhibition, and one of the youth from our group, one of the youth was from the Maharjan community. I

told him to come over, to give him some work. He came. He had never been there. And he took a lot of photographs. He should have lots of photographs. Sujan Maharjan was his name. He was probably studying in the twelfth class. According to our criteria, they needed to have passed the Bachelors, but those sent from the Ward were allowed to be from twelfth class, completed their SLC. He had come sent from the Ward. He took a lot of photographs. Afterwards we did a review meeting in Maru, for the exhibition, and he was so against it. Here, we are not even allowed to come here. How can we call everyone and have an exhibition? He was very much against it. And he was very much upset. Where my father, grandfather, great grandfather have been doing puja, now anyone and everyone, of all kinds of ethnicity come upstairs. In our culture, this is not good. Even for us, it was only for the cleaning. Only certain people should be allowed up here he said. I tried to explain but he did not understand. He shouted, this should not be, and left. The rest of us were left stunned. In spite of that we continued getting things ready. Our artist, he is also a Maharjan, a Singh, he would also be involved in the *guthi*, being an artist, he also had another association. He phoned and asked what was going on, all the Jyapus were against it. We then could not carry out it out. But then we did it the next year.

But there was some programme.

10. Yes, when I did the programme the next year, we took some money from Hanumandhoka, from our own [municipality], and got it done. The next year when we did it, what we did ... the previous year it was also there ... that year, what must have come into my mind. We had 25 of his on display, and from the group of volunteers, we got IDs made, and at the entry, at the stairs, we only allowed 10 persons at a time. That it would not be too heavy, what came into my mind? Ten persons were sent with cards and sent up, and when they returned the next ten persons were sent up. It got so crowded. Everyone followed the rules, but the locals came to quarrel. We are going. They have not returned, wait. Allow a card to return. You come to our place and we are being controlled? They were totally against it. Even the locals were somehow not understanding. It was very difficult to make them understand. They were just about to beat up the volunteer kids. I had to get in between. What is going on *bhai*? And some who know me and I call them *bhai* (younger brother), they get angry. Who are you? I did not always recognize them, but they seemed to have remembered me from when I was small. They call me Maiya. You come to our place and want to control us, they said. I explained that this is not the case. Up there it could be weak. I do not know whether they were interested in the art, but because they were from the same *tole*. I explained, but it did not work. So you take five cards and let only five people up. We will keep five cards and only let five people up. Saying, no more than the number of cards are allowed to go up, they were appeased. It was for three days. It was really good. It really gave exposure. There were so many people there. There was a photo session when we did that. There must be with a lot of people, the details.

I have seen a few photographs. There are some in the office as well.

11. They also did not do it, this committee. If they bought the photos, they would have gotten them. For each of them, do they have to give 100, or 200? Even if others did not give, the ones from the person from twelfth class, he was really good at photography. How many he must have shot. If they would say, OK, 200 for each photograph, he would have surely brought them. Some will bring it without money, others will give what they have in their collection for money. For reconstruction it would be very good. Such things this committee actually did not do. That is what I believe. That was one association. Then there was the earthquake. After the earthquake, Alok and the others, what was it called?

Rebuild Kasthamandap Campaign.

12. Yes, I was slightly associated with that Campaign. Their last consultation, workshop that they organized, I was involved in that. That was in Shanti-Nikunja. At the Shanti-Nikunja, they had called everyone publicly. I had gone to that one. At the time I had the problem, I was in KMC. Even though they were doing good work, it was not seen. That is what happened. When will the mayor come and make things easier, but it turned out exactly the opposite. They should have been properly involved, by this committee.

I did talk with all of them. Even with Alok, I met him. I went two three times. They did not listen to what I had to say. They had different ideas, I do not know. What I actually was trying to do, that everyone's contribution is linked to this. There is also talk of taking out this publication. That publication, actually I ... it is the publication of that project ... [...] what I am trying to do is to include everyone's things into that. Even with religious sentiments, there are different things. There are different things with the Ganesh, with the Naths,

13. And there are so many *guthis*. There is the Manandhar's,

Put all that together, not saying this is correct and this is not. Put everyone's contributions, but already that has been so very difficult.

14. Has it been difficult to talk to them?

Of the Vajrayana ... there is no proof of that. Historically there are Ganesh and the Naths, whether they are appropriate or not, that is a different thing [...]. Whatever it is, it should be included. And then, during the three years, whatever activism there was, it was because of the activism that this was possible. If it had not been for that, what might have been built? I also met up with Manohar Rajbhandari, since he also wanted to do his best by contributing his structural design. This also needs to be put on the table and discussed. [...]

15. What about its history?

If you look at the dating, the foundations were from the seventh century. There is a capital from the fifth century, which has been reused.

16. From the fifth century, wow. Below the foundations are from seventh and the capital from the fifth, is it not the wrong way?

It was reused. Already at the time of the Licchavis. We have not really understood things.

17. Fifth century, it would be from Manadev's times. 464 was from there. If the historians and they [archaeologists] do not work together, how can they write?

We have gotten everyone to write about it. Paying them to write papers. We were going to organize symposiums, but let us not to symposiums now, let us collect the papers of all the experts. All different opinions. It is better not to do the symposium. After one person's presentation, the next ones would be different, it would cause quarrels.

18. That would cause a quarrel. They are exactly opposite positions.

So we edit them and compile them. They are not allowed to criticise others, but are allowed to state their viewpoints. That needs to be edited. If they say that the others are wrong ...

19. You are allowed to present your position, but not against others. I get to present my opinion. One should not quarrel. It is not easy. It can be done but will be difficult.

You were involved in the Campaign, but were not directly involved?

20. I used to go there and help out a bit with the necessary things, but what was good with them was their community mobilisation, there were some drawbacks, but they had collected a lot of information. The Manandhar's, the intangible ... the team, different people looked into different aspects of the intangible. The engineering, someone else looked into that. The way they set up different thematic teams to work, I thought that to be correct. But the volunteers could not work full time. Even though they were mobilised so well, later, they became less and less. They took ownership, but they did not have the authority. The volunteers came very motivated. When you said Kasthamandap, peoples from any district, any caste, any ethnicity, any community, they seem to want to be associated, regardless of any political thing. They had mobilised the youth in a very well. It is not like that now. They did not have authority. They did not have funds. One or two of them, who were there to mobilise the community, they could not arrange things. The locals, as you might call them, in my opinion, the locals are not only those physically local, it is not only physically that you are local. Someone living nearby, just because they have a house there, does not mean they are local. If there is someone staying on rent nearby, who is involved, and if something happens phones immediately. If there is a fire, they call the fire brigade immediately, they are also local. Even if they are from Ramechhap, it does not matter. That is the thought. If you are born there, grew up there, for generations you have been living there, and still staying there, and if you are helping monitor and looking after things, then

that is a different matter. If they do not ... the locals created a lot of problems. Right there they use as parking, they cannot even control that parking. They do as if they will charge for the parking. They say they are local but they do not need to do anything good for Kasthamandap. If someone else comes to work there, they move ahead shrugging their shoulders, saying this is ours. Everyone in Nepal needs to say Kasthamandap is ours.

21. [...] The community part, it is difficult to mobilise. It is not like before. [...] If there is cash involved, it is always difficult. They always see money in everything.

How should the Kasthamandap be managed?

22. It should be very ... not like before. It has become stronger, in a certain sense. After the earthquake, it would have increased in strength, it needs to be used also for income generation. It should be open to all. The restrictions should not be there, such as not allowing people to go up. If there are cultural issues, then there it does need to be stopped. But it should be open. Open but, you know, not like people who are drunk coming and sleeping there, urinating and defecating there, not like that. It used to be like that. [...] It was really dirty. No one took ... and it was dirty. Those were no one to do activities there. They also do not clean. Only if you have to do certain activities there, then people might say that it needs to be kept clean. But when you do not have any programmes, there are no people. Some time back they used to sometimes have the *bhajan* (hymns) and *kirtan* (devotional songs), where the ladies used to sit, that was clean. If you went around there, near the Ganesh shrines, and in the direction going towards Piganani, it was dirty. Later there was urine and defecation there. That should not happen. Everyone should be able to go and sit there. If there were cafes on the edges. It can be done, also to generate income, I believe. Otherwise there is no use of it. Nowadays, it is not necessary for porters to stay there. Now there is not the same trade system as there used to be. If the trade system is now on-line, there is no need to keep porters there. But the story must be told, and there must be a place to come and study this, that should be. Since it used to be on the old trade route, it was a kind of hotel, a hotel that you did not need to pay for. No there is no such thing, but we must keep the story alive. People should come to learn such things. They should be able to pay and have coffee there.

Because there was a lack of maintenance, that was the reason for the collapse, is what is said.

23. That is very true.

Who should take the responsibility for maintenance? What kind of coordination should be there? How should it function? If we look at the other two sattals, they are empty. They also removed all the shops.

24. Which *sattals*?

For example Singhasattal, all the shops.

25. There are not shops there?

They did not allow them to return.

26. I believe they should allow it. Why did they not allow? What happened was the Guthi Sansthan would get a small amount of money. Officially it looks like there is little money going. Practically, they are paying more. They will only allow it if they get a profit. They should not be doing that, I think it is OK.

Beyond the research, I said, let us also arrange the management. Another question, we need to arrange the management of Kasthamandap in some manner, what happens when we connect this with the other two sattals?

27. The two you mean Kabindrapur? It is like this, in my opinion, make it very nice and neat, if you keep it without using it, what is the value? And maintenance should also be done. If the government pays for the maintenance, then the people do not have any association with it, if they are not involved. Kabindrapur is also as nice a place. Where there is the Nasadyu, making sure that that is not touched, there is an entrance from the back anyway. There, they could put books, coffee... well, something very simple, that you can sit there drinking green tea. There you have to sit in low height, have you been inside the Kabindrapur? The height is not much, but on the first floor you can stand up fully, on the second floor you can stand up a bit, then it is less and less high. It is really nice there. Also Kabindrapur, they say Pratap Malla's library used to be there, so it can be a reading space, no? Maybe others might not like it, but it could be liked by foreigners. Foreigners, when they come, it should be possible to do high end business, I believe. Kabindrapur, Singhasattal and all three, it would be very good if all of them were done.

It might be an awkward question, but can the Municipality do this?

28. The municipality?

With what kind of a set-up could something like this function?

29. Which entity, anyone can do it, whether the Municipality, they can do it. If Guthi Sansthan is there, they can do it. The ward can also do it. Considering such an entity, the best would be the Municipality, as the mother-organization, but within that others must also join. But the main thing is that we need good people. Whichever organization, if the people are not good, whatever one does, it is not going to do well. By setting up a system, with a monitoring mechanism, everywhere, it just falls apart. Individual interest, if one looks for individual benefits, then it is difficult. [...] Even if the locals get involved, there is no guarantee, looking at it genuinely. But the municipality is the main out here, with the Guthi and Archaeology. The Municipality should nicely be able to arrange the manpower, and even for archaeological work, the municipality should build their capacity to do the work. That is something that still needs to be looked

into. That is one of the icons of Kathmandu. For that an extremely good mechanism needs to be made, strategy needs to be made, I believe. What you were saying, that it needs to be done with all three connected. That would be good. It is also something that should be done. Maybe the purposes are slightly different. It is only the Kasthamandap that has a slightly different purpose. Traditionally, what I have heard, Kabindrapur, is where one wrote *kitabita* (poems). He was a poet, Pratap Malla, he also wrote poems. It was his study room, it was the place where he studied.

I have not studied it in detail, I go there daily and walk around, the restoration was done but grass is growing ...

30. Yes, if it was in use, it would be so nice.

It is being kept empty. For whom was all that work done? It is also not good for a monument. If you can keep it preserved, that is one thing, but this is not good for the buildings.

31. It looks dry, like concrete. Even traditional looks like concrete. It looks like it does not have life. There should be activities there.

What is wrong to have shops where there have been shops in the past?

32. Yes, what is wrong with that? The shops are anyway related to our culture. For example they sell curd, right from when I was small, they sell curd from Bhaktapur.

Why did they have to remove them?

33. When we were cleaning there, there were the cups of earth, they were not plastic. We found that really nice. That curd shop itself was heritage. Then they sold things like *tapari* (leave plates). It was possible to buy everything for birth and death rituals, everything could be found there. For the Buddhists, if you would not find duck eggs anywhere, there it certainly be found there. That was how it was. A bit of medicines, the medicines of the Vaidyas. If you had to buy molasses, everything was available there. Everything that is required for our festivals, and there was not that much repetition. Maximum *chaku* shops there were two. There was one oil shop, *gheu-telpasal* (shop selling clarified butter and oil). They had arranged it like that. Not like mushrooms, shops that sell the same thing. *Puja* requirements shop one, yogurt another, *sel* (ring-shaped sweet rice bread) and things another, clarified butter and molasses shop another. It was so nice.

They should be reinstated. Why were they removed? Was it the Guthi Sansthan, or did the Municipality not allow them to return?

34. They must have been removed for the restoration. At the time it belong to the *guthi*. To give or not to give. Also the money they paid was to the *guthi*. After that, did the municipality start controlling it?

The guthi, I find it astonishing, I have tried even after so many years of working in the heritage sector, I still have not figured out what the work of the Guthi Sansthan is.

35. It is only collecting money, collecting money, there are a lot of people there.

We do not see their work.

36. See their work? There is much money there just for rent. They could raise the rent. They could easily do it.

It all belongs to the guthi, the Guthi Sansthan.

37. If it was the *guthis*, that would be fine, but they belong to the Guthi Sansthan.

Since 2003 I have been working in the field seriously. I have met people from the Guthi Sansthan a few times, other than that nothing.

38. I have, with the municipality, have not really met them. I have not gone to a single meeting of the *guthi*, not a single meeting. It has been 10 years that I have been working in heritage. [...] What I heard was that the *guthi* was coming into the KMC. That is also something awkward, the Guthi Sansthan is for the entire country, at the central level. For the Kathmandu Valley, a department for the Kathmandu Valley, and for other, maybe it can be done for each province. How are they going to arrange this? But the role of the Guthi is finished. Guthi Sansthan, as rich as the Guthi Sansthan, there is none, Guthi Sansthan, as messed up as they are, there is no other. [...] Because it is alike that, it go spoiled. But that one thing needs to be arranged nicely. The main responsibility might be with KMC. Why did the shop-keepers remain quiet?

I heard that they did complain, but they were not allowed to return.

39. Another good thing there, look at it, the house next to Singhasattal with the balcony, individual, belonging to the Manandhars. There, the house where the Rebuild Kasthamandap Campaign's office was located. That used to be such as nice Rana style building. We used to be on this side on the balcony. They are also very close and my friend used to be there. There was a single balcony from this side to the road towards Chikamugal, a single balcony. It was a huge building.

With a courtyard in the middle.

40. Yes. There was a courtyard inside. A wonderful courtyard. And outside as well, there was a five or six feet balcony. You could run there. From the balcony you could, it was in a strategic location, when they took the Kumari's chariot, they could watch from the other side, and, they went and turned at Koone and when they brought it back, they could watch from the other side. It was such a wonderful place. Now when they rebuilt the houses, they did not keep any of this, but still it got passed. Actually they were not allowed to but the balcony. The balcony, it also looks nice. All the shops there were also traditional. Now they have kept a shoe shop, all

colourful. It is private. It does not blend, that shoe shop. They should not allow such shops to be there. And like the shops at Taleju, they should not be there. Taleju, was the place we played. My father had a cloth shop at Indrachowk. We used to take turns to take food to our father. We used to walk to Indrachowk. The shops near Taleju, the Guthi shops, they used to be such nice shops. Now there are cloths shops, they have messed it up.

That used to be two storeys.

41. I do not remember that.

On the upper floor, [...] was saying, when I first started my government job, my office was there.

42. The shops below the Taleju?

Yes, below were shops and above were offices.

43. It is written, the shops there, only heritage and tourism things can be kept there. Now look at that. And all the motorcycles park there. And the shops, cap shops, all kinds of shops. There seems to be only two shops that have survived, *thangka* (Tibetan spiritual painting) shops. There used to be mainly handicraft shops.

That should be controlled.

44. They do not control. They should set conditions. That whatever shops used to be, that they have to return to the same shops. If they kept such conditions, it would be the same. Why did they remove them, poor people.

OK, Thank you.

Interview A13

2 July 2020 (voice recording in English)

I have started the recording. So I will just ask you more specifically about Kasthamandap and what has been going on, and you can add whatever you want of course. Do you remember Kasthamandap before the earthquake? Did you ever go there before? How do you remember Kasthamandap before?

1. It was a place that I would pass by. It was known as a place where a lot of people would just hang out to have fun. It was really memorialized by this Bollywood song. So, that is what I remember it as, just a hangout space.

Did you used to go there at all?

2. Not so much. I used to live a bit far away, [...]. I used to live [...] first, but I was really little, so I do not have a lot of recollection. I am pretty certain, because when I talk with my dad, apparently we used to belong to a *guthi* [...]. So I must have come, but I do not have a lot of recollection. And after that, in my second grade, we moved slightly further out, so I was not a frequent visitor to Kasthamandap.

So during the earthquake it collapsed, so how do you remember, when was the first time that you heard of Kasthamandap collapsing?

3. [...] when the earthquake happened [...] it was primarily tons of pictures of destruction. Then I knew, oh my god, this fell down, that fell down, it was visual, that is the visual memory that I have.

Was the Kasthamandap one of the monuments you heard of, of the collapse and destruction? Many people said they heard of the Dharahara collapsing, because that was sort of the iconic tower collapse. Did you remember specifically hearing of the Kasthamandap?

4. No, no. No, it was more just statistics. This many people died here and this many people died there. There was nothing particularly about the Kasthamandap that stood out.

So when did you first get involved with the Kasthamandap as such?

5. It was after, what I would say, a bit successful campaign about saving Rani Pokhari, that I felt it was possible to get something done, that I learnt about the Kasthamandap, and that was actually when I got educated on its history. Obviously, [...], I have always been told that it was made from one tree and all that folklore, or myths about Kasthamandap. I have grown up hearing about them. But the first time I learnt about it in a more documented way was after I was engaged in Rani Pokhari Campaign, and then this popped up.

So that was ... they had already started?

6. Yes, so, I would really have to credit [...] for telling me about this is what is happening in Kasthamandap and this conversation between Birendra Bhakta Shrestha, [...] and me about, oh, this is what is happening with Kasthamandap. They proposed a concrete and steel structure to rebuild it. That was the first time. I think the tender was already out and the drawings were already in by the time I got involved.

So what was your motivation to get involved?

7. Yes, so the thing that has really upset me all the time is the community's voices never get heard. It is really annoying how the selection of Kumari gets reported but the journalists never go out to get the other side, or interview the Kumari's father, or anybody from that community, just to put in perspective. I am not passing judgement on whether that is right or wrong, but at least a perspective, right? Just like if there is a debate, you always get both sides. So when I saw international media, journalists, media houses also not bothering to get the other side, they could have at least written, we are trying to get hold of Kumari's father, he was not willing to talk. But there was not even that aspect, that I felt like, OK, there is something really big missing when it comes to having a community, the community's voice heard. I know there are tons of people who call themselves, we are the authentic, original local community. Yes, it is difficult to figure out who the actual community is, but even having an outreach, to at least let people know, at least there are ten different people, or ten different communities, local bodies, that say that I am the original community. First was that. There was a big disappointment in that. And then the second disappointment was how come ..., so from preservation perspective, how come the government is not thinking in terms of ..., or how come anybody is not thinking that we actually need to grow and train the next generation of artisans. So even in this Kasthamandap, the plan was really to get a lot of young people trained by older people, pay them, even if it shoots up the building cost, but then you have, I do not know, 70 years after, when we have the next big earthquake, we would actually have someone who would have worked on the reconstruction and who can guide a little bit.

8. Umm, that is not coming, that is not happening. But those were the two main things. And what the government was doing was primarily just tendering things out. Two people who never worked on this kind of structure before, which means, the pocket of people who still exist working who are working on Kasthamandap, would never even get a chance at rebuilding something that they actually know how to rebuild, because they are not this organized construction company, classic construction company, right? So those were the things that really galvanized me into, maybe there is something that I can do. I know I am not an engineer, I know I am not [...] in any means, but maybe I can lend my management skills, my organizing skills, to give these people a voice and a seat at the table.

So at the time there were various activities that were going on, and the communication with the government. Where do you think that this relationship between what one calls the community and various government agencies, where was it not working?

9. I think, there are some practical reasons why it was not functional. And the practical reasons probably coupled with political will is what made it dysfunctional. For example when we went to meet Nabindra Raj Joshi, he basically waved and showed a [palm facing], saying there are too many of you, without realising, yes, there are a lot of *guthis*, yes there are a lot of people, because everyone is associated with Kasthamandap in one way or the other. It is not going to be easy for you to almost have like, oh, I am going to sit on one side of the table, and similarly dealing with, let us say, dealing with another government counterpart, or another foreign entity, that is exactly one responsible, elected people, right? Which is what I think makes Kasthamandap what it is. There are a lot of people involved in different bits and pieces with ownership and the government, I think, just refused to acknowledge that, or engage. Practically it make sense if you are trying to do something, but there are a lot of stakeholders, it is very difficult to satisfy everybody. But this is also a weakness on Guthi Sansthan that they were not able to bring this, since that is what the Guthi Sansthan was supposed to be, this unifying body of all the *guthis*. So, Guthi Sansthan was also quite useless from that perspective, of bringing different communities who have an interest in Kasthamandap, saying, alright, this is how we should think about it. So there was not a clear representation of the *guthis*, who – what do you mean by a community? Who is the community, and how are they engaged?
10. And unwillingness on the part of the government to actually understand the intangible heritage part, which made it very difficult to communicate with the government. And from the government's side there are so many entities, that it is difficult for the community to figure out who is the responsible person we should talk to. Or should we just bang on every door until we are heard, and we happen by chance to knock on the right door. So there is Department of Archaeology. Then there is KMC. There are four different wards. And there is the National Reconstruction Authority. So there are just too many government entities as well. We sort of did not know who we actually should be negotiating with. So I think the problem was on both sides. And from the 'political will' perspective, it is primarily ... or actually I would say 'knowledge perspective', it is lack of knowledge, on the government's side, that a building is not on its own, just heritage, but there is the huge intangible part as well, and that they need to preserve not just the physical structure, but the love the community has towards the structure as well, that gives the charm, makes it what it is. So I think, the government was also unwilling to even acknowledge there is something like that that exists.

Since you have been involved with Kasthamandap, how do you see ownership? Because I think this would have changed over time, with

various stakeholder being involved, and most recently DOA was established in the 50s and Guthi Sansthan in the 60s, who are now the ones involved. How do you see it, who owns Kasthamandap?

11. I do not think Kasthamandap can be owned by anybody. Right? So, but then there needs to be a clear responsibility of who gets the budget for its maintenance. Those are two separate things. When we formed the Kasthamandap Reconstruction Committee, under Rajesh-dai, I thought it very silly to have 51 members, and the list kept on increasing. But now that I think about it, at least those 51 people, when they go back to their families, there will be 51 people who will say I was part of it, whether they showed up for the meeting or they did not. There will be 51 times five, that means 255 people, who ten years down the line who would say my dad, my mom, someone was involved. They will have a little bit of linkages with Kasthamandap, beyond just the *guthis*. So that is good. So I think there will be an ownership from these people, as part of the Reconstruction Committee. And then there are *guthis* as well, there are strong overlap between people who are in the Committee and the *guthis*. So I think there will be ownership from those people, those families, those communities. Then there needs to be a clear ownership of at least providing the budget. For example communities want to maintain it, but we do not have all the money. The funds that get collected by the wards do not get to the community right away, right? So there is a clear money-part where the government needs to come in and support. So I would say, I would sort of separate it. The ownership in terms of making sure that Kasthamandap does not become just another building, a fancy building made with all wood, does not remain just as wood, so it belongs to everyone who uses it, to the *guthis* and communities that have been holding these rituals year after year for I do not know for how many centuries. And then there needs to be from the maintenance part, from the people who collect the funds, like these wards that collect the entrance fee, and also from the Federal Government, because these are some of the monuments that they put forward as these are what defines Nepal. So if they are going to use Kasthamandap, use the temples to say this is part of what defines us, there needs to be some level of support to make sure certain rituals continue, and especially the maintenance part continues.

So along the same lines, how do you believe how Kasthamandap needs to be managed? So we understood that it was not maintained, correctly at least, and it led to the collapse, so how can a management setup be done in a certain way that everyone can still access it, it does not belong to anyone, but then, clearly, the responsibility is there for someone to maintain it. So how can we try to develop this kind of balance?

12. I am not entirely certain if it is a balance, or if it is a de facto, by law it is going to happen this way, right? So if we were to form any *guthi*, which is how the purpose of the *guthi* was, there was a big endowment and the money from that would be used to maintain the temples and Kasthamandap, right? The Kasthamandap also has *guthis*. But the

government set up the Guthi Sansthan, by basically putting all the *guthis* under one umbrella. So, I think, the structure is already there. We do not need to recreate that structure, but what we do need to ask is whether the *guthis* that were set up to maintain Kasthamandap, can now no longer support Kasthamandap with the funds that were set aside, because everything got taken up by Guthi Sansthan, then there needs to be a proper demarcation of funds from the government, saying whatever Guthi Sansthan collects, from all the land that were endowed, right? All the land that gets leased out, the *guthi* land that gets leased out, needs to be at fair price, and the money needs to be clearly earmarked for national monuments like Kasthamandap. The work needs to be championed by Guthi Sansthan, because that is what everything falls under. If we try to create another *guthi* just for Kasthamandap, then it is dismantling Guthi Sansthan. Which is not necessarily not fine, it is OK, but there needs to be a political will for that, which I do not think is going to happen. First is that, but then the question is that is the fund part of it. Then the other part is how you are going to go about doing it. So if it is going to be tendered out then it is probably never going to be owned by people the way it would be owned if you get the community involved. Just like there are 51 people right now, I would ideally have wanted for there to be a call for volunteers to come and work. If you want to sand the wood, come and sand the wood. At least be part of that.

13. So if I had to do one thing differently to how the Kasthamandap was being ... for example ... for Kasthamandap, is to really get calls for volunteers, teach them, even the basics of what it means to rebuild something, be it in classroom presentations and teaching, or actually getting their hands dirty, and building something, right? So, it was a good idea to get the *guthis* involved, to move those pillars from in front of Hanumandhoka to the site. At least it got people involved. I would really have wanted to see a continuation of that for all the building process where these *naikes* (head craftsperson) would actually teach other people on these are the different type of locks that we use, this is how we make it, so that the next generation would get trained. So, to answer your question, first from the funding part, I think it will be impossible to do it separately from Guthi Sansthan, given how it has been structured. There needs to be a clean-up of procedures within Guthi Sansthan to support monuments like Kasthamandap. But in terms of how you going about maintenance, the actual work it entails, you would need to engage people, volunteers, young people, old people, puja people, whoever, to give, and do for even few hours, volunteering work to rebuild that structure.

Once it is built, how do you think Kasthamandap should be used? What kind of functions should be allowed, not allowed, or ... how do you see Kasthamandap being used in the future?

14. Kasthamandap has always been a hangout spot. There are some *guthis* that use it for specific occasions. I think, instead of defining specifically how Kasthamandap can be used, I think it should be free for all, how it was

before, rather than put a structure on how a common place should be use. It definitely should not be used like *patis* are being used, basically somebody just takes up that space and opens up a cloths retail shop, those probably should not be allowed, and access should be available for everybody. The only restrictions would will probably want to have is they do not start hanging, by putting up nails on all those beams. There are certain things that we probably have to have in place there. It should not be, cannot be used in certain ways, that destroys the structural integrity or aesthetics. For example it would be horrible to have a big, let us say, advertising banner hanging out of Kasthamandap. So there are certain things that should not be allowed. But in terms of ... that is how I would like to see it, instead of what should be allowed, what should not be allowed, that gives people constraint on what are the things that they can do, and let their creativity be taken forward, so it is the opposite way.

So in connection with this, I have been trying to figure out how to guide these activities. One big question that has arisen is the upper floor. There are people who believe that the upper floor should not be opened to the public since it has always had some special religious significance, for the rituals. People were never really allowed to go up there easily. The question is whether that is correct or not, because people used to live up there before 1966. They had their own little cubicles there. The question really was, the upper floor, how would you see it being used or not used, or ...

15. I would really have to differ. I really do not know how the third floor was used before, what people who say it should not be opened up, I actually do not know the arguments, either for or against, so if I were to put in an opinion, it would be very uneducated. So, my suggestion would be that you need to sit down and hear people out and see why certain people are doing certain things, or saying certain things, and probably come to a compromise and understanding. [...]

I just wanted an opinion on this even though it is slightly beyond my research. You know there has been talk of putting up a restaurant there, or using it as exhibition space. This is for the first upper floor. The second one, we have not even discussed that since it has never really been used. That might be something that people would question. There is a ladder going up. The question is, even the construction, if we use it, we have to put railings on the staircase. They did put it later on, which was not there originally. So the big question is do we put the railing on or not.

16. Well, I do think we need to evolve, right? And we need to be a bit more inclusive. For example, something that Ananta Baidya, I do not think I have met him more than twice, but one thing he definitely got me thinking about was, for example, in the past, people who were bipolar or schizophrenic would be cast out. So why should we, if we are reconstructing, why should we not construct in a way that people on wheel chairs, or other people, people also have access. So if you have a railing, it actually enables older people, or people who do not have really good knees, also go up and down and enjoy. So I think we should not only put a lens of 'in the past this is how

it was done and we need to do it just that way'. I think we also need to ... because we talk about intangible heritage as the living culture, right? So it is up to us to define what it mean, and if we are only going to let the past be our sole compass, the I think we are going to revert back many generations in terms of inclusivity of people who are disabled, or with mental illness, and cast them aside, like people 100 years ago did that. So we do not need to do that. We are better than them, that. I would definitely think let us think about those things and let us see how we can accommodate them. I am not saying you have to change the whole thing, but it gives access to a certain group of people who otherwise would not have access to. Then it is not necessarily a bad idea to be inclusive.

Probably this will be the last question on Kasthamandap. Another discussion that is very interesting is the fencing built in the 1966 restoration which is clearly this understanding at the time of saying, oh this is a monument, we restore it, we kick everyone out, clean it up. So now it is a monument, so we put fencing around it. In a certain sense it does protect the monument from various activities and I think it has become much cleaner than what it used to be like, because even until quite recently, they used to come and just sleep there, and there were not toilet facilities around. So the fencing is in a certain sense also symbolic. The actually kept the fencing gates open all night. They used to have guards during the day, but then the eastern gate was left open all night. But it is defining that this is our monument. In your opinion, do you think the fencing should be there?

17. I think it is false to think you should fence off Kasthamandap because it is an open space, right? And that is the beauty of it. So, in my opinion, it is silly that if people are peeing inside Kasthamandap, the clear answer is build a toilet rather than close it off, right? So that would be my suggestion. If it was dirty before, and the only solution that people can come up with is to just lock it up, then it is silly, because the other solution is double up the cleaning budget. Have people clean it three times a day. Have clearly designated dustbins where people can throw things. I think that is a very silly argument to say because it is dirty, I will fence it off. From that perspective, why can you not fence off everything? Because then you are killing the part that give Kasthamandap its charm. Not just Kasthamandap, but all the temples, right? A really good thing would be do not let anyone enter and the stone statues would be in a pristine state. So, I think it kills the purpose and to me it is quite repulsive, people would even think that they would put fencing around it.

You raised some of these points in the discussions that things are taken for granted. If we do put the fencing back, we need to be conscious about it, and not say because it was there. No, it was not there before 1966. OK, fine, it was there after '66, we understand why it is there and what it signifies.

18. [...]

If you look at the sattals around, Singhasattal, and the one on this side that the municipality restored, and have locked up, and are not using – it is a disaster – and my fear is, well Kasthamandap is never going to be like that, just locked up, but clearly no one cares about the maintenance. It is more or less that the monuments belong to the municipality, it the understanding. I do not know whether it follows our new Constitution or not. There are questions there as well. However, in connection with this link to the community, I do not think we have been able to deal with that. That is actually what I am trying to get at.

19. Well, this is the part that surprised, I mean is very frustrating and surprising at the same time. We make rules and laws that make sense. We do not do things that do not make sense, just because laws dictate them, right? If laws say we need to walk on our head, we will probably change the law and say we walk on our feet. So, if I had to do it, I would probably, all the guthis that claim a relationship with Kasthamandap, I would probably give them a cleaning duty, every month you rotate, just like you do rotations in the Golden Temple, Hiranya Varna Mahavihar, you give that responsibility just like it is done in Itum [Kwa] Bahal, you give that responsibility and each *guthi* family takes up of coming at five in the morning and cleaning up, sweeping it. I think it is a very simple problem to solve and it also gives huge ownership to the community who live around it. I do not know why it is such a complicated problem to solve. I actually do not understand it. So even if it resides in the municipality, the municipality can actually get people involved, and instead of just having to pay people to come and clean, they can actually give responsibilities to the local people, saying, OK this month it is your responsibility, come and clean. You can outsource your responsibility, and you can pay somebody to do it, but it is up to you. So I do not think it is necessarily, the question you asked before, it is not just the question of ownership, you need to separate it. There is the practical work that needs to be done. How do we go about doing it that we reemphasize the linkages with community? And then there is, OK, whose neck is on the line if Kasthamandap falls down again? Who needs to be made accountable for what the community is doing, is supposed to be doing, and not misusing these linkages with Kasthamandap? It is a very separate question. OK, done?

Interview A14

12 July 2020 (voice recording translated from Nepali)

I have started the recording. How do you remember Kasthamandap before the earthquake? Were you every involved with it in any way? You used to go there? Or not? How do you remember it before it collapsed?

1. So, for me, it was like, whenever I used to pass, it was one of the biggest monument, as a passer-by. I did not use to go inside. So people who are free, it seemed as if they were the only ones who used to sit there. The biggest memory of Kasthamandap was, they do *bhai-tikka*, some *didi* does *bhai-tikka*, and my father also went there once. She invited him. I used to think that that was specifically a place for such an activity. So I did not have that much of an attachment. It was like with any other monument, nothing more. Sometimes when passing by, I would walk through the monument, that was all. I did not even look at the architecture in detail. Even studying architecture, there used to be a few models, there and we used to say oh that is that monument, but there were so many. It was never special for me.
2. Just after the earthquake I did research. What to say? There was a small project at Piganani. The whole community, during reconstruction, to bind the entire community, how can that be done? It is right next to the World Heritage site. From Lumanti, during my college break, it was for two months, and I wanted to do something. I talked with Lumanti and they said they have a small amount to carry out a small project. After exploring in numerous places, including Thimi, it was decided to do it at Piganani. In an urban context, how can a heritage cluster be managed? But in the community ... I met [...] *-dai* and everyone there, and then, there were many issues within the community. Everyone comes, takes data and leaves. It was not possible to do any interventions to the buildings since there was no willingness with the people. UN Habitat was also trying to do some project there. It was a continuation of that. We ended up documenting the silver smiths. They are specifically the silver smiths, and we documented their working process, as intangible, their tools, and we wrote a report and that was it. I went back to college.
3. Exactly at the time, I was doing my masters when things started here. I was in touch with [...] *-dai* and everyone. When they started the movement, when they forwarded the information, they also forwarded things to me. So I was aware of what was happening here. I knew of what was going on here. Also in my college studies, since my main interest was community participation, these things were also discussed at college. Slowly I got to know more and more and my interest kept growing. Also after the Durham University did the foundations, the history was moved even further back, and the interest kept growing.
4. As soon as I completed my college and returned [...] *Baka-nemiwa* (story telling), we first organized in Piganani. That was the idea of Alina. To collect

the *baka* (stories) related to Kasthamandap, that was the idea. The first time it was done in Piganani, because they were one of the most important *guthi* members of Kasthamandap. How were they linked? They are also the settlement immediately next to it. On that day, it was the first programme of Rebuild Kasthamandap that I attended. I joined the discussions. Alina and a few architects, I knew them. The others I did not know. I had already joined Lumanti. Alok-dai also wanted me to work there. Because I had my commitments there, I could not join here.

5. But [...] and everyone was there as technical persons, giving full time. The dialogues were going on. In my free time, after office, I would always come and stay here till the evening and do what I could. I was so fresh, and felt like let us do something. We need to stop them from building it out of concrete; that was the larger movement. At the time, it [the campaign] was formed to stop that. And then, for me it was [...], for the others, you will have to ask them. I arranged small discussions. Everyone had different memories. Collecting such things. Through this, at the *Baka-nemiwa*, one of them was that, and another, each led by someone interested, the Sa Guthi of the Maharjans, you know that? I led the discussion with them. What their involvement was, how they become important, all these things were discussed. You have already met them, no?

I have not yet talked to the guthis specifically.

6. That will be very interesting for you. I will not tell you everything. You will probably talk to them. How did they become important? The main ones are Tamrakar, Manandhar and the Maharjan, the *guthis*, the Sa Guthi, the Ta Chatan Guthi. The Ta Chatan Guthi belongs to the Tamrakars. It means the big ladle. Then there is the Sa Guthi. Sa means cow. They feed the cow, and that is why it is called Sa Guthi. The Manandhars, I do not know if they have a specific name, but on the day of Maghe Sankranti, they raise the flag. Manandhars used to do that. However, in between they left it. Then you do it, they gave it to the Maharjans. Now the Manandhar Guthi does not do anything. We could not find out who the people of the *guthi* are. The Sa Guthi, all the maintenance, the responsibility was with the Sa Guthi, that is what we found out. Before the earthquake, before even the restoration, there were shops there. It is said that all the shops were run by the Sa Guthi, also the revenue. Taking the revenue, they also took the responsibility of maintaining everything, it is said. When they restored it for that queen, when they restored it for that queen, the *guthis* were given responsibility to restore that which belonged to them, by the King, but they said there is insufficient rent and we cannot do, you can do it yourself and take the rent as well. That is how the Sa Guthi had left it to the government. That is what the people of the Sa Guthi told me.

That is a new story.

7. They said they could not do such large maintenance. That is why they left it to the government. It was then done by the palace, through DOA, and government agencies did the work, is what they said. Then they did it, and

in the maintenance work that was carried out, they say there was a lot of mistakes that were made. That is when the community link was severed, is what I believe. Even though that was severed, there were new functions that came. After that, we constantly had discussion, what to do now? We did a lot of work. My position was that it has to be done through community participation. How to do it? Then do something with the experience of Lumanti, is what [...] *-dai* kept telling me. So, that last event that was organized, I and [...] took the lead and we organised everything. I was full time somewhere else, so I could not arrange it alone, so [...], the two of us – because I said I need support, and he did not want to take the responsibility on his own, so we got together to organize that. We said we would do all kinds of mapping. We went to talk to all the people from the guthis, one by one. So with the Ta Chatan Guthi, we already had a good relationship through the storytelling event.

Interview A15

5 May 2022 (voice recording mainly in English, partly translated from Nepali)

I have started recording. I have some very specific questions that I have to ask you in respect to the reconstruction process of the Kasthamandap. There are also some issues that I am slightly confused about and would like to get your opinion on these. So, let me start with my first question, has the work on the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap been completed?

1. The project has been completed and we even had a *lokarpan*. It was not an inauguration, since, as you know, the legends say that the project will not end until the price of salt and oil are the same. The ceremony was to thank everyone who was involved. The President of Nepal was there. However, it must be mentioned, that there are still a few things that need to be done. For example the final electrification has not been done. It was to be something very simple, just a few lamps carefully located. There was also the sensors for the structural health monitoring. So there are a few things that still need to be done. It will be done sometime soon I presume. KMC have been providing the funds as per the requirement, however, the small fund required for the completion of the above mentioned remaining work has not been sanctioned.

There is also that which has been in the news. What do you know about the court case in respect to the Gorakhnath statue?

2. I do not know very much more than what has been in the papers about the court case but I find it rather absurd that there was no discussion with the people who have been involved in the project before the case was filed in the court. The old statue is in the museum and the new one has already been installed. If the argument for reinstalling the old image was well justified, it could have been easily changed and this did not have to go to court. At the beginning of this issue being highlighted in the social media, I was informed by a local activist that there would be some trouble coming in this regard but I never imagined about it being taken to court without firstly talking to the concerned people involved in the project. So, I believe it has more to it than just genuine concern for the replacement of the broken historic idol. This all happened after the government changed, the new government came to power. They said that there would be some trouble created with the Kasthamandap. They probably meant this.

But who decides something like this. If it was just any cultural object, then it would be DOA. But when it has to do with an image of a deity that they are still worshipping, is it not the priest who would need to decide?

3. Yes, I think everyone believed that it needed to be changed, that a new statue needs to be made. The Nath priests said that it needs to be a new one, but that it would then need to be consecrated, special rituals would need to be done. Even the DOA had put money in their estimates for new statues of Gorakhnath, as well as the Ganesh statues. [...]

Another point that kept being raised was the lack of community involvement.

4. People were involved in the construction works such as carrying the main timber posts. They came to help with the roof. It is also a tradition, that people help with roofing works of the neighbours, or for the community. This was organized for many community groups and *guthis*. Also considering the daily situation. The site was fenced off to stop accidents from happening and to provide a bit of security at night. However, during the day it was always open. During working hours, which meant from nine to five. At lunch it was shut from two to three. When open, people used to come in and look. Especially those from the neighbourhood.

When we talk about communities, there is always the question of guthis. There were some questions also about guthis. This is always a complicated discussion. What I was not quite sure of was in connection with the guthis not functioning any more. Is it because of the Guthi Sansthan? Or are there other complications? Changes?

5. Yes, the discussions on *guthis* is always complicated, and often people do not want to talk about it. Surely the changes in laws, the nationalisation of land and the involvement of the Guthi Sansthan has had an influence. However, the *guthis* themselves have been struggling, since the money they get from the land, from the tillers, has not changed. The amount would have been enough, but now it is very little. Not enough to carry out the rituals. So it is often better to sell the land and put the money in the bank. The money that they get from a fixed deposit is already much better. This, of course, also led to other complications.

So the tillers would have profited from the law.

6. Yes, the tiller got half the land. The Land Reform Act of 1964 gave them half the land. As the land prices skyrocketed in the Kathmandu Valley, the farmers, known generally as Jyapus who owned most of the land grew rich. Now they are proud to be Jyapus. This is of course interesting, to see the change.

[...]

7. *[...]*

Are they the Manandhars from Te Bahi, just south of Maru?

8. No, the Sayami, community who used to hoist the flag on the Kasthamandap on Maghe Sankranti were from a neighbourhood to the southeast of the city.

There were a lot of rituals that were carried out during the reconstruction process. There seemed to be a lot of rituals carried out by the many Vajracharya priest that came and chanted, danced and prayed. How was this organized? Was it through the reconstruction committee?

9. We had *gurju* Yagyaman Pati Bajracharya as the expert for intangible heritage. He was part of the Expert Team. However I do not believe he ever attended the meetings, and the planning of rituals was never discussed during the Expert Team meetings.

However, during the construction of a temple or public monument, there are standard rituals that are carried out. What would these standard rituals be?

10. Yes, the standard rituals are done on the foundations, erecting the main post, then setting the main beam, then when the main doorway is fixed, and finally the consecration of the *gajur*. These would be the main *pujas* that are done. This is usually done.

Were all these rituals carried out?

11. The rituals for the foundations and the main post and the door were done. The ritual for the main beam is usually linked to an animal sacrificing, there has to be blood to appease the gods to make sure all hurdles are removed and everyone stays safe. The ritual for the main beam, this was not performed and there was dissatisfaction among many of the artisan and technical team members that this ritual was not performed. The final ritual for the *gajur* was not supposed to have been done anyway, as per the legends, the project should not be completed.

So the ritual of the main beam was not performed?

12. There was a ritual carried out by the Vajracharya priests, but not involving the artisans, which was a pity. They were not happy that their beliefs were ignored. However, they did organize their own *puja*, sacrifice and *bhoj* in Bhaktapur. It was at the Surya Binayak temple. They had their own event. Though the board members, technical team and office staff were invited, not many attended. That is really sad.

There was a lot of discussion about the lack of involvement of the traditional building craftspeople in post-earthquake restoration works. The first question is to ask about the relationship between the craftspeople and the experts, the architects and engineers. What was the communication like?

13. This always seems to be a problem, the communication between the experts and those on the site, the workers. This was one of the things that was discussed right from the beginning, that this communication needs to work. It didn't work the way we initially envisioned it. However, there wasn't really any problems and indirectly it was possible to get this done, through the Technical Team. So there was communication, it was sort of indirect. The Expert Team discussed the points and the Technical Team then went to site with these ideas to discuss with the artisans. It was then the artisans who figured out how it can be implemented best.

So there was no direct communication? Why would that be?

14. It is difficult to say exactly, but in my opinion it is based on various factors. One is the difference in education. The Architects and engineers have a

formal education with certificates, they are acknowledged. The artisans learn by experience, on site, and do not have any certification. So this then leads to the difference in approach. The experts, let us called them the academic experts, approach a problem by planning things on paper, calculating and designing. The artisan works through experience, knows what standard solutions are, can innovate to a certain degree within that vocabulary of detailing, and has the skills to implement. They already know how to implement the solutions that they think up. Then there is the issue of general hierarchy, which is a social hierarchy. This used to be defined by the hierarchy of the sub-castes. That is less an issue, but maybe still there to a certain degree. It will probably also affect how people talk to teach other.

So what is that hierarchy? Does it exist?

15. The hierarchy is there but not really. It could be that the artisans have had to work for contractors and under site supervisors who tell them what to do. It might be the wrong way to do things. It might be to cut costs. So the artisan has to carry out work while knowing it is not correct. There was this incident, a story, where a supervisor asked the mason to lay the bricks with the stamp, the frog, upturned, and the mason did so, even though it is not how bricks are laid.

There were many construction details that were standard. They were based on the objects that were salvaged. However, there were some details that needed to be designed. What were some of these?

16. One major discussion was on the quoin walls that were constructed of brick in mud mortar. There were signs that the bricks were crushed, possibly even before the earthquake. The brick masonry in mud mortar is not considered to be strong, in respect to lateral forces by the engineers. So after long discussions, it was agreed that some timber elements would need to be added. This had to be just a minimum to tie the masonry together, but not to change to structural system.

Who decided on this?

17. It was the Expert Team, however, it was also discussed with the artisans. The head carpenter agreed to the proposed design, which included minimum horizontal as well as vertical elements. This was supposedly also found in some older structures.

What other design was discussed?

18. Another interesting discussion was in respect to the design of the gajur. Only the *chudamani* was salvaged, since most of the rest of the gajur was constructed of masonry. It was decided to have the entire *gajur*, including the *ghantakar*, made new out of copper. The discussions ended up about the shape of the *ghantakar*, whether it was bell shaped, or stupa shaped. That was quite interesting, since there were different values linked to the various decisions. There were also discussion on the gilding of the gajur.

There were again different opinions on what should be done. The discussion was also about the identity of the Kasthamandap. The *chudamani* which was salvaged had been gilded, and this was cleaned and reused. The question was in respect to the rest of the *gajur*. In the end it was decided that the rest would not be gilded.

So most of the things had to be made new?

19. Yes, of the *gajur*, only the *chudamani* could be reused. The rest had to be reproduced. However, as much of the salvaged wooden elements as possible was reused after testing. However, there was a lot of the wood that was rotten and could not be fixed. It was important that as much of the original material as possible was reused. Even with the main posts, we managed to reuse one. It remains there to preserve the historical narration, the testimony of various phases of the monument's history.

So there are still artisans who can do this work. These would all be from the various areas of the valley. Are they all Newars? There seemed to be a lot of Newars involved and only few people of other ethnicity. Was this project considered to be a project dealing with Newari culture? Is it that Newars were prioritized in setting up the teams?

20. Clearly the artisans had to be Newars, since they are the only ones who understand this building tradition. It was a very local project and people seemed to be involved very locally, which means they would be Newars. However, there did seem to be a priority if finding Newars to get all the work done.

[...]

21. [...].

[...]

22. [...]

The municipality under the elected mayors during the 1990s also carried out all kinds of activities. We know that there was a restoration carried out in 1999, but the municipality was not involved. They were more involved in development works such as the stone paving. How did that affect the Kasthamandap?

23. Yes, in the 1990's there were various urban regenerations project that the municipality carried out. They had to show development. One such project was the stone paving around Hanumandhoka. It was good to have the area paved with stone. However, around Kasthamandap, there were some changed done. They removed a plinth that was there on the north side, just across from the Maru Ganesh shrine, where the bell is, and the *chaityas*, and they light lamps now. They removed that plinth and made it flat, at the level of the road.

Did that affect the Kasthamandap?

24. It was a bit of an extra protection on that side, where there is a lot of traffic. The municipality is usually more bothered about keeping things clean, than protecting heritage. For example, more recently, they have been using pressure hoses to clean the streets and public places. It is easy with the tankers. But the pressure of the water can damage heritage buildings. It has not been possible to stop them. They should not use this on the Kasthamandap.
- [...]
25. [...]
- Coming to the actual collapse of the monument, there were many questions asked about the collapse of the Kasthamandap which caused numerous deaths. Do we know exactly how many people died?*
26. When the earthquake struck and the Kasthamandap collapsed, there were many who were buried. There are a lot of stories of people being rescued alive, and also dead bodies being removed out of the rubble. We do not know how many died due to the collapse of the Kasthamandap. We know of ten people who were involved with the blood donation campaign that was going on at the time. On the death anniversaries, the related communities hang up their photographs in front of the Kasthamandap, and have a memorial service there. There we see the names and photographs of the ten identified people. However, there would have been more people, but they were never identified as having died specifically due to the Kasthamandap.
- After the Kasthamandap collapsed, there was a lot of activities that went on during the search and rescue.*
27. Yes, a lot damaged
- What about the intangible aspects. What happened to the shrines, the Gorakhnath and Ganesh images?*
28. The images were salvaged and taken to the Hanumandhoka Museum. The central shrine still remained, the central stone. A trident was placed there, where the Gorakhnath statue was located. People still visited this place. Later a timber shelter was built over the sanctum. I am not sure whether it was the KMC, or a local organisation, such as Maru Twa Pucha. But lots of activities continued here. That was especially before the fencing was put up, which was several months later, after the first archaeological excavations. We still had the flower vendors and the Brahmin priest there providing prayers and blessing for offering and monetary contributions.
- And during the festivals?*
29. The festivals continued. It is interesting to look at the photographs from the time of the Gai Jatra in August and Indra Jatra in September. There were many people standing on the mound, the remains of the Kasthamandap,

watching the festivities. These thing continued even after the monument collapsed.

There was a final question, something that I had heard about and found very interesting. There was some research carried out with Universities in the UK where they tried to create a 3D image of the entire Hanumandhoka. Did you hear about that? It was by collecting images on the web.

30. I am not sure exactly what happened, but what I heard was that, researchers at Bradford University did web scraping for relevant images to prepare a 3D model of the Hanumandhoka Monument Zone. They were able to collect lots of images for most of the area, but there were hardly any of the Kasthamandap, which made it difficult to create the 3D image. That is of course very interesting. People don't seem to take photographs of the Kasthamandap. Maybe it is because it is difficult to get the angles.

Thank you

- 1.

Interview A16

13 April 2022 (voice recording translated from Nepali)

I have started recording. Based on what we discussed last week at the Kasthamandap site, I would like to ask some of the questions again and record the answers. I hope we can record the most important points. The first question is about the various communities living around the Maru square.

1. There is of course the Piganani quarters to the west which is the area where the Tamrakars live. Then we have the Manandhars who live on the south side, behind the Singha Sattal. Then behind the Kabindrapur Sattal, all the way to Sikhamu Baha, to the east of Kasthamandap, there are many different communities living here. In the back alley there are some Manandhars. However, the houses on the main square, they all are owned by people linked to the Royal palace. They were the palace courtiers.

What about the area to the north?

2. This is the area between the Ashok Binayak and the Joshi Agamchen temple. In the back it connects to Maruhiti, towards the west, another very important part of Marutole. This area was mainly inhabited by the Joshi community. They were the main priest of several temples, including the Taleju temple.

Do they still live there?

3. Many of the buildings have been sold off. They have become commercial. There are many from the Shrestha community who run shops and restaurants around here. Actually most of the houses around the square have shops on the ground floors. Many of the upper floors are also restaurants. They are bought by many Shrestha families. Many are from Thimi.

I also wanted to raise the point about all those images that are stored in the Lakshmi Narayan Sattal. What is the story about those?

4. There are many statues stored there. In the southwest corner of the Lakshmi Narayan Sattal, the money exchangers can still be found, who provide coins to offer to the Maru Ganesh. There are important statues and other stone objects. Some are installed in a way that it is possible to do puja. The local community, especially those from Piganani, the Ta Chatan Guthi, believe that they are from a building that was there before Kasthamandap was built, the Kasthamandap Baha.

It is said that there were numerous inscriptions in the Kasthamandap, however, we do not see any in the restored structure. How many were there, were they salvaged and what will happen to them?

5. Out of the ten copper plate inscriptions, three were salvaged and the rest were not found. There was also the marble inscription, commemorating the inauguration of the 1966 restoration by King Mahendra. This was also lost.

It was decided that the three original copper inscriptions would be put back in its original place. The text of the seven lost inscriptions, including the marble inscription would be recorded on copper plates, clearly indicating that the originals had been lost, and also installing them in the Kasthamandap. This has, however, not yet been done.

There was also the interesting story of the houses in front of the Piganani quarters, that they used to be sattals, or at least one of them. What is the story?

6. The building that sticks out and is very close to the Kasthamandap, it used to be a *sattal*. We heard that when the yogis were removed from the Kasthamandap when it was restored, they were given various places to stay, and one of them was that *sattal*. It has been sold and now there are shops on the ground floor and people live upstairs. That is also where one of the rafters of the Kasthamandap went right through the shop.

The next big question is about the Ganesh images. There has been a lot of talk on these images. When were they originally installed?

7. The Ganesh statues were placed there to keep the Kasthamandap clean. It would have been done after the restoration in 2022 BS [1966]. Four Ganesh statues were placed in the four corners on the ground floor. The elderly people in the community still remember it happening. The Ganesh statues were donated by a family of Manandhars of Ta Bahi, just behind the Singha Sattal. They paid for the statues. They were placed there in the corners to keep them clean. You can see that it was put in later, because, usually you do not have images of gods under staircases.

What is the situation with replacing them? They are also included in the court case, together with the Gorakhnath statue, are they not?

8. The four Ganesh statues were also damaged slightly during the collapse of the Kasthamandap. It was clear that these would also be replace. They have also been included in the court case, but it is not clear. The main focus is on the Gorakhnath statue. Clearly most people want these statues to be replace, especially the priests. This court case is very awkward. It could go on for years. The next hearing is in Bhadra (August – September 2022).

The lokarpan was recently carried out. The President was there. In the news the lokarpan was criticized, thought it was not possible to say anything about the President of course. What is all this about?

9. This has a lot to do with politics. The President stands above party politics. However, she was a politician, especially after her husband, a former CPN- UML leader died in a car accident. She even won the by-elections in 1994. She would have resigned from the party when becoming president, but she would still have affiliations. This of course also links to the political situation at the Kasthamandap. Since the political circumstances changed and

Congress took over the government, the only option for the *lokarpan* was to invite the President.

What will happen with the Kasthamandap now? What about the future planning? The Continuity Plan we prepared?

10. The Continuity Plan was prepared and finalised by the Expert team and it was adopted by the Reconstruction Committee. There was of course no official procedure. It would need to be adopted by the municipality. It is not clear how things will work out. I heard it was going to be in the publication that is coming out on the Kasthamandap that is being prepared by the Reconstruction Committee. At least there will be a documentation of it, it will be published. Maybe it will then happen.

My last question for today; has there been any replication of the approach to reconstructing monuments along the lines of how it was done with the Kasthamandap? Can this be an example that others will follow?

11. The Kasthamandap has been an experiment, which turned out to be successful, and has therefore become an example. There were community members of the Mahadev Temple in Thimi that came to understand how the Kasthamandap was reconstructed. There were also members of the users' committee for the reconstruction of the Degutale Temple in Patan, part of the palace in Patan, who also came to find out what arrangements were made to rebuild the Kasthamandap in traditional manner. I believe it also influenced other reconstruction projects such as the Matysendranath Temple in Bungamati, but that is a longer story. Maybe we can discuss that more in detail some other time.

Thank you for your time.

Interview Category B

The following ten interviews were carried out without audio recording, as per the preference of the Interviewee. Notes were taken in English during the interview.

Interview B1

22 September 2020 (notes from interview in Nepali)

[...]

1. As per my study, Kasthamandap as a structure already existed during the reign of Licchavi King Narendra Deva. The consecration of the Birpaksha at Pashupati and Gorakhnath at Kasthamandap should be of the same period considering its similarity in the iconography. If so, possible it was the same sculptor who made these two statues during that time. The Gorakhnath image established at Kasthamandap has an Aryan figure. The mention of Gorapu is found during the Licchavi era which might indicate the Gorakhnath. Tirtha Lal Nagha has mentioned that the *math* was renovated in Saka era 800 (i.e. 722 CE) which also indicates the historicity of Kasthamandap. In various documents the construction of Kasthamandap is also linked to the 84 *siddhas* (one who has reached spiritual perfection); mainly its link to the three *siddhas* has been presented by various people including Sarhapa, Luhipa and Lilapa.
2. A *math* is a religious place where rituals take place along with the teachings and accommodation of the disciples, and I believe Kasthamandap is one such *math*. It is the place where Gorakhnath did his *sadhana* (daily spiritual rituals) which was still the *ghat* area of the Vishnumati and nearby the forest, far from the city located in Handigaun (Harigaon), where the inhabitants were residing. The *bhoot-pret* (ghosts and spirits) dreading the city was captured by the Gorakhnath and was locked up at the Bhuti towards the east of Kasthamandap. Hence, the word Bhuti Satta came into being, with the open space Bhuti, where the *bhoot* was trapped and the Satta where Gorakhnath resided. In Vedic *sanatana* (duties) to manage a *math* there are hierarchy of people who have their specific responsibilities including Pir Mahanta, Mahanta, Pujari, Bhandari, Susari and Pawali. Before the restoration of 1966, in the four pavilions, the Kanphatpayogis resided and used to manage the ritual as well as the space. However, after the restoration, the residence was removed and the responsibility of the rituals was given to the Gorakhnathsampradaya based at Mrigasthali who appoints the priest for certain tenure and I was one of the *pujari* for 5 years responsible for conducting the regular *puja*. GuthiSanthan provided Rs.1200 per month for performing the rituals in the three places; Kasthamandap, Pirpati and Indrachowk which is barely sufficient and we have to find our own means. The mention of 360 *ropanis* land belonging to Kasthamandap is there in the Guthi Sansthan papers, however, it does not exist anymore which makes it impossible to continue other associated rituals, including the JogichakraPuja.
3. Kasthamandap was the *math* where the Khanphattayogis used to live and the *yogis* coming to the valley on pilgrimage were also accommodated here. I have a very slight memory of my childhood seeing the Kanphattayogis residing at the Kasthamandap. It was during the Prime Ministership of Jung

Bahadur that the Gorakhnath temple at Mrigasthali was built in memory of his mother, along with the *sattals* for the accommodation of the *yogis*. He donated 8 *ropanis* of land for the management of the rituals. This was the time from which the Kanphattayogis were given larger space at Mrigasthali and most of the activities continued at Mrigasthali rather than in Kasthamandap. Before, there was only the eternal *dhuni* (hearth-fire), where Gorakhnath did his *sadhana* while the main centre for the Nath cult should have been at Kasthamandap.

4. One of the major rituals performed annually at Kasthamandap was the Jogichakra Puja performed during the month of Bhadra for two days; on the day of Krishna Chaturdashi and Sukla Pasksha Pratipada. The Jogichakra Puja is performed at the northwest central post which is the position of the Bhairav. Therefore, the main subject of the ritual is Bhairav represented by the *ghyampo* (large earthen pot). During the Jogichakra Puja, invitation are sent to the 4 Math within the Kathmandu valley from where the Yogis come to Kasthamandap to receive the *bhandara* (food) after the rituals of the Jogichakra Puja. It was on the first floor that the *bhandara* was given to the *yogis*. It was for this annual puja and *bhandara* that many land donations were put in place. However, with the nationalization of these lands under the Guthi Sansthan, these rituals have not been able to continue. I think it has been about 50 years since the Jogichakra Puja has not been performed at Kasthamandap.
5. The Jogichakra Pujas were performed in various locations within the Kathmandu Valley during important festivals including Kasthamandap, Indrachowk, Basantapur, Bangemuda, Janabahal, Jaibagewari, Mrighasthali, Bhaktapur, Matsyendra Bahal of Patan, Bare Gaun, Panauti, Banepa, Sankhu, Lubhu, Thaiba, Chapagaun, Thecho, Khokhana, Pharping, and Kirtipur. However, with unavailability of the resources it has continued only in 5 locations including Basantapur.
6. No rituals of Gorakhnath is complete without a *puja* performed to the Bhairav. We consider both Gorakhnath and Bhairav as the *amsa* (forms) of Siva. Even at the centre of the Kasthamandap there are two representative stones, the central one is Bhairav and the corner one is Kali. Before the Nitya Puja of Gorakhnath, the rituals are performed to the Bhairav and Kali. I remember there were 3 *ghyampas* representing Bhairav on the first floor of Kasthamandap, which are significant elements along with the statue of the Gorakhnath.
7. If the images of the Gorakhnath, as well as the Ganesh, have been damaged, as per the Vedic *vidhi* (rule) it should not be reinstated for ritual performance and should be replaced. A new idol should be made and if any help is required in this regard I shall be very happy to assist. The Prana Pratishan of the new idol of Gorakhnath should be done by the Kanphatta Yogis. All the 12 Pantis Naths should participate in this ritual.

8. Twelve Pantis Naths are:

i.	Satyanath Pant	Bramha
ii.	Dharmanath Pant	Dharma/ Yudhistir
iii.	Ramnath Pant	Ram
iv.	Natyeswar Pant	Laxman
v.	Khantharanath Pant	Ganesh
vi.	Kapilanath Pant	Kapilmuni
vii.	Bairagya Pant	Bharat Hari
viii.	Malanath Pant	Raja Gopichandra
ix.	Aienath Pant	Bimala / Parvati
x.	Pakalanath Pant	Chauranginath
xi.	Dhojanath Pant	Hanuman
xii.	Ganganath Pant	Vishma Pitamaha
9. As per my experience of being the *pujari* (priest) at Kasthamandap, my recommendation to the committee would be to install a Paduka along with the new idol of Gorakhnath. This way, the *pujari* can perform the required rituals to the idol while the puja done by the general public can be done to the Paduka which is the usual practice. By fencing off the statue of Gorakhnath, the direct contact of the general public to the idol can also be avoided.
10. Another important aspect would be the establishment of a committee for its management and long-term safeguarding. Before the earthquake, the Kathmandu Metropolitan City, Guthi Sansthan and the Mrigasthali Nath Sampradaya office were the responsible agencies and this mechanism was not functioning well. It would be important to include the concerned people with proper knowledge for the continuation of the intangible heritage associated with Kasthamandap which will ensure its long term safeguarding. All the associated activities should continue. If any caretakers are to be appointed in Kasthamandap, I would suggest someone from the Nath cult as they were fulfilling the responsibility in the past.
11. The Nath cult is based on Saivism and in Nepal it must have flourished between the tenth to twelfth centuries when the Sen Raja evicted the *yogis* from Gauda Bengal. The existence of the Kapalis in the Kathmandu Valley must have been from that time.
12. Gorakhnath represented as the Guru in all the four Yugas
 - i. Satya Yuga- Guru of Bramha as he assisted Bramha to create the world
 - ii. Treta Yuga- Guru of Rama as he assisted Rama to hold the *dhanusha* (bow) before marrying Sita
 - iii. Dwapar Yuga- Guru of Krishna as he assisted Krishna for *bandana* ritual with Rukmini
 - iv. Kali Yuga- Guru of everyone as protection for everyone.

Interview B2

29 February 2018 (notes from interview in Newari, translated by Anie Joshi)

1. [...] it was not only an opportunity to learn about his experiences, but also to see his works and various tools that were use.
2. [...] this one storey wooden structured workshop [...] served as the temporary shelter during the first month of the earthquake. [...] the little corner was used as a kitchen during the aftermath of the earthquake, which now is a full fledge workshop now.
3. [...] I initially asked him to share his experience during the earthquake when he mentioned that the main concern was the family members and everyone was safe despite the fact that his five storey house was damaged.
4. It was only after 12 days that he got a call from the DOA office in Bhaktapur and he visited the Bhaktapur Durbar square, and the museum authorities were concerned about the stability of the structures, since no one had entered the museum since the earthquake. He then led the museum staffs inside the museum. As he opened the door, they saw that one of the corners of the wall was quite damaged with some cracks on the ceiling and walls. But he assured them that it was not dangerous to enter the museum though too large crowd at a time must be avoided. So the minor plaster damages were repaired immediately.
5. When asked if he has started using the modern machinery, he mentioned that he now uses the electrical sawing for trimming the timber and simple moulding work only.
6. He said that he has the technical skill and enough human resource to carry out any restoration projects but the dilemma was no one had approached him yet with any proposals despite of his long working experience with the national and local authorities. He shared about his experience of restoration work in Benares which he was requested to undertake by the Department of Archaeology due to the complexity of the work. He said he feels honoured to have undertaken such complex work but also feels hopeless regarding his engagement in the entire rehabilitation and rebuilding work after the earthquake as most of the projects are undertaken through tender and they were not eligible, and did not fulfil the criteria for submitting tenders.
7. He mentioned his concern about the availability of the quality of wood available. He showed the three different type of *sal* wood available in the market at the moment. The Nepali *sal* from Jhapa is the best one which is very expensive so people hardly use it. Another is the low grade *sal* less expensive and the third one is the Malaysian *sal* which is very soft in its composition and gives perfect finishing but should be avoided in restoration work.

8. Wood treatment was done traditionally using natural materials like *khoto* (sap of *salla*= pine) and seed of *bakaina* soaked in water which was then cooked. This tradition was forgotten over time as it started becoming tedious.
9. Traditional techniques: *dacchi-appa*- The laying of the *dacchi-appa* should be done by the skilled labour and three different types of *dacchi* brick should be used-header (*twa-appa*), stretcher and the corner ones. The header brick is important to hold together the different layers but is being ignored these days and as a result in most of the monuments the *dacchi* layer has fallen apart. He even mentioned that if the header brick is not used due to its unavailability on site, they can trim the stretcher and insert the *ma-appa* in-between to function as the key for bonding different layers.
10. Timber reinforcement (*nash*) to hold the three layers of bricks were used traditionally which was usually hidden by the motifs at the mid-level of the walls in temples.
11. Talking about the timber joints, he says that he still has knowledge of the traditional joint techniques used by his grandfather. When asked if they have documented those techniques in drawings he replied that they have it in their memory and do not need to draw it up. But he showed his concern that the new generation carpenters are not following these techniques.
12. Limitation of material in the ancient time. He mentioned that the large size timber were not easily available in the ancient times which might have limited the size of the rooms as well. The use of various types of soft wood for various carpentry work was due to limited availability of the hard wood. He believes that if available, the good quality wood must be used in all possible works.
13. He mentioned that in the Taleju temple in Bhaktapur the wooden beams used are single pieces and not joint which might be one of the reason why the structure responded so well during the last two great earthquakes which suggest that in future restorations and reconstruction, the use of single timber for the main beam should be mandatory.
14. The various traditional techniques he talked about: *lune*, mud plaster with cow dung, husk and straw. This mud plaster can be reused just by adding a bit of water and cow dung. Finishing plaster layer of refined cow dung and fine straw.

Interview B3

1 October 2020 (notes from interview in English)

1. In the 1960s, possibly due to ignorance and necessity, the heritage structures were degenerated. The magnificent, architectural heritage we had in Hanumandhoka were hidden behind the shops and the plastered façade applied during the Rana regime. So with the vision to repair and revive the glory of the Hanumandhoka square as an ensemble, the Government of Nepal took the Kasthamandap as the test project. A project to see the reaction of the community as this was a very new concept and reservation from the community was expected.
2. When the project started the community was not very happy. However, with the exposition of the artistic elements of the monument and its grandeur once the work started people started realizing its value as a monument.
3. One of the major challenges for the project was also the lack of materials, the production of the various elements required for the restoration was slowly diminishing. So it also became an important point of time when the revival of the traditional skills was discussed.
4. Kasthamandap is very dominant within the square both physically as well as socio-culturally. Various community groups have been performing various activities in Kasthamandap which has also evolved over the time. Some of the activities have discontinued and might need revival to safeguard the identity of Kasthamandap.
5. During that time the patronage from the palace, of King Mahendra, became crucial to do the conservation work done. At the time, Crown Prince Birendra visited the site regularly, and with the direct patronage of the King it was possible to implement the project. With this support, it was decided to begin with the Kasthamandap and take it as a model project.
6. Till the 1960s, the Kasthamandap was occupied by the *Kanphattayogis* and the *Kapalis*, using it as accommodations and for commercial purposes. It was only when they were removed in 1966, and the monument was cleaned up and its magnificence exposed, that it was possible to give back the monument to the community.
7. In the past, the authority was vested in the monarchy, and the 1966 restoration was carried out by DOA and the Guthi Sansthan as a model project directly under the patronage of King Mahendra.

Interview B4

30 August 2020 (notes from interview in Newari, translated by Anie Joshi)

1. Sa Guthi has been involved in the rituals of the Maghe Sankranti in the locality of Kasthamandap. There are 27 families at present forming the *guthi* with around 200 members. They are responsible for co-ordinating the various activities and the rituals for 7 days associated to the events performed on the Maghe Sankranti. The Maharjans have registered themselves. The Tabwo Bhindyo Twa is a committee formally registered at the CDO in 2065 BS (2008 CE).
2. The name 'Sa Guthi' reflects its principle activity, the feeding of the cow on the day of Maghe Sankranti. The rituals were elaborate and started four days ahead in which the cow herders from Kirtipur were invited to bring their cow. The *guthi* members heard of other locations like Ichadole and Mahadole from where also the cow was invited. After an incident of the cow escaping at night once around 35 years ago, the bringing of the cow from Kirtipur discontinued and a cow from a nearby location is fed. However, these days the feeding of cow is not done at the square but the *guthi* members visit nearby cowsheds to continue the tradition.
3. The original ritual: The preparation of ritual takes place 4 days ahead with Kalash Sthapana Puja, Yenchi Kayegu at the *palas* house by the Rajopadhyaya priest. The water from five *tirthas* (sacred river cross): Gokarna, Guyeswari, Sankhamul, Bhatrakhusi and Tekudovanare poured into the Kalasha. The *prashad* (offering) from the ritual is then transported to the cow owner by the *fourguthiars* on the same day, as an invitation for the Maghe Sankranti cow feeding ritual to be performed nearby Kasthamandap. The four members of Nanda Gwa clan from Kirtipur responsible for bringing the cow for the ceremony arrive early morning of Maghe Sankranti at Maru. The cow is then fed at the square to the south of the Kasthamandap and then the cow herders are invited to the *pala's* (the person who's turn it is) house for the feast. Three of them then go back along with the remaining boiled wheat. However, a cow herder along with the cow stay overnight at the *pala's* house. The following morning, the *guthi* members accompany the cow till Tankeswor where a *puja* is offered to the cow and is bid farewell.
4. Day before Maghe Sankranti
 - The flag is prepared at the *pala's* house.
 - The wheat is boiled in a large *khasi* (metal pot) inside Kasthamandap nearby the northwest central post. Then, the boiled wheat, along with black soybean is stored under the northeast pavilion to be fed to the cow on the following day.
5. Maghe Sankranti rituals

- Early morning, the Thakali of Sa Guthi performs the ritual at the Butisa in which a sheep is sacrificed. The intestine of the sheep is then used during the *homa* (ritual with fire) at the Marudabu later.
 - Feeding of the cow
 - The *homa* is performed by the Rajopadhyaya priest facing north towards Kasthamandap in front of the same *kalasha* consecrated at *palas* house and the flag made ready the day before. To avoid any mishaps during the *puja*, Bahu Puja is done at the northwest corner of the Marudabu by the *achaju*.
 - After the completion of the rituals at the Marudabu, the flag is hoisted at the top of Kasthamandap. Then various sweets (*yomari*, *chatamari* and *lochamari*) are thrown off the roof indicating the termination of the ritual.
6. Bhutisa Puja: As per the legend recalled by [...], on this very day, the King of Patan invited all the royal members and people of Kathmandu for a feast. As everyone could not attend the event, to honour the King's invitation, Bhutisa Aju was asked to represent everyone as two small kids and go for the feast. The King of Patan was disappointed to see two kids arriving however, as they ate the food prepared for everyone they realised they not ordinary people and let them carry the plates along. On arriving at Kathmandu, the King thanked the tantric and promised to offer the feast every year for his service.
7. Pata Chayegu: In the morning of Maghe Sankranti, the consecrated *kalasha* is taken to the Maru Dabali and *homa* is performed by the Rajopadhyaya priest and Bahu puja performed by the *achaju* before the Pata Chayegu at the *gajur* of Kasthamandap.
8. Cow feeding ceremony: As recalled by [...], this activity should date back to the foundation of Pashupatinath as per the legend. His ancestors recognised "Kamdhenu" cow that travelled the same route to Pashupati every day, therefore they fed him grain every day. After the discovery of the *sivalinga* at Pashupati, he stopped visiting so in memory of the Kamdhenu cow this annual ceremony is performed till date, where the cow is invited and is provided with large quantities of wheat.
9. Pata Chayegu at Kasthamandap: As recalled by Mr Lok Bahadur Maharjan, as per the legends, long time ago when none of the structures existed in the locality, a large event of Indrasabha dance was performed there in which all gods participated. One of the *shikarmi* from the Bhindyo Twa saw a huge guy watching the performance and was curious to know who this was. Therefore, he trapped the person. Later it was revealed that he was Kalpabrikshya. The *shikarmi* pledge to set him free in exchange for a wish. The carpenter asked for a tree from which a huge *sattal* could be built, the Kasthamandap. Kalpabrikshya promised to provide such tree and kept the *bhoot* and Bhairav as witnesses. As the construction was terminating, it was announced that the construction would not terminate until the day

when the price of the salt and oil become equal. Since, then all these activities along with the flag hoisting has continued.

10. Even when the Kasthamandap was built during the reign of Laxmi Narshing Malla, the people from Bhindyo Twa must have been involved as they were strong and could have possibly lifted the huge posts manually.
11. Notes:
 - Thirty-two *pathi* (*pathi* = 4.361 litres) of wheat were boiled in three large vessels, *khasi*, as per the memory of Nhuchen Narayan Maharjan.
 - The cow herders bring a vessel with pure milk and pour it over the Gorakhnath statue.
 - The legend of how the community from Tabwo Bhindyo Twa got involved in this activity and its association with the Kasthamandap as recalled by Mr Lok Bahadur Maharjan is presented here:
 - Any income from any activities in the Marudabu was given to the Sa: Guthi. As the site was managed later by the municipality, this source of income discontinued.
 - Four *mana* (*mana* = 0.545 litres) beaten rice were given to the Layaku Sayami who were invited by the Sa Guthi to go place the flag at the top of the Kasthamandap. They stopped participating since a very long time ago, considering the risk of climbing onto the roof. Since then the members of the Sa Guthi themselves performed the activity of Pata Chayegu. For the safety of the climbers, the *guthi* members proposed the opening on the northern side of the roof. Since then, the access from the inside has been possible. Before that, ladder was used from the exterior to access the top tier.
 - There is an inscription with *lal mohar* (royal red seal) with the *guthi* which will need to be translated

Interview B5

30 August 2020 (notes from interview in Newari, translated by Anie Joshi)

1. [...] is the *naike* (head) of the Pachli Bhairav Bara-Barse Jatra Guthi. The *jatra* takes place every 12 years. The *guthi dyochen* (house of god) is at Jyabaha. They have 35 members, with 12 dancers.
2. Pachli Bhairav Bara-Barse Jatra Guthi has been involved in the rituals of the twelve year *jatra* of Pachali Bhairav with their major role being that of the dance and music troop. A team of 12 dancers practice for a month before the *jatra* starts. The rituals begin at the Jyabaha Dyochen. On every twelfth year, the team performs the dance within the valley in 24 places and is invited to other areas as well.
3. One of the major events that take place during the *jatra* is the exchange of the *khadga*, a sword, between the ruling monarch and the Bhairav, who is represented by a member of the Malakar clan. This ceremony is performed at the Bhutisa in front of the eastern entrance of the Kasthamandap. When the *jatra* procession arrives in the locality, they go around the Kasthamandap and position themselves at the Bhutisa where the exchange of the *khadga* takes place. This ritual is performed to bestow the ruling monarch with the power to rule the country without any hindrance.
4. Later, at the end of the *jatra*, the Si Ja rituals are performed. Water is offered to the Bhairav at the Thaso Hiti. The Thaso Hiti which is symbolically placed at the southwest corner of the Kasthamandap. The significance of the location of the Thaso Hiti at this position is not known, but the ritual has continued since its founding.
5. The various rituals performed are enlisted below:
 - On Kamika Ekadashi in the month of Shrawan, three *thakalis* from the *guthi* go to the palace with betel nut for the *gwe-dan* invitation to the King for the Khadgasiddhi Jatra. When accepted, the following rituals are performed.
 - Gathamugal Ghatakarna: with the Panchabali Puja at Jyabaha Dyochen the rituals of the 12 year *jatra* begins, after which the four main representative deities Ganesh, Manamaiju, Singini and Byangini reside in the *dyochen* for the entire year, where the daily Nitya Pujas are performed. After this ritual, the 12 dancers are trained for 1 month within the *dyochen* premises.
 - Panchadan chare: After purification rituals with shaving of head, *homa* for the *vamsa* of the ruling monarch and the stability of the kingdom is performed at the *dyochen* in the presence of the Vajracharya priest. [...] is the responsible priest at the moment
 - On Maha Asthami: Kala Puja is brought by the 35 families to the *pitha* (shrines).

- On Navami: The nocturnal Panchabali Puja with the *homa* (ritual with fire) including Vamsavali Puja are performed at the *pitha*.
 - On Dasami: The Desha Vramana ritual is performed with the procession moving from the *pitha* to the Palace complex. During the procession, the Dyo Lyahgu, musical and dance rituals are performed at the crossroads, as well as the places where there are Siva temples. The *khadga* (sword) exchange is performed at the Bhutisa during the procession, before returning to the *dyochen*.
 - On Ekadashi: Desha Cha Hiligu is performed including the Thani and Kwoni areas.
 - Dwadashi and Trayodashi: Again a long ritual of Panchabali Puja lasting 24 hours is done at the *dyochen* where a *mandapa* is made. The announcement of the 12-year *jatra* is done in the localities, to invite them for the performance and blessing. They visit 24 places within the valley till Bharbala Asthami in the month of Asar.
 - Bharbala Asthami in the month of Asar: Si Ja Nakegu ritual is performed at Dalachen *dyochen*. Then all the four deities are carried to the Thaso Hiti, where the Bhairav, still in trance, is given the final water by the main *gurju* and then all the deities are taken to the *ghat* at Teku. This is a nocturnal activity.
6. Lampu Chayegu is the repainting of the masks by the Chitrakars at the *dyochen*. This takes place throughout the year, for the dance rituals throughout the valley, such as in Handigaun, Tokha, Naxal, Gokarna, Chapali Bhadrakali, Tupya, Bhaktapur, Lalitpur, etc. The Sweta Bhairav mask is not exposed and is kept at the *dyochen*, which is considered to have a great powers. The government has been providing some financial support.
7. The Pachali Bhairav Bara-Barse Jatra Guthi has continued the rituals that take place every 12 years, the last one having taken place in 2011.

Interview B6

18 April 2018 (notes from interview in Nepali)

1. Building craftspeople working in and around Hanumandhoka were invited to a round of discussion at the Shisha Baitak. The discussions were to clarify the main issues facing the artisans in the rehabilitation process. The points raised were in respect to the status, training and livelihood of the traditional artisans.
2. The Silpakar (carpenter) has over the past centuries ensured continuity of the traditional knowledge and skills. The question that arises now is whether it is economically viable and socially agreeable to continue this system.
3. The first question that arose was linked to the motivation behind the work. Were the traditional crafts being carried out for purely financial reasons or was there pride and a sense of duty included. The system of only allowing registered contractors to work – particularly on government projects – has caused serious damage to the artisans' position as well as the restoration of monuments. The question of alternative means of income was also discussed and the only possibility was to link the crafts to the tourism industry. The main master craftsperson get 1500 to 2000 Rupees a day. Particularly the government rates are not sufficient.
4. The second main question was how the skills were being transferred to the new generation. Considering changing social circumstances, there is a need to train people outside the family or clan, as well as get women to join. Some training has been provided through various organizations such as the Silpakar Samaj, however only half the trained persons remain in the profession. How would it be possible to motivate these people to continue with this profession?
5. To ensure the survival and continuation of the building craftspeople and their trade, some critical measures need to be taken. Numerous question and points arose in respect to setting up a system that would allow traditional craftspeople to continue their trade.
 - Setting pay-scales for such work is difficult since the quality is based on many years of training and experience. The talent of individual craftspeople also differ which affects the outcome. How can such aspects be measured and a reimbursement standard established? How can artisans be categorized (master / standard / apprentice?) and the difficulty of work (carving complex, carving simple, structural complex, structural simple?)
 - Meaningful standards for daily wage rates need to be set. Quality work takes time and must be reimbursed sufficiently which means that payments are made not on contract basis but on daily wage basis.

Standardization would need to be carefully worked out based on category of craftspeople and the difficulty of work carried out.

- The craftspeople do not have any papers showing their skill, training and experience. They do not have any certification, something the present system of tendering requires. The need to establish some system of certification is critical.
 - The loss of traditional knowledge over generations is quite apparent. Many complex structural systems, timber joints as well as the quality of carvings (depth / facial expression) are clearly deteriorating. Firstly the knowledge must be safeguarded through documentation which allows quality standards to be set and presented to the apprentices.
6. That there were many monuments that did not get destroyed shows that the traditional buildings methods and construction systems are well adapted to the local circumstances and even withstand the large earthquakes. A most impressive example is the Five-tiered Nyatapola temple in Bhaktapur which withstood both the 1934 and the 2015 earthquake with only minor damage to the top tier (there is a book on the renovation of Nyatapola temple by Jay Hari and Janakman Baidya). Even traditional buildings when maintained properly with the use of *chukuls* (pegs) perform well during earthquakes.
7. The knowledge in such cases is learned from childhood by being involved with the father. The entire culture surrounding the artisan caste contributes to ensuring quality, support for one another as well as safeguarding the knowledge. There are old books to teach apprentices. The *agamghar* is where these books are kept along with the god of artisans, Bishwakarma. There must be more efforts made to salvage such books and ensure that these are re-published or new books are written. Furthermore examples of timber joints and carvings need to be used to set standards and make sure the new generations learn accordingly.
8. One of the big problems is how to ensure quality. Quality would be linked to not only workmanship but also the materials that are used and the technology. The pegs that hold the various parts of the building together must be made of the best wood, which means it has to be from the wood near the base of the trunk. For example when metal elements are used for timber joinery, it is much easier but it quickly gets damaged by water. During an earthquake the connection between the timber element and the metal element loosens, damaging both elements. This is very different when the same material is used for the entire joint. The traditional joints tighten even more in the case of an earthquake. Furthermore if documentation is not carried out within the next 15 to 20 years all the skill and knowledge for traditional construction will be lost.
9. Expectations are however always there that work gets done fast which does not allow proper traditional techniques to be used. Furthermore there is lacking in supervision. Even materials are often being compromised on with hard woods from Malaysia being used. The quality as can be noted on

Nyatapola is difficult to achieve today. Motivation could be improved through making the artisans compete against each other.

10. The discussion on remuneration for the artisans has been a very critical part of the discussions which requires classification and evaluation of the work. How can the wages be standardized? How can the wages be calculated? How can the wages be negotiated? These are the critical questions that need to be answered. The simple versions would be the following categorization:
 - Work: simple *kora*, complex *kora* or *buta* (ornament)
 - Category: master or junior artisan
11. Some further points that were brought up by the participants:
 - Drawing need to be prepared of the various parts, components and details however there is still additional knowledge required which cannot be documented properly.
 - One of the biggest problems faced by the artisans, particularly after the earthquake was that only those who could register as contractors could get work.
 - The project run by the Chinese Government provides direct funding for the artisans. One must keep in mind that all the work is being carried out by local artisans with Chinese supervision. However some work such as dismantling of windows was done without numbering and it was difficult to put the parts together again. Only experienced artisans – or *Naikes* – would understand the overall system and be able to take apart and put together complex windows. Brickwork has also been done by labourers who have no idea of local methods and technology.
 - Training has also included ladies that are interested; however the *Sanga* (community) needs to further support such initiatives.
 - The question of how best to pass on the knowledge and skills still need to be worked on better. Categorization and possibly certification of levels of skill need to be introduced.
 - Artisans need to be registered in a roster to be able to get them organized. The roster would also need to identify the skills and experience of the artisans.
 - There is a need not only the train but provide the necessary tools. In most cases the individual artisans do not have a chance to get started so there would need to be further support by establishing workshops.
 - How can artisans achieve some kind of security linked to livelihood and possibly insurance. How is it possible to get such facilities?
 - Coordination is required between the artisans working with wood (carpenters and wood carvers) and those working with other materials (brick masons, stone masons, different metal workers, etc.) Most projects would require a set of artisans which also are able to deal with all the different materials and sections of the monuments.
 - The various chariots built in the Kathmandu Valley undergo much higher stress levels than during an earthquake and they still survive.

The traditional construction of buildings, even when they are deformed, sometimes as much as 45 degrees, it still holds and people survive.

- Apprenticeship begins withdrawing grids, then details – *hat basni* – that their hands become stable, then work on the wood begins and last would be statues and carving particularly of the faces and expressions of the gods.
12. Particularly important would be the different types of timber joints, the assembly of windows with hundreds of pieces as well as the required tools that are used. The Silpakar Samaj also has 15 *agam deutas* for carpenters in Bhaktapur, for their clan deity Bishwakarma. They are trying to save a 920 year old building housing one of their deities in Bhaktapur. This is linked to numerous festivals and rituals. Even when work is being carried out there are regular rituals that are important. For example the *dristikholni* or “opening of the eyes” of statues requires special pujas.
 13. Planning possibilities to support and establish a means to improve the situation for the artisans must be started. The existing Silpakar Samaj (carpenters association) might be the basis to begin with. A proposal need to be prepared that can be presented to the government at all levels. Workshops were also proposed where work is presented and discussed.

Interview B7

4 May 2018 (notes from interview in Nepali)

1. Invitation to Bhaktapur to discuss how artisans can get support to ensure continuity of the trades. The concern of the older generation was how heritage can be conserved if no one gets involved in continuing the craftsmanship. Even under the most difficult situations the artisans up to now have ensured continuity. The younger generation put together the Silpakar Samaj to make sure that the communication between the younger and older generations are maintained.
2. Presently they are working in the municipalities nearby which include Bhaktapur, Surya Binayak and Changu Narayan. They are however having problems getting support from Bhaktapur and even trying to conserve the 920 years old *agamghar* has been difficult. After the German Project in Bhaktapur the artisans were very well respected. There is the difference between *silakar* who are stone masons and *silpakar* who are carpenters. The difference between the traditional carpenter and the many of the new generation carpenters is the use of *chukul* (wooden pegs) instead of *kila* (metal nails). The traditional work is much more appropriate for earthquakes.
3. There is a need to have a means of showing respect for the senior artisans in the form of 'living legends'. During the Rana Period the *naike* who restored the Bhairav Temple was given a pot of silver coins, bracelets, gold earrings and was taken home in a procession with band music. Such acknowledgement is not provided any more. Traditionally the artisans were strategically distributed throughout the city. There is a story of an artisan who built his own temple and inscribed his name in stone.
4. The reason for all the discussions is to find a solution for work that has not functioned. There is a difference in language between the artisans and the authorities. Documentation has not taken place. There is also the need to publish the book on the restoration of Nyatapola. The issues of the artisans has not been heard.
5. The discussion on certification became very important. Today certification is required to find work and the traditional craft-persons do not have any paperwork to show. Would this be possible through CTEVT? The question of the training process and possibilities has become important. There are no possibilities to learn the required skills. The question is how is it possible to upgrade artisans, improve their work to achieve the required quality?
6. There is more to the traditional wood carving than the skill, since there is a lot of rituals and knowledge linked to such work. Particularly important is the carving of statue, which would generally be of gods. Once the eyes are opened, something that is done with an important puja, the statue is

consecrated and no one steps over these statues (as one does not over people since it is believed that god is within every person).

7. Main issues summarized in 16 points:
 1. Transfer knowledge to next generation – training – apprenticeships
 2. Income – feasibility / incentives (vs. too low government rates)
 3. Status and acknowledgement – living treasures / legends
 4. Belief / Rituals – *Agamghar*, other, social activities, festivals
 5. System to allow artisans to work (vs. tendering, minimum rate)
 6. Documentation (oral vs. written)
 7. Legal aspects / norms (vs. building regulations)
 8. Standardizing process / categories / lined to remuneration
 9. Alternative income / security – handicrafts
 10. Museum – presentation of works / old and new
 11. Research on old buildings – material / technology
 12. Interview of senior artisans
 13. Media coverage / awareness of works / plight of works
 14. Organization of *samaj* – how support system needs to function
 15. National linkage of artisans – link to intangible
 16. Certification / training – curriculum - standardization

Interview B8

12 April 2022 (notes from interview in Nepali)

General information on the Guthi Sansthan

1. The Guthi Sansthan has its head office in Tripureswor. It is near the Shiva Mahadev Temple. There are many branch offices to carry out the work of managing the Raj Guthis, and dealing with Chhut and Niji Guthis. There is the responsibility of safeguarding the movable heritage of the guthis such as the idols, ornaments, etc. All the donations also have to be carefully managed. Then there is the management of the land and property of the guthis. All the festivals and pujas have to be organised and funded. So there are a lot of responsibilities.

Ownership of Monuments – World Heritage nomination dossier states that Guthi Sansthan is the owner of the Kasthamandap

2. The Guthi Sansthan is responsible for many monuments. The owner is the Government of Nepal of course. The Guthi Sansthan is only one of the offices which deals with heritage. The Department of Archaeology is also there. And the local government also has rights and responsibilities. The Guthi Sansthan only has the resources to deal with intangible heritage.

Responsible for monuments, their maintenance and restoration

3. The Guthis Sansthan used to work closely with the Department of Archaeology. However, for many years, DOA has been ignoring the Guthi Sansthan and carrying out work on their own. DOA does not communicate. They do not ask whether they can work on a monument or not. They work according to their own Act. The Guthi Sansthan only deals with intangible heritage.

Involvement with the Kasthamandap

4. The only involvement with the Kasthamandap, is linked to intangible activities. We fund the annual Jogichakra, the rituals related to the feast, feeding the *yogis*. We only have sufficient resources to support the intangible activities related to the monuments.

New Constitution – Guthis will be dealt with at provincial level

5. It is not clear what will happen. There will probably be a central office, but most of the work will be done at the site, with locally.

Interview B9

20 May 2022 (notes from interview in Nepali)

Introduction

6. I have been selling flowers here for the past 20 years. My usual position is in front of the Kasthamandap, here on this side [east], near the Maruganesh. So, whenever I come here, I set up my stall in the same place. If anyone new comes, they set their stall up where there is still place. We have permission to have our shops till 7 am. On festival days, such as Dasain and Tihar, we are allowed to stay here all day. We do not pay the municipality for setting up the stall. There are vegetable stalls here after 7 pm.
7. If we stay longer than 7 am the Municipal Police come and make us move. They are also doing their duty. The municipality has to make sure this place is clear for the traffic. But sometimes they take away our whole stall. What to do? This is my only income. We then set up the stall somewhere else.
8. The flower business is good, all around the year. If we are allowed to set up the stalls, we could sell flowers all day. The flowers are used for pujas at the shrine here (Maruganesh), other temples, or to do puja at home. The flowers are used for all kinds of rituals. Also when people die, flowers are needed. So we always have business.

Before the Earthquake

9. We were here before the earthquake. Long-time back, there were even shops inside the Kasthamandap. But because it was not possible to keep clean, the shops were removed. The Municipality had to make sure things are clean for the tourists. There were many more shops before, and this was a proper market square. There were also many shops in Singhasattal. However, in the mornings there are flower stalls here and in the evenings, those who sell vegetables arrive. People tend to buy vegetables in the evening.

The Earthquake

10. I had just given birth to my child when the earthquake struck. We spent two months living in a tent on the open grounds of the Tundikhel. We then decided we needed to set up the stall again to earn money. I must make sure that my children study, since my parents did not support us in our studies. That is why we are on the streets selling flowers.
11. After the earthquake, when the Kasthamandap collapsed, we set up shop on the rubble, and then next to the construction site. It did not stop our business.

Reconstruction

12. The Kasthamandap has been rebuilt very nicely. It is even better than what it was like. There is a bit of a difference. This plinth here was not like this. The plinth was only till the fencing. We can sit here nicely, but I doubt this was done for us. If we say this is a seat for us, then the municipality will probably be displeased. We set up our stalls here. There are others who are behind the Narayan Sattal, or down the street beyond the square.
13. Everyone asks us why the Kasthamandap has not been opened yet. We do not know. Is there more work to be done? It would be good for the visitors to be able to go inside
14. The activity on the market square was reduced during the lockdowns, but it has again become normal. There are always many people passing by, especially in the morning and evening.

Interview B10

22 May 2022 (notes from interview in Nepali)

When we consider the National Building Code, there are no provisions for traditional buildings. Can the National Building Code nevertheless be used for traditional structures?

1. Yes, since the seismic code provides us with the seismic forces used to calculate the structure. For example, the structure should not collapse with a force of 0.18 g, but most could collapse with a 0.3 g force. There are also provisions for 'low-strength masonry' and for 'timber structures' that can be used. The brick masonry and timber components can be analysed accordingly. They have provided the 'Mandatory Rule of the Thumb', but this can only be used for small structures.

Does that mean that we do not need a separate building code for traditional buildings?

2. It would be good to have a separate building code for traditional buildings, since the approach to analysing the structures is different. We cannot use the same approach, or even compare the traditional buildings with the modern buildings. So we would need to focus on defining what degree of safety we consider acceptable for the traditional buildings. We must consider that if there is a collapse that we reduce casualties.

Do we have the means of carrying out structural calculations for the traditional structures?

3. If we have the strength of the brick and the mortar, it is possible to calculate the strength of the masonry. However, if we are using mud mortar, this would be 'low strength masonry'. For example the shear strength of mud mortar would be calculated as being zero.

How would we work on this new code?

4. We would need to work on it ourselves, since getting anyone from abroad would not provide us with a practical system. If we prepare a draft, then we can get experts from around the world to comment on it. The expert in Europe might be the best, where they are doing lots of experiments with the traditional structures. Their experience would help us develop a code for our particular type of traditional architecture.

So where would we start with the preparation of this code?

5. We would need to agree on an acceptable level of safety. We would then analyse the traditional structures accordingly. It would then be possible to propose certain interventions which are acceptable to the traditional structure. These would have to be minor, and possibly using traditional material. So these 'improvements' can be proposed. There would also be the need to include required maintenance plans. This would also include the possible replacement of certain elements, something that is peculiar to traditional buildings.

What about aging of materials?

6. This is also something that needs to be differentiated. Some traditional materials can last for centuries, while others need to be regularly replaced and maintained. With modern materials, they often do not last as long, and in respect to structural elements, are often difficult to replace. These considerations need to be integrated into the building code.

Interview B11

30 June 2020 (notes from interview in Nepali)

1. [...] I lived in the locality of the Kasthamandap since 2030 BS when I got married. I rented the shop front to the west of Kasthamandap in the early 2030s and bought the same house in 2058 BS where I live now along with my sister [...].
2. I got my Citizenship from Kasthamandap where the officers setup their camp within Kasthamandap. The local government distributed citizenship certificates within the Kasthamandap. During the Panchyat system there used to be guards in Kasthamandap and other activities besides rituals were very much controlled. During the peoples movement of 2046 we witnessed the revolution from our shop here and things changed even for Kasthamandap as it became more accessible. Political speeches were given.
3. In recent years the hangings out of the young people have been quite profitable for the business as they buy lots of drinks and popsicles but their silly activities should not be encouraged much in a public place like Kasthamandap. After the arrival of democracy, the Kasthamandap became even more of a place of disrepute. "What to do? We cannot scold them. We can only look away". Since the earthquake, with fewer visitors the business has been reduced.
4. We had just finished painting our house two days before the earthquake as my son was arriving from London. As usual, we both sisters were in the shop during the earthquake of 25th April 2015. Just a while before the earthquake, I went upstairs to take out some money and left the cupboard open when I came back to the shop. It was then that it started shaking and in a while Kasthamandap collapsed with some of the rafters entering the shop.
5. We could not lock the shop as it was blocked by the joist from Kasthamandap and I even had my locker upstairs open with all my money and jewellery. We thought more of our own safety than about our properties at that time. Later, some of the young guys at Basantapur offered us help to remove the joist from the shop to close it and then we went towards our house.

We survived the earthquake, but the worry of its reoccurrence and thought of what if my house also collapses like Kasthamandap made me very depressive. I went to live in Thimi at my parents' house for four months. I was traumatized for months after the earthquake and my sister recalls me crying even in the middle of the night. But it was sure I was not leaving my house and locality of Marutole. So we repaired the house and ran the shop after some months of the earthquake.

Interview B12

21 September 2020 (notes from interview in Nepali)

1. For the spiritual understanding and historicity of the Gorakhnath and Nath cult, the main contact person would be Mahanta Yogi Sirish Nath Baba and Manhanta Yogi Byagra Bed Nath based at Mrigasthali.

Chakra Puja

2. Within Nepal Gorakhnath math is found in Panauti towards the east and in the west till Jumla and Bajhang. However, the Chakra Puja is very specific to Kathmandu Valley, possibly a ritual for integration of the Nath cult with the pre-existing Newari culture as this used to be directed by the Palace. They enjoyed royal patronage. These days Chakra Puja is done annually during Kumari Jatra by the Kanphatta Jogi. During the ritual of this Chakra puja, the main subject of the ritual is the Bhairav engraved pot where the rice beer is stored, which might be linked to the legend of Gorakhnath's visit to the Valley where he got drunk and was insulted by the people. Animal sacrifice is done along puja offered to Bhairav and chakra with an objective of keeping away any disaster in the country. Except this annual chakra puja during Kumari Jatra, other chakra puja were also done as required in the past but since the formation of Hanumandhoka Parisar and political change since 1990s it has not continued.

Statue of Gorakhnath in Kasthamandap

3. Legends of Gorakhnath in the Kathmandu valley dates back to 1400 years ago when Gorakhnath visited the valley. The valley inhabited by the Newars were always filled with festivity and feast with rice beer and alcohol. Hence, one day Gorakhnath went out to drink at Pokonayo Ganesh (Paknajol) where Ganeshji recognized Gorakhnath and went into the beer pot leading to perpetual beer in the pot. The old lady serving the beer was surprised and insulted him as drunkard but finally realized that it was not a general person but Gorakhnath. With the insult from the public Gorakhnath was very mad hence, collected the *nagas* of the valley and sat on the top of them for meditation in front of Asoka Vinayak at Marutole, where Kasthamandap is. As he meditated at this very spot, his image has been placed at the very spot while at other places only his foot is represented. With the *nagas* trapped for 12 years there was drought in the valley and the kings of the valley were concerned about it and were looking for the solution. It is then it was realized that it is only the Guru of Gorakhnath, Matsyendranath himself who can help them. Hence, they went to Kamaru Kamakshya along with the Tantriks of the valley and through their tantric power brought Matsyendranath into the valley and when he arrived in front of the Gorakhnath he stood up to pay homage to his Guru releasing the *nagas* and bringing the rain back in the valley. This is the reason for having the statue of Gorakhnath at the very spot i.e. at Kasthamandap.

Bhairavnath

4. Bhairav is one of the Amsa of Shiva who is responsible for punishing the offenders. He is also considered to be protector of the gods. There are Astha Bhairav, 8 Bhairavs, $8 \times 8 = 64$ Bhairavs.

Patro devata from Mrigasthali

5. On the Hari Sayani Ekadashi (Asar), the Patro devata is brought to Pir Pati from Mrigasthali attended by the Mahantas with musical instrument. Then for Hari Bodhini Ekadashi (Mangsir), Janaipurnima, it is taken to the Goisainkunda. Then it is brought back to Pir pati and followed by the trip to Pharping to Hari Shankher Jatra. Finally from Pharping it is taken to Mirgasthali. (Mahanta- In Hindu, Pir- In Islam). Rudramsa of Shiva are- Hanuman, Bhimsen, Parshurama, Bhairav.

Kanphatta Jogi

6. When the yogis turn into Kanphatta Jogi he changes the Gotra to Niranjana Gotra and give up the worldly and family life.

Dattatreya Math (Pujari Math- Pir Math)

7. Math played the role of religious centers where Mahantas teach and train their pupil. Pujari Math was reconstructed during the reign of Viswa Malla (1548-1560), since the Math was badly damaged during severe earthquake.

Gorakhnath

8. Gorakhnath is the avatar of Shiva who is a celibate and a saint who dedicated his life for Yoga marga. Other Gorakhnath maths within the valley are in Sankhu (Salinadi- Dillinath Yogi), Bhaktapur (Dattatraya), Bungamati, Thapathali (Yogi Narayan Nath).

Nitya puja

9. Nitya puja done twice a day including in Kasthamandap. At Mrigasthali two hours puja is done each day which runs parallel to the main *arati* done at Pashupati.

Interview B13

21 September 2020 (notes from interview in Nepali)

Kapalis

1. Kapalis stayed in the *sattals* and did not have their own home. They were service based people like Aji who were the midwives and took care of new born and Shaman perform the *tantric* rituals for healing purpose. There are initiated Kapalis who are celibate and are considered to be Dharma Guru. The initiation rituals used to take place in Kasthamandap in the four pavilions which was considered to be the Agamghar of the Kapalis. That was until they were evicted from the *math* in 2022 BS [1965-1966].

Gorakhnath as Kul devata

2. Kapalis consider Gorakhnath as the Kul devata and have Shiva Gotra. Hence, all the life rituals of Kapalis are associated with Nath rituals. Kapalis live around Gorakhnath, Shiva and Bhairav temple and still are prevalent in these localities. During the reign of the King Narendradev, there was a negative influence by the witchcraft in the city so he went to Guru Gorakhnath to resolve the issue who claimed that his wife, the queen was one of them and asked the King to bring her along. When they arrived, the queen was very scared to see Gorakhnath and then the King asked for a resolution. Gorakhnath agreed to help but asked to provide roof for himself and his followers. Hence, Kasthamandap was built by Narendra Deva as per this legend.

Kasthamandap as Agamghar or Math

3. Kasthamandap is Agamghar or Math where the Kapalis do Yoga, Sadhana, Puja, Upabasa, Sikhya Dikshya and Tantric rituals. Gorakhnath is represented on its *paduka*. Bhairav is another important deity for us. We have annual event where each of the nine *guthi* Agamghar does the procession in particular locations in which the Gorakhnath's *paduka*, Bhairav, Kalash and Ganesh is put in a *khat* and taken to an open space (Khye) where various rituals are performed for three days including the *saradhe*. It is done on the *purnima*. Our Guthi does this procession at Kankeswari. Samadhi rituals are still followed as per the Nath cult among the Kapalis.

Documents related to tantric rituals

4. In regards to the historic documents related to our culture, it is usually handed over to the initiated people for its safeguarding. However, with the decline of such practitioners and possibly other reasons we have heard that the documents related to tantric rituals of our lineage have been disposed of in the river.

Chakra Puja

5. Annually, Chakra Puja was done at Kasthamandap and there are historical records of land donations done for the *bahdara*. I heard those Guthi lands

are still prevailing, some nearby Swayambhu. This indicates that Kapalis were staying at Kasthamandap officially and were not squatters. Till 2018 BS, Kapalis were still living there but after the renovation they were dislocated from there.

6. I myself am responsible for performing rituals in my Agamghar of Makhan Guthi as per the indication by my elders as I have not been initiated. As slowly there were decline in the associated rituals performed people started taking different profession for living. Among them one of the major profession adopted was tailoring and there was a belief that the cloth stitched by the *jogis* would protect the people from illness, even in army companies the uniforms were supplied.

Nitya Puja

7. There is a regular Nitya Puja done at the Kasthamandap by the Kanphattayogi. However, there are no other continued rituals done by our *guthis* within Kasthamandap.

Interviews B14

14 January 2021 (notes from interview in Newari, translated by Anie Joshi)

Challenges and adaptation with time

1. The Sa Guthi is considered to be doing these rituals since ancient times but with the changing situations they have adapted their activities. The rituals continued to take place even after the earthquake and when the Kasthamandap collapsed. This was possible at Bhutisa and on the Marudabeli. Things had to be adapted, of course. In respect to the activities that took place within the Kasthamandap.
2. With the discontinuity of arrival of the cow and the cow herder from Kirtipur, the Guthi members now goes to the nearby household with cow. However with the disappearing household within the vicinity with cows, the continuity of the wheat feeding ceremony is at stake.
3. The flag hoisting on the top of the Kasthamandap has its own risk and the Guthi members with the request to the Department of archaeology got permit to have an opening on the roof some 20 years ago which made it easier for them to perform the activity. As the Sayami community discontinued their presence, the Guthi members themselves started hoisting the flag.
4. With the absence of the Vajracharya priest, the Rajopadhyaya priest continued to perform both Kalasa Puja and Bahubiyegu.
5. Despite of the 2015 earthquake and loss of the Kasthamandap, the Guthi continued its rituals each year. For conducting the activity of boiling of wheat inside Kasthamandap with the changing situation of the reconstruction of Kasthamandap they needed to adapt the location. The cooking of the wheat took place on the site, roughly between the two central posts on the northern side, then indicated only by the north-western saddlestones. However, since the earthquake, the storing of the boiled wheat has been done in the Maruganesh Dyochhen as per the request of the Guthi members.

Interviews B15

30 September 2020 (voice recording translated from Nepali)

1. I studied architecture for some time and have interest in heritage buildings so I have collection of materials on the monuments of Kathmandu Valley. When Kasthamandap collapsed during the earthquake, one of our friends, [...]’s father passed away in the tragedy. They used to live at Ga-kuti to the south-west of Kasthamandap. Being from the immediate neighbourhood, he conceptualized to make a model of Kasthamandap. As we were involved in wooden carving business, we had links of the people who could execute it. So when we approached them with the idea, they agreed and asked for the measured drawings. I provided them with whatever documents I had to start off with. They started the work and revised whenever there was error and finally the model was finished. The model was made as an interest among few of us friends and Surya contributed a large sum for its making. We imagined it to be ready with one *lakh* rupee but it required more.
2. After the model was finished, we had to think what to do with it and where to exhibit as the project started just with the emotion after the structure was collapsed during the 2015 earthquake.
3. Kasthamandap is a very important structure which defines the history of Kathmandu. Before we considered it to be built during the period of Laxmi Narshing Malla but with the post archaeological survey we were able to understand the history of this structure is older than that about 1500 years ago. It is not a temple but a *sattal* where Gorakhnath was installed very later by the Nath followers who were residing at Kasthamandap.
4. Kathmandu was central to the trade route between India and Tibet since the ancient times. During the old days to accommodate the travellers, public structures like *pati* and *sattals* were made. And with its location at the entry point of Kathmandu, I think this monument was also built to accommodate the travellers. There is a legend that Kasthamandap was built with single piece of wood which I do not believe is the story linked to the existing structure of Marusattal. There is still a *guthi* nearby Kasthamandap, Ta Chatan Guthi who till date continues one of their main activity of Panchadan. For the Panchadan activity they assemble four pieces of wood to form a *mandap*, which is the original Kasthamandap. Hence, existing Marusatta had no connection to this Kasthamandap. As today it is widely known as Kasthamandap it might be impossible to redefine its name but we should be able to also mention that the actual Kasthamandap is the wooden mandap made by the Ta: Chatan Guthi.
5. The carpentry team who worked in the project were from Bungamati who has a shop at Pyaphal. His name is Heera Bramhacharya. They made it in Bungamati and finishing was done in my house at Jyatha.
6. We made it to be displayed in Marutole itself but there was conflict of interest within the community so we had to look for other places.

Nagarpalika showed interest to take it in their charge along with some financial contribution so we decided to give it to Nagarpalika.

7. I belong to the family of traders to Lhasa and we also had connection with the Mughals of India. Trading in Lhasa was an access to the Silkroad as in Lhasa traders from various areas like Kazaks, Khampas were linked. The history of this trade is very old. Our family history of trade itself is 1000 years old. We even had our property there in Lhasa, and it was only later after the Chinese invasion that we left the area. So with this family history I am interested to finding links to it. My cousin has written a book called Caravan to Lhasa (By Kamal Ratna Tuladhar). It has the story of Kathmandu, India and Lhasa. In this connection I think Kasthamandap was the entry point to Kathmandu. When one crosses the Bishnumati, and enters Kathmandu people will require a place to stay and I think Marusattal was built for this purpose. And possibly as it was nearby the palace, it must have been built in a grand scale though in everywhere else it is very small in size. In Marusattal you can see it has huge space to accommodate many people. As the name of Kathmandu is also considered to have been derived from this structure, we cannot argue that it is a very important monument.
8. Right after the earthquake, we got the information that a large number of monuments within the durbar square collapsed including Kasthamandap. As we are interested in heritage we had a deep concern that all these monuments should be rebuilt. I went after few days to the durbar square where I witnessed the damage. I was sure that all these heritage structure would be rebuilt, but my concern was how it will be rebuilt! It is one of the masterpieces of our traditional architecture so we thought it should be preserved. The heritage structure built in traditional architecture should not be rebuilt using new material and technology with reinforced concrete and stuck with the traditional façade. The restoration of heritage is a very sensitive matter which requires great skill. Our main concern was how the government will rebuilt it as we had no say in it. At least the reconstruction of the heritage structure should be done in traditional way. For its rebuilding many issues arose with conflict between various groups but I was never directly involved in any of these activities for rebuilding but a mere observer in this entire process.

Interviews B16

28 February 2021 (notes from interview in Newari, translated by Anie Joshi)

An introduction to the Ta Chatan Guthi

1. Firstly I want to start with the context of this location when it was not an urban area but the settlement were rather concentrated in other areas including Handigaun and Panauti (Panchal-desh). The formation of Marutole and Kasthamandap Nagar is a very later development. However, many *viharas* were situated within this area and Kasthamandap Vihar has been mentioned to be the oldest *vihara*. Why was it called Kasthamandap Vihar? There are many evidences which indicate that the Kasthamandap Vihar was ruined and later lost. During the Buddha's time, wherever he visited, for his accommodation *gandakuti* were built. The high ranking monks were also accommodated in these *gandakuti*. In India, the presence of the *gandakuti* nearby the main Vihars is documented while the presence of Kanda Kuti in Nepal is only in this place. The *gandakuti* today know as Ga Kuti is located to the South east periphery of Kasthamandap. The Sanskrit name of "Ganda Kuti" has been modified and is understood as Ga Kuti in Newari today. And this Ganda Kuti mentioned in Nepal must be associated with the Kasthamandap Vihar. Ganda Kuti is the only evidence which can link the presence of Kasthamandap Vihar 2000 years ago as after that time the no such *gandakuti* were built. Another evidence of the presence of Vihara in today's location of Marusatta is the 'Guarding Lions' to the eastern side. Another feature of the *vihara* is also the presence of the Asta Matrika or Astha Bhairav. And during the Panchadan ceremony, we perform the *puja* around the Kasthamandap to the Bhairavs.
2. I referred to a book in my possession which is misplaced at the moment, where it was written that *gandakuti* and the *viharas* were built 100 years before Vikramaditya. Hitkar just mentioned to me that the *vihara* should have been there during Kali Sambat 2970 which is in archive document (Shritigatoapdha is Kali Sambat in Patro today is 5120), which coincide with the 100 years before Vikramaditya.
3. Our Ta Chatan Guthi is formed to provide offerings *panchadan*, to the Shakyas and Bajracharyas. We believe that the offerings were given inside the Kasthamandap Vihar by placing the four wooden elements forming the *mandapa*. This ritual of giving the offering still continues. As the *mandapa* is formed with wooden elements, it is called Kasthamandap which we also call Danasala. If you want to see the ceremony, it takes place on the triyodashi of Bhadra. The actual Kasthamandap is the one that we use during the ceremony. And possibly the name of Kasthamandap Vihar is also linked to this wooden mandap.
4. The existing structure of Kasthamandap is called Marusatta in Nepal Bhasa these days which I believe must be a derivative of Madhu Sala. Madhu-meaning *maru* and *sala* changed to *satta* in Nepal Bhasa. *Sala* in Newari is

satta which is an open space where the visitors can rest and accommodate temporarily. Some people have indicated this place to be Madhu Ban, a forest. Hence, the Sala was located in Madhu Ban giving its name Madhu Sala. There is no exact date indicating when Marusatta was built but in my opinion it must have been around 700-800-900 years ago and the Kasthamandap Vihar must have been ruined about 1200 years ago. It is just my opinion and why I think so is as in every 100 years there a big earthquake, it must have been severely damaged during one of these big earthquake and remained as ruin for a very long time as it was outside the main city area. There was changing political and religious situation of the country with different rulers which should also be the reason for it not being rebuilt. However, the ritual of the offering by Ta Chatan Guthi continued. With the ruined *vihara* for longer time, the ritual to provide offering must have shifted to the current location with the placement of the Danasala to the south of the present Marusatta.

5. Now I shall talk a bit about the Ta Chatan Guthi, which was associated with the Kasthamandap Vihara and now with Marusatta. As the rituals were associated to Kasthamandap Vihara, this Guthi must have been running since 2100 years ago. The book I mentioned earlier had it mentioned that the *vihara* was there 100 years earlier than Vikaramaditya, but I cannot show it to you right now as it is misplaced.
6. The main function of the *guthi* is to provide offering to the Shakyas and Bajracharyas. In ancient time the Shakyas were the monks of the Theravada Buddhism and the Bajracharyas were the monks of the Vajrayana Buddhism. At that time there was resilience within the different disciplines of Buddhism unlike later when one was criticized by the other. There are many disciples who turned to Mahayana Buddhism from Theravada, as Mahayana had a very large scope of in-depth study. It was during the time of Acharya Nagarjuna, 400 years after Buddha, that Mahayana Buddhism spread widely.
7. During the reign of various Kings in the Valley the Monks were forced to get married and have family. Hence, after marriage, the monks from the Mahayana were converted to Bajracharyas and then the Theravada monks turned to Sakyas. I remember, when I was little the Shakyas used to mention Shakya Bhikshu as their surname mentioning Bhikshu. But later it was discarded as they were no more Bhikshu and it was disrespecting to the title. For a Vajracharya to practice, they should at least have a study of 20 to 30 years on Mahayana which I have heard in the high ranking Lamas's sermons. We are the *upasaka* as we offer the *daan*. How we became Tamrakar as mentioned by the Saklananda Gurju from Yanga. He mentions that we were also from the Shakya clan and were *bhikshus*. Later after leaving the life of *bhikshu* and leading a family life as metal crafts person, it was only during the time of Jayasthiti Malla that the title of Tamrakar was given. So our ancestors were also Shakyas. In regards to the Piganani, it is closely linked to the Layaku Baha and Sikhamu Baha.

During one of the *guthis* of Sikhamu Baha, named Kegu Kayaguguthi, during one of the main ritual recitation, Tamrakars of Piganani is mentioned. In addition, we also provided financial support to the *gurjus* of Sikhamu Bahal when needed. I also remember supporting them to perform the *guthi* activities when the *pala* is financially not capable, in my lifetime I remember their *guthi* of offering to the Shakyas has been done inside Piganani three times. There are 18 main *bahals* where Vajracharya *diksha* is given and their branches are the Kaccha Bahal. (Is Sikhamu Baha Kaccha Baha of Kasthamandap Vihar?)

The present activities of Ta: Chatan: Guthi

8. The *Pragyaparamita* recitation is done during the one long month of Gunla. *Pragyaparamita* in our possession has three scripts: Prachalit lipi (of which most is damaged), then Bhujimo and Ranjana lipi (without the long leg). It was written in the time of King Mataha Deva, but in history no mention of such King is seen. I have asked many of the historian but they could not confirm but people who are involved in *guthi* and jewellery confirms about hearing of this king.

9. In our *Pragyaparamita*, it has been mentioned that, the manuscript was written during the time of Mataha Deva in आऔ *sambat*. However, which *Sambat* has not been mentioned. If we convert it into numerical value, आ will be 2 and औ becomes 12. Hence, the number 212 is derived so we can consider the manuscript was written in 212 NS (1091 CE). The *Guthi* Gweyegu starts before the Gunla where the *pala* invites all the members from the *pala* group for a puja and a feast to initiate the talk for the *pachadan* activity. In each group we have some 10 people which is a new trend. Then the *Pragyaparamita* is recited at the *thakali palas* house by the *gurju* since the *pratipada* of Gunla. The recitation of the *Pragyaparamita* was discontinued, even my father has no memory of anyone doing it but later during the Kamalananda Gurju's turn he restarted this tradition, though a part was recited. He recited the *patha* on the 100th page of the *Pragyaparamita*. This event inspired me and I thought that during our turn we shall recite it in whole. So, it is then after that I started learning the script and it took me three months to recite it completely as I was amateur. It is then I read that the manuscript was written during the time of Mataha Deva in आऔ *sambat*. It has no indication of Nepal *Sambat* but let's suppose it is Nepal *Sambat*. This also indicates that the *guthi* has been running for a very long time, at least 929 years as the manuscript dates back in this time. Another evidence to prove the existence of this *guthi* since a long time is through the oral history where we have been told that the Khasi, a utensil, which is used to provide the offering was renovated in NS 1 (879 CE). It is still in possession of the *guthi* and has undergone various renovation over the centuries, but I could not find the mention of its renovation on NS 1 in itself. So it cannot be told as a fact. However, with coincidence the *gurju* of Vajrayogini mentioned that the Khasi in Vajrayogini is of NS 1 during one of the TV interviews. He added that similar Khasi is also in possession of the Tamrakars of Piganani behind the Bhutisa which dates back to NS 2. It is

surprising that such an information is in his records and not with us. But this is quite possible as it is considered that many of the *bahals* in Kathmandu including Sikhamu Bahal was established by the *gurjus* of Sankhu. Ja-manaygu Guwaju, also known as Lila Bajra, is also from Sankhu. It is told that with the direct view of Swayambhu from this location, Sikhamu Bahal was established by the Bajracharyas of Sankhu. More information can be asked to the Gurjus from Sankhu.

10. Getting back to *guthi*, the *guthi* was performed at *vihara*, whose name was Kasthamandapa which mainly refers to the *mandapa* formed for Panchadan ritual which is also called Danasala. Now a days this ritual is performed to the south of the existing Kasthamandapa.
11. The activity of the *guthi* starts from the Pratipada of Gunla when the recitation of the *Pragyaparamita* starts. Then on the Dwadashi, purification rituals are performed which we call Chewla Bu. It is rather odd why we call it Chewla Bu as in the offerings for the monks, *chewla* would be an inappropriate element. On the same day, we prepare the cooked rice for the Panchadan inside the Marusatta. The room on the northwest corner of the Marusatta has been allocated to us where we install the god and the *khasi* to be used for offering. For the cooking of the rice, the stove is built with raw clay stacked one over another brought in by the Jyapu-Mhye, this gives an indication possibly this ritual dates back to the time when bricks did not exist. The cooked rice is then installed inside the room with rituals performed. Then the following morning, in Triyodashi, the *gurju* in presence of the *thakali* does a ritual to move the cooked rice from the room for its offering to the monks. We have been using the location for these rituals possibly even before the Marusattal was there. However, after the earthquake, the same year we were obliged to perform the ritual inside the Piganani as it was impossible though the *panchadan* was given at the same location to the south of Kasthamandap. And it's the first time known to us that during this pandemic year the *panchdan* ritual was not performed. During the Triyodashi, the Jyapu-Mhye after self-purification arrives at the Kasthamandap-Danasala and installs himself inside the *mandapa* for the entire day without any food providing the offering to all the monks arriving throughout the day. The *guthi* members start the offering in the morning but the arrival of the monks continues the entire day till later evening, and it used to be the duty of the Jyapu-Mhye to do the offering. After the end of the offering, the Jyapu-Mhye is respectfully given food to break his fasting and he joins the feast with the other members of the *guthi*. After the offering ends, Fu-Bare (from Chikamuga) is invited to collect the remaining grain (fu- means finished, Bare- means Shakya). The Fu-Bare also performs a ritual, Bisarjan Puja, inside the Kasthamandap and the remaining items are given to him. Traditionally the grains and rice was brought in from our own fields. We heard that there was 64 *ropanies* of land which belonged to this *guthi* which were located within the Ring Road area, but over time these lands were lost as the papers were misused, or the lands taken by the tilling family and also targeted by the Bhu-mafias. The last piece of land we had

was then sold and a fixed deposit has been opened which has become the source for running the Guthi at the moment.

12. As the land was sold, the Jyapu-Myhe still participated during the rituals the following few years but this tradition was lost as the next generation did not come and the *guthiyars* themselves provide the offerings till the end of the day from then. Another change that has taken place is the amount of rice cooked for the offering. Now a days the *gurjus* do not carry large amount of offering so the quantity of rice cooked has been reduced. The following day, all the *guthiyars* are provided *kheer bhojan* by the *pala* group. On the last day of Gunla, the recitation terminates (Path Dhunkhun) and the handing over to the next group takes place before terminating the activity. This way the *panchadan* activity is carried out each year. We have around 60 members divided into 5 groups.

13. Suklananda Gurju from Yanga had mentioned that inside the Marusattal, in lieu of Gorakhnath, Padma Pani Lokeswor (Bungadyo) was established during one of the discussion. I had no much knowledge on these issues then so I must have misheard the Vajrapani to Padmapani which strikes me when I heard statue of Vajrapani was found from the rubble of Kasthamandap. (Who said this? Where is it?). There were numerous images that were kept on the upper floor of the Kasthamandap, however, these were a collection of displaced images kept here for protection and were not generally accessible to the public. In each of the *chiba*, there are four Buddhas placed in cardinal directions. In the eastern side is the Akshabhaya who is the father of Vajrapani (Buddha Putra). Each has designated Buddha Putra, Ratnasambhaba's Buddhaputra is Ratna Pani, Amitabh's Buddhaputra is Padmapani and Amoksiddha's Buddhaputra is Chakrapani. In each of the *vihara*, the main deity is called Kwa-pa Dyo who is represented by Akshabhaya and where Akshabhaya is there Vajrapani is also present. So, possibly it must have been the Akshabhaya who was established at the Kasthamandap as Vajrapani was found. In Vihara, there is also trend of putting four Karunamayas, Bungadyo-Padmapani, Chobadyo, Nala-Karunamaya and Janabahal Karunamaya. This is interestingly linked to the *panchadan* where special invitation is sent to the *gurjus* of these four Karunamayas and the *gurju* of Swayambhu who is the *thakali*. I remember while I was a child, all of these five *gurjus* used to come wearing the Gugi-lan, special costume with mask. The *panchadan* started with offering to these five *gurjus* and each *gurju* was given five portion of the offering while others are only given one portion. *Gurjus* are provided the offering from the *guthi* side and then each of the members provide their offering from their family side separately. Each family provide what is possible like rice, money etc. And once the *guthiyars* leave, the Jyapu-Myhe continues to provide offering to the *gurjus* coming all day long. In the offerings provided from the *guthi* to the main five *gurjus*, there are 5 types of fruit including *amala*, *beli*, *satbesi*, ginger and white soyabean, cooked rice and *saruwa* – half wheat half rice. Others are given rice, wheat and money only. As most of the activities except the offering to the *gurjus* are

done inside Marusatta, we can conclude that our *guthi* is related to Marusatta. The Danasala is very large 20'x20' which makes it impossible to be placed inside the Marusatta. The wood used to make the mandap must also have been replaced many times over the centuries. I remember the older one than the present had half lap joint.

14. Ta Chatan, the name of the *guthi* in literal Nepal Bhasa, *ta* means large in size and *chatan* means spatula. So, as during *panchadan*, the offering is given using a large wooden spatula, the *guthi* must have been called Ta Chatan Guthi. There are many utensils used by the *guthi* which we can show to you if you want. For removing the boiling water during rice cooking there is a ladle which is called *bhakyen* made of copper (*sija*) with wooden handle. These objects as per the need are offered by the *guthiyars* and most have dates engraved in it. We have two *khasi* for cooking the rice, the bigger one is too large to be used now and the other is leaking so is no more in use either. Both of them are in the ruined house in Piganani. These days we use new aluminium vessels.
15. I have no memory of involvement of the *guthiyars* for any other cleaning activity inside Marusatta other than the *dwadashi* for the *puja* but I believe there should have been more involvement before when the keys were in possession of the *guthi*. But in latter times after the major renovation of the Marusatta in 1922 B. S. even to conduct the required rituals we have to go to Hanumandhoka to get the keys and it became a hassle. Before the major renovation, the southern half part of the Marusatta was occupied by the *jogis* while the northern side was left to us. During that time, the floor used to be very dirty and we used to clean before applying the red mud paste to purify the place. The flooring must have been brick but possible parts must have been restored. [During excavation, we documented the stone soling underneath the modern paving exactly in that location- it must have been possibly a patch work done by the *guthi*]. I remember, it was always dirty.
16. Existing version of Marusatta is the outcome of the major renovation work done in 2022 B. S when the *Jogis* were removed from Kasthamandap and were given space elsewhere to live. The fencing also came after this renovation and guard was kept. I remember, there was no elaborate carving in Marusatta before that renovation. Later series of restoration and maintenance work were done, in 1931 for the coronation of King Birendra and later in 2042 B. S. during the visit of the Queen Elizabeth.
17. I heard that the frieze has Pragyaparamita depicted on it. Before the 2022 renovation it must have been the responsibility of the *guthi* to clean the area and a calendar must have been worked out but during the Panchayat-kal, as the ownership went to Hanumandhoka, this should have discontinued.
18. Another interesting oral history related to Marusatta is in regards to the presence of the water source inside the Marusatta. My father used to tell us that the main source of water to the Maruhiti is inside Kasthamandap. The

water is collected here and then sent to Maruhiti. As per what I have heard the water is collected in a vessel where the Naga Sandhana has been done and covered by another vessel which is connected to a drainage system from where the water is brought to Maruhiti. These are the oral history but no written documents in this regard have been found. The older generation also used to tell that one could hear the flowing of water during quite night when one passes through the northwest corner of Kasthamandap.

19. On the south west corner of the Marusatta, there is a Si-la Hiti which is symbolic hiti. It was outside the perimeter of the Kasthamandap and people could circumambulate it before. However, after the extension of the plinth it was no more possible. In the Hindu Shastra, during certain ritual where god has been possessed into someone's body, when the spirit of the god leaves the body, he is considered to be dead. Then, the body is brought to this hiti where is given life by pouring the water and through Tantric rituals. This is what happens during the 12 years Khadga Siddhi Jatra.
20. The establishment of Gorakhnath and the Ganeshs are a very later addition. Gorakhnath is said to have been done sometime in Malla period or possible during Shah Period I have no much knowledge in this, [the other person adds- Possibly there were four Karunamayas instead of the Ganeshs in four corners]. There is also Maru Pwa which I have not been able to collect any information on so I have no idea on it. But there was an inscriptions inside Kasthamandap which I remember from 2032 when I started learning the script. At the south east corner of Kasthamandap, there was an inscription facing south which was dated to 700 NS and the name of the king was also mentioned. Only one sentence was in Newar language and remaining was in Sanskrit. In it date, year, *tithi* and *nakshyatra* was engraved and mention completion of renovation was also mentioned. I read that and I think Madhu word has also been mentioned.
21. When I mentioned about the Madhu Ban, I could not convince Yagyaman Pati Bajracharya. He believes that Kasthamandap was built by Ja-namayagu Gurju, Lila Vajra, but it cannot be possible. There are many Ja-namayaguGurjus and one of the main one is from the Sikhamu Baha during the time of Pratap Malla. Another is of Mu-Baha. Among them one of the famous one is from SrikhandaTaramula Vihara who has title of Lila Vajra. There are many Lila Vajras and the eleventh century Lila Vajra whom Yagyaman Pati Vajracharya claims to be the Ja-namagayu Gurju is not correct.

What are the challenges for the Guthi?

22. As we see the trend we are sure its continuity is possible as there is no aspect which is discouraging. We cannot guarantee about how this will be carried out by the next generation but seeing the trend of the transfer to the younger generation since the old times, things have been improving. I see improvements from how the activities were carried out in our generation than our father's generation. Many *guthiyars* used to be absent before but

we have made it compulsion now as our intent is to ensure that the *gurjus* coming to receive the offering would have handsome amount, mainly the money that is given at the money. In the morning session usually around 200 *gurjus* participate and in total all day long about 500 to 600 *gurjus* participate. One of the interesting legends heard by the *gurjus* who come to receive the offering is that to prove they are Shakyas, they have to go receive the offering from Ta Chatan Guthi. As this concept is still prevailing many of the *gurjus* who are ashamed to go ask for the offerings elsewhere are seen to be coming during the *panchadan* of Ta Chatan Guthi. But I am not sure it continues today or not. Even the main main *gurjus* from the Karunamayas invited do not come to receive the offerings except from Bunga and Swayambhu. It might be due to various reasons, possibly the transport in case of the Nala Karunamaya Gurju and Janabhala Karunamaya might be due to the different discipline among the *gurjus*.

What would be the requirement for your Guthi during the reconstruction?

23. Possibly a Chema Puja needs to be done by the Ta Chatan Guthi.

What can be role of the Guthi in future management?

24. Personally, the Guthi representative should participate in the committee.]
25. Ganda Kuti is one important indication but sadly, the Kwa-pa dyo of the Gandakuti here has been lost. The Theravada intellects do not believe that Buddha came to Nepal however, considering the presence of this Ganda Kuti the Mahayana intellects believe that Buddha came here.
26. Another interesting aspect is how Nepal was important place for all the spiritual leaders to come and do the meditation to become a Siddha including the Padmasambhava. Padmasambhava did the meditation in the Asur cave in Parphing which is indicated in many writing. One of our *guthi* members mentioned that he heard about the legend that Padmasambhava came to receive the offering from the Ta Chatan Guthi. We have no proof of it though.
27. Challenges
- While the income source from the land used to be sufficient, the members were very inclined towards the rotation of their turn. However, with the passage of time as the income reduced as the result of the loss in land by its mishandling or lesser crops were provided by the *mohi*, the members slowly started losing the interest and for some to run the activity in their turn became almost impossible. Many of the interested members were concerned about its future hence, we made certain changes for its management around 50 years ago (when I was around 20 years old). To ensure the continuity through systematic management, 5 groups were formed with 10-12 members in each of it who in group took the responsibility of running the activity each year. The grouping was done based on the lineage.

- One of the main issue was the loss of the lands which was actually the basis for the income for running the Guthi. We heard there were a total of about 64 ropanies of land within the nearby area but later when we wanted to manage the paperwork (Lalpurja), only 5 ropanies were left. We then sold the land and made a fixed deposit around 20 years ago.
- Another change we have seen is the feast we have after the PanchaDaan. In old days, rice pudding was served to the *guthiars* and was completely vegetarian food but now there is an elaborate non- veg feast. So one of the main focus has become the big feast which I believe was not the case when this Guthi was formed as it was created to provide the offering.

Interview Category C

The following 25 interviews were carried out with audio, and in some cases video recordings, as part of the Kasthamandap Reconstruction project, to be selectively included in the Kasthamandap Publication (Weise and Joshi (eds.) 2022). The following interviews were transcribed and simultaneously translated into English from Nepali.

Interview C1

20 June 2020 (interview in Nepali)

1. [...]To honour, presidents, the heads of state were brought here, stopped, saluted, they were given the citizenship, made them an honorary citizen, and the handing over of the key. There should be photographs of that. They give a '*bhotetalcha*', (key to a traditional lock) that means a key which has things on two sides, it is not the other kind of key. That is one of our pride. To honour the foreigner, first of all they would come there. That should not be forgotten.
2. You have built the temple, and everyone praises that, but it is equally important to consider other significant things related to Kasthamandap.
3. For example Mahindra Malla's coin, that has a four hundred to five hundred year history. Before finding that coin, there was a confusion amongst the historians. Mahindra Malla deva took various gifts, gifts from Nepal, went to Delhi's Samrat, to the Muslim kings, such as Aurangzeb, Jahangir... actually it was during the time of Jahangir, he went there, and gave gifts. To give *sawat* to someone bigger than oneself. They say he went to get permission, the historians, after getting permission, he minted silver coins. That is our history, as written in the *vamsavali*. I examined this as a research scholar. If we believe that, our whole study is finished, were we under the suzerainty of Delhi? Did we have to ask them to mint our coins? That is not true. What is the proof of that? That was Mahindra Malla, as written by the historians, but they forgot Mahendra Malla. They thought it to be Mahindra Malla. So when they thought it to be Mahindra Malla, they developed the story [...] Mahindra Malla is considered to be bad, we believed that. Bal Sharma when writing his history also quoted the same. The Prof Niraj Bhandari, when teaching history, quotes the same. All the historians, when talking about the *vamsavali*, even Wright, who wrote History of Nepal, when talking about these things, that was how this was introduced into our history, that to mint a coin, we had to go to Delhi to get permission. That is still the effect.
4. In 2017-18 I wrote a book, Nepali National Coins. Once I wrote that research was carried out. So in 2017-18 a coin was found. On the coin was written '*Kasthamandapasiyadipathi*'. So in all the coins Kasthamandap was mentioned. This was the issue of pride. Kasthamandap means, a temple of wood. Kasthamandap means, a form of *mandap*, an ancient form of architecture. '*Kasthamandapasiyadipathi*' means, the Kasthamandap '*adhipathi*', who? Sri Sri Sri, three Sris, Sri Sri Sri Mahendra, no Mahindra, Mahendra Malla Deva siya, in the reign of ... this coin was minted. The difference between Mahendra Malla and Mahindra Malla, Mahendra Malla was 50 years earlier, Mahindra Malla was 50 years later, king, king of Kathmandu. Both kings of Kathmandu. Mahendra Malla was the one who built Taleju. It was not Mahindra Malla who built Taleju. I researched this, I researched this myself. When you compare Mahendra Malla and Mahindra

Malla, what do the words mean? Mahendra Malla, 'Mahendra means God of Heaven'. Mahindra means the King of the Earth. This is just intangible, something you do not see. It is related to Kasthamandap. These two words make a difference.

5. And another thing, foreigners, *rishimunis*, Kathmandu's cultural orbit. Cultural orbit means from Bhadrinath, Kedari to the Himalayan Range. Now we have a lot of disputes on the boundaries. There was between China and India. Between India and Pakistan there obviously is. Earlier, it was not like that. The cultural orbit was not like that. [...] Those living below the Himalayan Range, from Bhadrinath and Kedarnath to Muktinath, after Muktinath comes Pashupatinath. Between all the people there was friendship, everyone got along, there was no disputes. Any person can go to any place in India. So from India, anyone could come here. Like we go to Chardham: Bhadrinath, Kedarnath, Rameshwor and Jaganath, even now we go, we do not need a pass, for Nepalis. When that was so, at the time it was very nice. Now we say this is my land and I will not leave it for even a moment. This is mine. This is not yours. This is how disputes begin. We are people who never fight, but we have begun to fight. There are border blockades (*nakabandi*). Why are there border blockades, do they have to block our borders? That is what they do, forgetting the things of the past. At the time, all those living in the foothills of the Himalayas, they call it *tapoban*. Have you read Kalidasa? [...] The *tapoban* of the mountains, this is where the rishis meditated. Where do the gods come from? They always say from the mountains. If you ask the important rishi where they belong to, he says from below the mountains, *tapoban*. That is the origin of culture. *Himbatsanskriti*. It is that kind of country. In the shadows of that kind of country, the tallest in the world, Sagarmatha, below which is the Kathmandu Valley, of which the heart is Kasthamandap. This is the oldest link, the oldest story. What more do you need? [...]
6. Intangible heritage, the festivals, the Navadurga festival, all the festivals of Kathmandu, they have to visit numerous places and they come to Hanumandhoka, during the Pachali Jatra, when the King, now we must say Head of State, for example to hand over the sword. When the Head of State visits, there is such a lot of security, but that is not so during cultural events, because everyone accepts the Head of State. That is what this place is like, the centre point. That is the main thing, it is the centre point.
7. In respect to the temple, the story that it was built using the wood of a single tree, that should not be highlighted. It is fine to say that is built of wood. This can be questioned. That it was brought during the reign of the King. That was something that took place much later, during the reign of Narasingh Malla. That was introduced later, it cannot be possible. Once can mention that such stories can also be heard. [...] In any case, Kasthamandap takes on the form of being in the centre. That is linked to the stories of how Kathmandu was built during the reign of Gunakamdeva. How Lalitpur was built. How Bhaktapur was built. Kathmandu, in what

shape was it built, in the form of a shell or a sword? That is mentioned in the *vamsavali*. That is OK.

8. One main point is, the town planning at the time. The town planning today is scientific. The town planning at the time was not scientific. The town, for security, in the four directions, the *astramatrika*, gods and goddesses, like Kanka Ajima were placed, that defined the urban area. In the town area before the urban area, these areas were reserved for gods [...]. To protect the place. In various places, by digging holes, various doors, at the gates, swords were kept. People could enter until this time and could leave until this time. After that they could not leave. In Newari there is a saying: '*Dhokamachaubelley bun wonihathya*' which means, at the time, all those who worked on the fields, let's say in Kathmandu, there are the Jyapus of Kathmandu, they stay in the city area. Only now they have started to live outside. They all used to live within the city. '*Dhokamachaubelley bun wonihathya*' means, 'the main gate has not even been opened, why are you hurrying so much to get to the fields?' Look how nice it was at the time. It would open exactly on time and in the evening it would be shut exactly on time, so afterwards no one could enter. Security. This was how town planning was done. The gods and goddesses were placed around for security, for protection, as guardians. This is intangible culture. But related with it. Some of these things are still there.

When we relate it to Kasthamandap, Astramatrika were placed on the borders.

9. *Astramatrika* were placed along the border line. Kasthamandap was in the centre.

So you are also saying in the larger regional context, linked to resilience, that Kasthamandap is in the centre point of Kathmandu. In respect to Mahindra Malla, importance of royal relations.

10. This is linked to the temple. Hanumandhoka is also related to this. Kasthamandap is located there. There is a water-clock there. It tells the *seit*, people are born, people die, they can go to there and look at the clock and calculate, and they can give the *seit* (auspicious day). They did that at a time when there was no watches. That is the water-clock, which means, they made a whole in a water container. There are markings, which then one can measure how much water has flowed out. The measuring of time also took place in the centre. This is all intangible.

In respect to Kasthamandap, what is the relationship to Hanumandhoka?

11. That would be the hinterland. What is surrounding it, would be its hinterland. Hinterland means, supporting area. Just having a temple did not make any sense. People were needed, to utilise it, musicians were needed. In the evenings, music is played there. *Jogis* used to stay, also known as *kusle*. [...] There is also Pratap Malla's palace, Nasadeu, or Kabindrapur. [...] That is where the music is played. That is all related.

There are so many sattals in that square, which means it is a centre point for cultural activities.

12. They had to teach dance, songs, music, so they had to go to Kabindrapur.
13. Another thing with festivals in Hanumandhoka, there is the Nasadeu festival, in the Nasal Chowk. Even during the Malla Period it was an important location, during Pratap Malla's reign. Even now there are the lion, Narasingh, that big statue. The more you look, the better it gets. Such as the Kalbhairav, it is the same hinterland.
14. So Kasthamandap was made the centre. So once it was made the centre, all these things were brought there. So even the dance and songs are brought there, around there. The main thing is, even for example Devinach of Kilagal. The people from Ason perform their dance there. [...] Whatever, there are three or four such dances. Such things are intangible heritage. If you elaborate on it like this, ...

May I ask a question? What is your memory of Kasthamandap.

15. I lived in Patan.

Even when we live in Patan, did we know about Kasthamandap at the time?

16. There was no custom of researching at the time.

When we talk about Bhaktapur, we immediately think of the five-tiered temple. It signifies Bhaktapur. In respect to Kathmandu, did the people of Patan when thinking of Kathmandu relate to the Kasthamandap? Now it is more accessible, but in the past people did not really travel to Kathmandu. Even my father used to say that. It was seldom necessary to go. Was the link of Kasthamandap to the identity of Kathmandu there at the time? Or is it a newly created identity?

17. The old one is spiritual. All the learned people used to come and stay there. As I was saying they stayed here and visited Pashupati, visited the three cities, and other places. [...] There are actually Nepalis outside the valley who are rich. For example, there are people from various places like in Bardiya. When those people came to Kathmandu, they have to cook rice and eat at Sorekutte Pati, there was no place to stay. Even if they are visiting relatives, the houses usually did not have enough place to put them up. There were no houses for visitors. They had enough place for themselves to stay. Now what to do? The Sorekutte at Rani Pokhari is not there anymore. There was one in Thamel, it is not there. There is only the name. All the people who came from the west stayed there and cooked their rice. Those who came from the east would stay at the Naxal Sorekutte. All the Tibetans and the Mahajans, carrying pouches of money, earned from selling things, they did not have notes (paper money) at the time. They all stayed at the Sorekutte. That is what it was like at the time.

18. At the time all the educated and learned people used to stay overnight in this places (the Kasthamandap), that is why Gorakhnath is there, the philosophy of Gorakhnath was introduced. The Nath Sampradaya, [...] The Nath community means Matsyendranath, Seto Matsyendranath, in Patan the Rato Matsyendranath, Matsyendranath of Nala and Matsyendranath of Chobar, these are all Nath. Nath, was like what Sai Baba is now. People believe in Sai Baba now, just like that, they were also people. The same way as they honour Sai Baba, at the time they were also humans like us. He was a philosopher, spiritual leader, chariot festival was carried out in his honour. So when other philosophers came to visit him, where would they stay? They would not stay in the various *sorekutte patis*. They stayed in other locations where they established Gorakhnath temples, placing gods in various locations and lived in the same manner as in the past, for which they brought their servants, some came with swords, others with umbrellas. Based on the importance of that place, it is special, that is a spiritual place, and why Gorakhnath should not be missed while talking (about Kasthamandap). Not of other gods, but of Gorakhnath.

19. In the newer context, you have Anjali-*didi*. As a new development, for those who do not have brothers, they come and do Bhai-puja to her. That is a new development.

What are your thoughts on this?

20. She did it as per the times. She did it. It is OK. There is such change that takes place. New things are introduced. But that is the place where Jogis came and stayed there, the most important is the spiritual significance of the place. I even remember, it has been a long time since they were removed, Kusle do not have houses. They stay in such patis. Even here in Patan, all of them do not have houses and stay in such *sattals*. Even now they do not have houses. The *sattal* of Bhimsenthan for example, they stay in such places. They do not have their own houses. When you observe them, even their rituals (puja path) are linked to *diksha karma*, all philosophy, philosophy. That is of the Nath Sampradaya. That is why the spiritual, religious, political, social, need to be recorded. This is all intangible. Related. [...]

You have also written in the book Nepal National Coins.

21. Yes that was my research paper. You cannot get the book, but I have a copy if you want to see it. Some day. You cannot get it now. [...] You can get a photocopy if you need it. [...]

After the earthquake, when reconstructing, when working on Kasthamandap, you mentioned intangible, we are promoting traditional technique, we need to safeguard the traditional things, and we are working along those lines. What do you think of the present reconstruction that is going on? You have also possibly heard in the news.

22. That is not my expertise. [...]

Interview C2

7 June 2020 (video recording in Nepali)

Namaste dai, please give your introduction

1. [...] I stay at Chikamugal Tole, my house is there. It is in Ward 20 Chikamugal.

During the 2015 earthquake, was there any destruction caused to you property or family?

2. What happened during the earthquake at Kasthamandap, was that I had been called to the blood donation event. I have a small printing press. It is in Ward 23, in Bode Galli, that is what the neighbourhood is called. Since it was a Saturday, I had not called my staff. I was alone in the old buildings with five bays of doors, of the shop. Thinking that my friends would get angry, I decided I needed to go and meet them. It was five minutes to 12. From there I got to the Kasthamandap. Luckily, since my shop was totally destroyed. I got the Kasthamandap and thought let me go and see the blood donation, so I went in.

So when the earthquake struck, you were inside the Kasthamandap?

3. Yes, I was inside.

What did you see? What did you do?

4. I went in, thinking of looking at the blood donation. I took out my mobile phone, and was going to take photos of my friend's daughters who were donating blood. I took out my phone. The person who stays at the Gorakhnath shrine is also my friend's son-in-law. He said, 'Dai, Namaste'. I said Namaste to him and moved forward. I shook his hand. As I shook his hands, there were suddenly loud noises, *ghar-ghur* (noises). 'It feels like there is an earthquake', I said. I had hardly let go of his hand, when I saw the timber post shaking. As soon as I saw it shaking, I said, 'Bai, we should not stay here'. 'Let's get out', I said. He went around the Gorakhnath towards the back. I forcefully moved towards the side of Singhasattal, running, with all my strength, I ran. I had not yet reached outside when some ten – twelve people ran inside. Warrrra they entered. When I still had three to four steps remaining, it collapsed, Kasthamandap collapsed. When the entire structure dropped, because I was near the side, the wind that was created threw me forward and I hit the metal sheet fencing that had been erected for the restoration of Kasthamandap. Then I saw everything turn dark (black). When everything went dark, I had the feeling that something strange has taken place. It was totally dark, totally black. After a moment, I got up from where I had fallen. I tried to walk, but I bumped into a motorcycle on the road and fell over again. When I fell I thought I should not go anywhere, so I stayed there, standing. So the dust slowly started to settle, and things became bright again.

5. As I was trying to figure out what had just happened, I looked toward the Kasthamandap, I turned around and looked. When I looked, all the post, they were all flat, as if a bulldozer had flattened them. Something strange has taken place. 'What might have happened to my house', I thought. So I ran toward my house. I ran towards my house. My family had moved out onto the chowk. I had seen the daughter of my friend, he lives behind my house, who had been caught in it. 'What happened? What happened?' they asked. 'Wait, Wait!' I could not yet talk. So I went, I went to inform them. I went to the chowk, her name was [...], then I met her father, and said that [...] had been caught in it, in the Kasthamandap. Thinking of that I came running. Kasthamandap had been totally destroyed. So we decided we must look for her. There were four or five of us.

6. As we started digging we saw a woman's hair. 'We found someone', we said, 'you all must come and help'. As we said this, everyone came and dug her out and place her on the ground near Nasadeu. Once we had placed her there, now how are we going to take her, we thought. At the time someone with a Pulsar (motorbike), I forgot who that was. He came with his bike. 'Bai, you must take her, stop here', we said. He stopped. 'Ok, take her to the hospital', we said, but no one had the courage. 'Ok, so I will take her', I said and sat on the back of the motorbike. I asked them to carry her and put her on my lap. No one had the courage to do that either. So I scolded them. '*Sala gadha-haru*, (swearing) at such a time, did you come to watch the chaos? Can you not even lift her on my lap?' I said. Then they helped lift her. 'OK, so from which side should I go?' All the roads were blocked. By the time we got to the Mahadev Parvati temple a soldier told us that all the roads were blocked. 'Go from the Hanuman shrine, along the edges there', he said. So we then got to Makhan. '*Dai*, how shall we go?' We saw the blockage of people, all the people had come out on the street. I told him to horn. When we kept horning, the people made way for us. We then got to Indra Chowk. The horn stopped functioning. 'The horn is broken, *dai*', he said. The horn broke. So I told him to press the accelerator (revved the engine). So when he revved the engine, people made way. We then got to New Road Gate. There, there was a jam of cars. People had stopped their cars, out of fear they had stopped their cars and were sitting inside their cars. '*Dai*, so how shall we continue', he said. I told him to drive close to the sidewalk. So that is how I took her to Bir Hospital.

7. They had brought three to four others by that time. The doctors and nurses, they all came. While they were checking, another big tremor occurred. It was twenty minutes afterwards. That means it took us 20 minutes to bring her from here to there. Then the nurses and doctors, they all ran away. I was alone, so I had to consider my own safety as well, so I ran away from there, leaving her there. I went and sat at the Khula-Manch (open ground). While sitting at the Khula-Manch, the Bir Hospital, such an enormous Bir Hospital, was shaking. I could not sit, nor could I stand. The earthquake did not stop. Then the nurses and doctors, they were all coming to the Khula-Manch. The young nurses, some were crying, some ten to twelve I found

unconscious there. The sick were coming out towards the Khula-Manch on their own. After sitting there for a long time, the mobile phone was not functioning, I had to go home, so I left that place. I then went to see the patient I had brought, one more time. I entered the Bir Hospital. The big room where we register, there were, what should I say, corpses, some had died, some were alive. There was no light. So with the light of my mobile, when I looked around, I could not recognize the person who I had brought. So I left her and came towards my house. Her blood had already clotted. While taking her, on the road, I had asked her name. When I asked, '*Baini*, what is your name?' She kept repeating, '[...], [...]' So, I left [...] and came back to my house.

8. So the next day, considering that I needed to do social service, since no work was going to be done if I stayed home, I helped move bricks and wood. I came and did this for three to four days. So while helping, what happened was, we had tied one of the big posts, gathering all our friends, as we dragged it, I was in the back, there was a tap, a hole where there was a tap to open the water, and my foot got caught in the hole. The next day I did not come here anymore. That is all I can say.
9. With my shop, if I had been there, would it have collapsed with me inside? I cannot say. God saved me. Of the five bay, there was a central post in my shop which collapsed. The five bay door was bent and all of the doors were stuck. Inside, I had equipment worth lakhs - I have a small printing press – the loss was worth lakhs. I had to move it somewhere else. I had a loss of lakhs of rupees. For a whole year I could not do any work.

Have you rebuilt the house where the printing press was located?

10. I have demolished the old one and have built a new house. I have shifted my press to Ward number 20.

You said your friend's daughter had caught in the collapse.

11. I was not involved, and do not know who dug her out, but I heard that they found her in the hospital.

Before the earthquake, since you live near Kasthamandap, did you visit Kasthamandap daily?

12. When I get up in the morning, for my morning walk - there are four Ganesh inside Kasthamandap – I pay homage to them, I then pay homage to Gorakhnath in the centre, and then there is a pole made of *mas* (type of wood), - when one has back pain, as our elders say, you rub your back on it - sometimes I also go around there. I then go around to the Ganesh, and then walk around Makhan. Sometime I end up here or there. But before paying homage to Ganesh, I do not go anywhere. During my morning walk.
13. After the earthquake you were involved in moving things from here, such as the wood, and since the Ganesh and the Gorakhnath have been moved

inside (the palace), since after the earthquake, do you still regularly visit Kasthamandap?

14. I come here regularly, but do not go inside. After the earthquake people said not to stay in my house. At the time my mother was still alive. People stayed outside, like here and in Basantapur, some went to Mahadevthan, but I could not get my mother out of the house. 'Ok, all of you go'. That same day, at ten in the evening, we went out, to stay outside. We had to listen to everyone's suggestions. We could not convince my mother. We left my mother in the house and left, but all the places were full, we could not find any place to stay. We then got to Makhan, where the Makhan club was feeding people, and had arranged a place for people to stay. I met a friend there. 'Stay here, I will arrange a place', he said. My daughter was also here, and she also met a friend, and there was talk of staying here. So my wife, she also said, 'OK then let us stay here'. As we sat there, we were already hungry, the Makhan Club was also feeding everyone tasty rice. They were cooking minced meat and rice and feeding everyone. So everyone said, let us eat, so we decided to eat. We ate the rice. We were sitting there, and at night it started raining. When it started raining, so where were we to stay? The small tent was no sufficient. So from the club we got them to open the Tamrakar House, and we stayed there. But after a while the cold began to creep in from the marble flooring. So once we felt the cold, we decided not to stay there and go back home. If we are to die, then we will die at home. From there at 2 o'clock we went home. We went home and slept peacefully.
15. The next morning, there are continuous phone calls. We decided, this was not going to work. So at 11, after eating our rice, we told my mother, 'let's go'. I held my mother's hand and – I was afraid to walk along the Chikamugal (Guachemu) *galli* (alley), it is all gullies and I was afraid, to I took my mother slowly from Manjushri to Jhochhen, and from there we went to stay at Basantapur. I went to Basantapur protecting my mother with an umbrella. So we will stay here. Some say that there will be another earthquake, while others say it will not. We stayed there. OK, so we decided to stay there for one night. The curios stalls, they use these wooden planks, so all the planks were laid out on the square. So we also went and sat on the planks. So we will be spending the night here. So we sat there. We needed an umbrella, since the sun was really strong, we needed an umbrella. So I went towards Jhochhen to find an umbrella. I got one and returned. I left my mother in one place under an umbrella with her niece, and I started walking around. So around two o'clock, the Nine-storey Palace, the top part had already collapsed, again more started to collapse. When it collapsed there was fear. It again shook. No this was not going to do, staying here was also not good. But then instead of stressing, we decided it would be best to stay there and not move anywhere else. 'So, let us go home and get our bedding', I said. So we remained there until the tremors seemed to stop and at around 4 we got home. So we came home. Whatever there was to eat, *chhura* (dried beaten rice), *daltho* (spicy

snack), whatever there was to eat, vegetables. We packed it all up. We, husband and wife came, leaving my mother and daughter there. We brought the blankets and things. Plastic (sheeting). So we stayed there. Had our snacks. We stayed there. It was around seven. At around seven it started to rain. It was seven or something like that, in any case it started raining. It was seven or eight. Well, it started raining. So what were we to do? So spreading the plastic over the two umbrellas, and getting my mother to stay in the middle on the planking. But the plastic had a hole and water leaked, wetting the blanket.

16. Once the blanket got wet, what to do now? We could stay there with a wet blanket. So if we die, we die at home, so we go home. So at around 8 or 8:30, - my wife and my daughter said that if we die, we die at home, why stay in a place like this – the two of them started walking back, taking one umbrella. My mother was sick, she could not walk. 'Mother, walk, let us also go home, it is raining', I said. She said I should go and she would follow slowly. But I could not leave my mother. 'No mother, I will carry you back', I told her. I carried her – it had been a long time since she was sick, her body possibly pained – as I carried her, she exclaimed 'Aya-baba', and she jumped down. Now what to do. I had to take her back. OK, so I held her hand and slowly walked back, I took this same road, passed Kasthamandap. It was pitch dark. So many people had died here, even at 8:30, I was scared. It was dark and I could not see anything. It had rained so all the potholes had filled with water. Whenever one step into such a pothole, one got a fright. One could not see anything. So, slowly, taking my mother from Basantapur to my house, it took me 45 minutes. Resting, resting in between, I took her home. In the end we slept at home. The next day even though everyone was complaining, we did not go to sleep outside.
17. When later, in the month of Jesth (May), another one occurred. My son had gone to Pokhara, and he had brought two trekking tents from Pokhara. If an earthquake occurred, to sleep outside. My son had also complained. So when in the month of Jesth, I do not remember what day, it was 2nd or 3rd, the 2nd or 3rd. At that time we went to stay at the Shanti Nikunja School for two nights. We pitched our tent and stayed there. Even when we stayed in the tents, on the ground, it was dirty. At the school, it had a tin roof. The tremors kept coming, and the tin roof kept making noises, scaring us constantly. We could not sleep all night. We then returned home and slept at home. All together we stayed out for two nights. 1 day we went to stay at Jaisidegal. Two, three nights only, we stayed out. But our house was not damaged, because on this side and that side, on three sides there is support. Only on the south side there is no support. There was no damage. Later, on the ground floor, there was a person staying on rent. After he left, we saw that the plaster there was slightly cracked, on the ceiling, no the floor. But damage, my shop was damaged, that is all.

Before the earthquake, you used to come here regularly, to pay homage to the Ganesh shrines and Gorakhnath. Do you have any other relationship with the Kasthamandap, say linked to any Guthis?

18. The Kasthamandap is a temple with four Ganesh. Not linked to any *guthi*, but since my grandfather's times, we have been paying homage here. There is the Kariya Binayak, Suriya Binayak, Ashok Binayak, Jal Binayak, we used to come to *dhokni* (bow) to the four Ganesh. I come and bowed to the four Ganesh. In the centre is the Gorakhnath shrine. I bow to the shrine. This is Mahadev, as related in stories. Therefore, even after the earthquake, and the destruction, we come by and bow, that is still going on. We come here regularly.

You saw Kasthamandap collapse, your personal experience. Now you see it being rebuilt. What do you think of it being rebuilt, and once it is rebuilt, what do you think Kasthamandap will be like?

19. It is being built. About half of it has been completed. We saw it collapse, and we see it being rebuilt. Once it is rebuilt, how good will it be? It is a question of pride. We used to think, when we were small, how did they possibly build such a huge temple? Now, we see it right in front of our eyes. It really is something to be happy about. We still have to wait to see it once it is completed. About half of it has been completed now. I believe it will be quite good.

Afterward, do you believe you will come here regularly?

20. I have to keep coming, it is something we have been doing since the time of my grandfather. There is a history expert who explained the reason for the collapse of the Kasthamandap, he had told me. During the reign of Mahendra, they had restored the monument that was when Mahendra was king. When they were restoring, the timber pegs that were used, they had supposedly destroyed all of them. He told me that. Is it now being rebuilt using the same timber pegs (lock system), or not? If they have used the timber pegs.... the reason why it did not collapse during the 1934 earthquake was because of this. When King Mahendra restored the building, all the timber pegs were supposedly destroyed. It was because these were destroyed, that the monument collapsed, this is what this certain expert told me. Now that it is being rebuilt, is it being done using the timber peg system, or not? Those people involved in rebuilding probably know. I am just saying something that I had heard.

We are working on the reconstruction, as far as possible we are doing so using the old systems. For example we are rebuilding using mud mortar. Even that which might have in the meantime been badly built, we believe it needed to be rebuilt in an appropriate manner. Once completed, it should return to its original form. You should be happy then.

21. I am very happy. I got the opportunity to see it collapse. I am seeing it being rebuilt. Once it is completed, it will be even better, I believe. I am happy with this.

Interview C3

7 June 2020 (video recording in Nepali)

I will first ask the questions, and then please answer, but please just wait 2 seconds before answering. It will make editing easier later. Could you please provide us with a short introduction of yourself?

1. [...] I was born and brought up here in Maru. This is my place of birth. [...] I have lived here since I was a child. [...]. That is my introduction. For social work, I am involved with blood donations. [...]

During the 2015 earthquake a lot of damaged was caused throughout the country. Was any of your family or property damaged?

2. Of course, what happens to the country will affect the family and property. However, during an earthquake, one always has the feeling of having to save oneself and then save others. The earthquake surely had a bad impact.

During the earthquake where were you?

3. On that day, it was a Saturday, and as I said, every Saturday I go to pay homage to the Baglamukhi Mahadev. At the time, with my family, we had reach Baglamukhi. What had happened that day, our organization, Nimbus, had planned to do a blood donation. The entire work was being organized by me. The blood camp should have started at 9. So that day I got up at 6:30 or 7, went to pay homage to Baglamukhi, then I dropped my wife off at home, and thinking I have to get to the blood camp, I had already arrived here at 8 or 8:30. After making all the entire management, where to put the beds, after arranging everything. The blood donation began on time. The blood donor kept coming and going and we were busy arranging things. At around 11:50, or 11:45, the blood was full. If we keep the blood there, then it goes bad, so then I told the driver he should take his snacks, since I am not sure what time it will be, and whether we would meet.

4. I returned and sat down. From the Red Cross there was a *baini*, [...]. Her work was to measure the blood pressure of the blood donors, and at the time there were already fewer donors coming. I told her that today we might have to close a bit earlier. There does not seem to be too many more. 'OK dai', she said. She and I were sitting there together. We were sitting there, maybe for 3 to 4 minutes, I got a feeling as if something was shaking. What was that, I did not know. Suddenly I thought this could be an earthquake and ran out. The Singhasattal was being restored at the time. It was fenced in with tin sheets, and I ran in that direction. It was already full of dust. Now the Kasthamandap will bury me, what shall I do? I thought. In the meantime it had happened.

5. As soon as that happened, ... before that I have to say something. A husband and a wife were donating blood. [...] and his wife, who works at [...], he said we have to take a photograph and he took a photo. This will be

historical, I said. He had not been able to run out... while I got out and distanced myself. After that... at the time, at the blood bank, some was injured and came out. ... a biker who was trying to take him, did not make it and brought him back. I then took him up to Basantapur. I got someone to take responsibility, since I had all my friends in there. After that I do not know what happened to me. The phone did not work. I survived, but my family, where they are, how they are, I did not know anything. I call home and it does not ring. I did not know what to do., I had not eaten since the morning. The hunger had already What to do. Where are my sons? I called around, and a friend's phone connected, who told me everything is OK at home. I felt relieved. I did not know where my elder son was. I was told he was at the British Embassy, the British Library. I felt relieved. Now what to do, my friends were caught in there. I myself was like this, I panicked. Everyone thought Bishnu had gone. [...] I did not get around to picking up my phone. That is what happened there.

6. Even though I live here, because my house is old, I live in Tachal. As soon as this happened, I helped with a bit of rescuing, but I could not do it fully, because... it was like my second life, I did not know what was going on, I could not even think. At the time my motorbike was parked right there. It was not even slightly scratched. I thought my bike might get buried, so I took my bike. 'Now I have to go home', I said, and went home. I am also a member of the Tole Sudhar Samiti (Neighbourhood Maintenance Committee). There, because of the earthquake, the people were out... luckily nothing... people had donated meals, and I ate something. At the same time, my bother-in-law, he was buried by the Dasavatar Temple... he was lost, and no one knew. My *baini* is in Italy and she called. She said she saw a corpse on TV that looked like our brother-in-law, and only then did I go there. All this was happening, a dream that one cannot talk about. From there... the story was like that. The next day, we had to clean up, and we all gathered, there were various groups, students also came. We helped carry wooden pieces. We started cleaning up. We continued working, piling things up. Also the lion, I told them where to put it, I arranged it [long pause].
7. Then, there were also people who were saying that we must rebuild the Kasthamandap. The Kasthamandap Purna Abhyan, was formed, I can add this, no? Then the Kasthamandap Purna Abhyan came. They asked whether to build it or what? No, they said that they will ask money from everyone, and then build it. Who will give money? Let's not say who they were, but we asked, 'if there is not enough money, can you donate?' We raised the question. 'No, everyone will pay.' 'The government is collecting money, why should we? Let us do the work correctly. Let us contribute by working. I will also donate my time'. Later they said, 'it will be built under our supervision.' 'Our mission is also not yet final, but it about to happen'. I also discussed the Kasthamandap at the Department of Archaeology. I told Bhesh Narayan Dahal that we need to be able to see the rebuilding of the Kasthamandap (pointing his finger). You are not allowed to do it through

Rebuild. 'Will we be able to see it?' I said. 'You surely will,' he said. But you know, in the end it worked out under Rajesh-dai's leadership, embracing everyone.

8. But what I would like to add to this is, like Kasthamandap, it is not something that you come and just build. The required wood, where is the wood? I went to Mahottari with Rajesh-dai. It does not happen as soon as you say it. I went there. As if the wood would be given just like that. There was a separate process. Forestry points to someone else, who points to someone else. If Rajesh-dai was not a Member of Parliament, this would not have been built. If they had given me the leadership, I would not be able to build it. He, however, used all this connections and influence. The first time I went to get wood, I have gone three to four times, but the first time I went, we went to the jungle. If you have to see the difficulties... 'Go to the forest and bring the wood.' It is easy for people to say. But I went there as a friend, and what I had to experience, to the wood. You do not get specific sizes of wood. The length and sizes we needed here, they are not ready-made sizes. You do not just get such wood. There, there is a different contractor to cut the wood, someone else is responsible for the wood; it is complicated. Luckily, Rajesh-dai tackled it. The four large posts, if it was someone else, you would not have need to hope to get it. If it was from the contractor, they would have probably given it by joining different pieces. But we went there, investigated, explained to everyone what we needed, and we managed to bring it to this level. This in itself is a great achievement. I am also over fifty, I first thought I would not be able to see Kasthamandap being rebuilt, but now I can proudly stick out my chest and say Kasthamandap will be rebuilt. Once it is rebuilt I wish to again organize a blood donation camp there, in memory. I will organize this blood donation, however possible and show everyone.
9. On April 25, 2015, I was managing things for the blood donation camp. The main organizer was Nimbus Cooperative Organization. It was [...], it was [...] and I, who managed everything. Where to put what, where to put the donors. I did all that. It was supposed to start at 9, so I left to house already at 6. I had to go to the Banglamukhi temple, I went there with my wife, paid homage, I sent her home and, having to run the blood donation camp with [...], I came here, to get the blood donation camp started by 9, I arrived already at 8. I got everything ready. They came at 9. Blood donors also came continuously. We started with the blood donation. They are donating, coming and going. My friends, not knowing that an earthquake was going to occur, came and donated blood. Everything was going in a normal manner. So everything was OK. Suddenly, ... the blood box filled up. We cannot keep the blood here, we must send it. A car had come from the Red Cross. I told the drive that there might not be enough snacks and that he should take this. I gave him the snacks and sent him off. Right after that, there is the Red Cross staff who was deputed here, [...]-*didi*. I told her that 'most of the donors have already come and that it is just about done, we can leave

early, would that be OK *didi*.' She said, 'OK.' At the same time, there was [...], she is a staff of the blood bank. If I did not have to phone, ...

10. Before that, we did not talk, it used to be just 'hi, hallo'. She was also there. We talked. 'Everything is going well, you must always help us out', I said. I then went to [...] and sat down next to her. I told her we should stop early. It was around 11:50, 55, 56, whenever it was, I had the feeling that it shook. I did not know what it was, what was happening. I got out of there immediately. I really did not know. But in a moment, the Kasthamandap collapsed. Even then I thought Kasthamandap might bury me. They were restoring the Singhasattal, and there was a metal sheet fencing around it, I went and sat there. There as well, it kept shaking. That did not work, so I moved again over there. Later, the movement became less. For a moment I could not talk at all. What happened? How did this happen? There were so many people there. What happened? At the same time, [...] and his wife, husband and wife, I had taken their photo, saying it would be historic. I took his photo. He was sitting outside. He said his wife had died. A bone was protruding from his arm. I had no idea what to do for myself, for him. If he had not run out to get his son, both of them would have been caught, both husband and wife. Because their son was outside, that is what happened. From Kasthamandap I survived. Now what should I do? At the time some bairni from the Red Cross was injured. I do not remember her name. Her head was injured. I had to send her to hospital. At the time when such a huge earthquake took place, I had not realized. I told someone with a motorbike to take her to the hospital.
11. When he returned, I did not know what to do. I became helpless. Where should I go? I then went to Basantapur. It was full of people. Here everything was buried. I could not do anything. I could not think at all. At the same time I wondered what happened at home and called home, but the phone does not ring. I kept trying on my mobile, but it just does not go through. At last I got the news that everyone is safe at home, and that they were staying outside. But where was my older son? That became a big problem. He had gone to the British Library, so he was safe. Now, it was not going to do for me to stay here. I had to go home. What might be happening there? Because I could not stay here, we went to stay there. What might have happened there? Then I came from Basantapur, I looked around, and after feeling some relief, I got out my motorcycle. Nothing had happened to the motorcycle. Things had fallen and hit other motorcycles. I took it out and drove home. And then phones started coming, asking where I was. Everyone had thought I was buried under the Kasthamandap. I was organizing the blood donation. They were sure that [...] had gone, that is what everyone was saying. All my friends worried for me. I would like to thank them for this. That they showed me that much love

You saw the Kasthamandap collapse. You have also been involved in the reconstruction. You have been very involved with the Kasthamandap. How

closely were you involved with the monument before the earthquake? How regularly did you visit Kasthamandap?

12. I will start with that, surviving the Kasthamandap and will end with how I went to him, to meet Bhesh Narayan Dahal.
- That is already done. What were your childhood memories and how often did you visit the Kasthamandap?*
13. I will tell you a bit of the old history, and I can tell you about how it was with the activities. Shall I only say that? That is all. That should be enough.
- When did you come? How often did you come? Please just tell us that.*
14. Kasthamandap was the place where I grew up. I was born and brought up around here. As a child we used to play marbles here, play *khopi*, play cards, and climb around. Inside the Kasthamandap there is a *mass* plant, our mother used to say that if your stomach or back hurt, if you went around it three times, it would get better. In the morning, if you got up and without talking to anyone, you walked around it three time, then you would get better. We grew up here, around the Kasthamandap. We used to help with activities. Sometimes they would come to do illegal things. They had come once and we used to call the police. After five or six o'clock, they had come to do illegal things. We also made sure they were sent off. After that happened at the Kasthamandap, ... we have memories of growing up here. We are the ones that have said that the Kasthamandap needs to be rebuilt. We pushed for the Kasthamandap to be rebuilt. There was of course the Campaign. But from the neighbourhood, we also pushed for its reconstruction. The campaign was also there. In our neighbourhood, we also discussed how we should get it done. We should also make a team and go.
15. The Kasthamandap Reconstruction Committee, which was established by Rajesh-dai, I am also a member there. I also got involved. It is easy to stay outside and talk. You know once you go on the field. It is easy to say. I also helped. We first had to go and get wood. We had to go and look. When you go there, you do not get the size of wood that you need. You have to look for it. Even when you go to search, it is difficult for them to cut. It is difficult to cut a big tree and then bring it. It had to be lifted by two or three cranes and brought. In one truck, you cannot fit more than four pieces. The truck sinks, and the front is lifted, when it is loaded. If Rajesh-dai was not a Member of Parliament, then it would not have been possible to bring the wood. If a contractor would have said they would bring the wood, they could not have. I will even challenge them, anyone who says they can. All that Rajesh-dai did, others would not have been able to do it. Even if they had made me president, I could not do it. Even with money, it is not possible. People say they will do this and that, but they cannot do it. What was done under the leadership of Rajesh-dai, it is going on. Whoever works, people always complain about them, we know that. They keep doing that, but we do not care. They have said things about me, whatever they

say, but one has to go on the field and see. All the things Rajesh-ji has done, the soil test, the bricks, he has been working very hard. Everyone knows that. I happened to be in the team that went to look for wood. It is easy for those around to say things. But once you go to the field, on the spot, then you understand how things are. But now they say this and that. No. I am a witness. We went there four five times, in that heat, sweating, we staying in Mahottari. I went to Hetauda. People say things, but what I want to see is Kasthamandap being built.

16. Once Kasthamandap is fully built, I have to say this, once Kasthamandap is completed, I will organize a blood donation there. I will lead it. I am telling you this. For another five hundred years, nothing will happen to the Kasthamandap. Considering all the work that is being carried out under full supervision, there are probably few other sites like this. We have not seen any. The technical aspects are being supervised. I got involved and have a bit of idea concerning the wood, which I did not know before. Now Kasthamandap will stand for another five hundred years. This team will be mentioned in history, I am sure.

You grew up here, saw the Kasthamandap collapse and now you are involved in its reconstruction. What do you think in future we need to do to keep Kasthamandap safe?

17. Once the Kasthamandap has been completed, I believe a separate committee is required. A separate Kasthamandap Management Committee (Kasthamandap Byavasthapan Samiti). There should not be too many people. If there are too many people, then work does not get done. From the income from Kasthamandap, we could have a museum, or other source, we could have an income and would not need to beg from others. If we are self-sustainable. From time to time there needs to be maintenance. If there would have been maintenance done from time to time, it would possibly not have collapsed. But what happened was, everyone pointed at Kasthamandap, took money and did not do anything. Even a few months before the earthquake we had assumed that if there was an earthquake, it might collapse. I have evidence of that. My friend, a leader, he spoke about it. In what context was that mentioned? It was in respect to the Singhasattal, that this point was raised. Not like before, a separate fund, kept separate, with a committee, then Kasthamandap might remain as it is for five hundred years.

Other than your personal relationship with the Kasthamandap, are you connected to any guthis?

18. I am not connected to any guthis. It is because I am a local, I am connected. It is known worldwide. When they ask where I live, I say near the Kasthamandap. Through that I have the feeling that the world knows me. That is why the Kasthamandap, it is my own identity.

Interview C4

9 June 2020 (video recording in Nepali)

Please provide us with a short introduction of yourself.

1. [...] I stay here in Marutole. In respect to my profession, I used to have a shop, but now it does not exist.

The 2015 earthquake caused a lot of damage to property. Did any damage affect you personally or your family?

2. Fortunately, nothing like that happened. Not even within our community.

Where were you when the earthquake took place?

3. During the earthquake I was just here, in this narrow street. We were sitting there. We had just completed cleaning for Buddha Jayanti and had just sat down. It was on a Saturday. It was then that the earthquake occurred.

After the earthquake occurred, what was your first reaction?

4. First, we were all in that narrow street for the cleaning and we were arranging things. So, when the earthquake occurred, we panicked and were not sure where to go. We stayed in the narrow street. Then this temple collapsed, right in front of our eyes. As soon as the earthquake stopped, we ran out to find out what had happened. We first went to the front of Kasthamandap. There were also some children who were trapped there. We rescued them, got them out. Then we remembered that there was a blood donation going on there. So, we went over there.

After the earthquake occurred, then everyone came out to see what had happened, is that not so? Then immediately work began on removing the debris to rescue the people? How did the rescue work begin at Kasthamandap?

5. In the front things were covered with metal sheets and we could not see anything. In the front, on the eastern side. We did what we could, what our bodily strength could achieve. We did not have any equipment. That is all.

After that, did others with authority come? We else were involved? Did people from the authorities come? Who all were involved?

6. There were also those who were walking on the streets who got involved. We do not know of anyone coming from the authorities.

How long were you involved in the rescue activities here?

7. That entire day. Over there, there were many who were trapped under the timber beams, from the blood donation programme. Slowly, several people were removed from the rubble. Slowly they were removed, some just the bodies, and also others who had survived were removed.

Those who had been rescued, how were they taken to the appropriate location? What system was there? It was an emergency situation and we

were not prepared. As you rescued the people how was it dealt with? Did things just happen?

8. We would have to say that things just happened. We were busy with the rescuing. Those who were rescued, how other teams dealt with that, I do not know. We did as much as we could to remove people from the rubble. That is all.

So that was the first day, so were all the people rescued on the first day? Or did the rescue activities continue the following days?

9. The rescue activities continued on the following day and the day after that. There was no equipment to remove the timber beams. There were many people there helping, probably around a hundred people. The only equipment that was there was a chain-saw.

That arrived the first day?

10. Yes, that was brought the very first day. The big post that was cut, was with the chain saw. That was what had crushed a lot. That is one that got cut.

Who brought it?

11. I do not know. I do not know where it came from.

Afterwards the removal of bricks and timber elements also took place. After a few days salvaging of materials also took place. Were you involved in that?

12. Yes, we were also involved in that. We separated out the materials from different monuments, as far as we understood. Since it was something we kept seeing, we could make out which monument the pieces came from. The element from this temple we first put near the Shiva Parvati Temple, but once there was too much material there, it got moved inside the palace. Then there was from Majudega, this temple and Kasthamandap. We first separated out the elements. We first planned out where what would be stored, but once there was too much material, things got mixed up.

What is your relationship with the Kasthamandap? You explained how you got involved after the earthquake, but did you used to be a regular visitor before? What was your relationship with the Kasthamandap before the earthquake?

13. Before the earthquake we had a close relationship with the Kasthamandap, since we used to play there since we were children. To play at the Kasthamandap was a regular activity, since not a single day would pass without us going there to play.

With the earthquake there was the collapse of the Kasthamandap, but now it is being rebuilt. What do you think of the ongoing process?

14. It is good that it is being rebuilt, particularly since Kathmandu was named after Kasthamandap. However, now it will not be possible to say that it was built from the wood of a single tree, possibly.

After the earthquake, so the earthquake took place in 2015, it was only a few years later that it was possible to begin the reconstruction. Right after its collapse there were those who said it must be rebuilt immediately. Now that it is being rebuilt, what do you think of what is happening?

15. To talk about what is happening during its reconstruction, we also were involved in pushing for its reconstruction. We also helped in carrying the big wooden posts. Also, in erecting the main posts. We helped considering that this is our own. That is good.

You were able to participate in some of the reconstruction work. Could you describe how you felt when you were able to participate in these activities?

16. We joined these activities because of this feeling, that something had to be ours, that is why we participated.

After the earthquake you participated in the response. How do you feel about the process of reconstruction?

17. Kasthamandap is the place where we played, so after its collapse we clearly were concerned. In respect to the reconstruction, we were happy, including all the locals from the neighbourhood. When the big timber posts were brought, we used to go daily to see. The day when the pujas took place, and when the timber posts were carried here, we were happy that our old place was going to be rebuilt. Not only me, but all of us from this neighbourhood said that this must happened and we went there and carried the timber posts. We also participated in the puja there. We also joined in with the rituals (throwing rice *tika* or *acheta*). Then we came here. At the time they said only one post would be erected, but then we all got together and decide to erect all four of the main posts. So, walking by we observe how much work has been completed, what quality stone is there, what kind of bricks are being supplied, we observe all these things. We are also very happy that it is being rebuilt in traditional manner. We all approve that machines are not being used, so we know that it is being rebuilt as it used to be.

Once it is built, what do you thing will happen? What will your relationship with the Kasthamandap be in the future?

18. Our relationship is there also through our *guthis*. We have the Ta Chatan Guthi, which needs to cook *khir* (rice pudding) inside the Kasthamandap, belonging to the Tamrakar community. Due to that, we have a relationship, which will also exist in the future.

You are involved in the Ta Chatan Guthi?

19. That is an old *guthi*, and the Tamrakars are involved.

Thank you

Interview C5

9 June 2020 (video recording in Nepali)

1. I am [...]. Right in front of Kasthamandap, we have a Kajaghar (Restaurant).

Where were you during the earthquake?

2. During the earthquake I was here, at home.

You were near Kasthamandap.

3. I was near Kasthamandap, my house is near Kasthamandap, right here.

When the earthquake occurred, how did you react? What did you do?

4. When the earthquake occurred, at the time a younger brother had come to my place, who was staying two storeys further up. Initially I did not realize what was happening. Then understanding it was an earthquake, I hurriedly – as they keep teaching us – make sure you turn off the regulator, the MCBs, since a lot of damage can be caused by that. I then dealt with that. Then my younger brother who was staying two floors above, I tried to get him down immediately. We then stayed below for a while.

You then came towards Kasthamandap, or then what happened?

5. We came down. I then thought... then went to see around Kasthamandap. As soon as I came out here, I saw all the temples had collapsed. I then thought, at the Kasthamandap there was a blood donation that was going on. I heard that people had gotten buried there. So I went there in a hurry. Went there and people ... in front of me I saw one person buried there, being pressed down by the roof of the temple. Such large beams, we could not lift it ourselves, right away. I told one or two people to help. How many I told, but they are taking photos with their mobile phones, doing other things. I shouted at some, requesting them. We then did what we could. Slowly as we worked, we saved a few people, we dug them out. First, near my feet ... without checking on my house, hurriedly going there, I saw a person, who was alive. We tried to dig him out.

How long were you involved with rescue at the Kasthamandap? What all were you involved in?

6. We were not only involved in Kasthamandap, we did things all around here. Even a few days after the earthquake, after doing some rescue work, we also needed to look after the wood from the temples, the windows, the struts, that which can be reused. All the brothers from the neighbourhood looked after what we could. During the whole day we did that work and at night, we slept out here, to make sure things were not stolen. In the video, there is a green tent in the middle of the Kasthamandap. We stayed there. For the security around the temple, we stayed there for a month.

For a month? After how many days did you return home? What was it like?

7. We stayed for a month. We were going to go home but then on the ninth there was another one and due to this and that, it took a month. Doing this and that, some of us slept there inside at our brother's place. We did not come out much. There always was some work to do. The earthquake occurred, there is work, there are also many volunteers, what we did from this place; who can help with how much? Those without money did not need to give money, they could give whatever. At least they should for example give water to the volunteers. We also got involved in such work. Every day we also gave water and snacks to 500, 600 volunteers.

When you say we? Right after the earthquake, there was no organization that was set up. Is it a small club, or guthi, or how did it work, during the rescue period?
8. At the time of rescue, we had the idea that at least water should be given to those who are working here. Water is the most important thing. We first started with water, then slowly people brought food. Sometimes the brothers from here gave some food. We started this collection and decided to organize it and that is how we started feeding everyone.

So all the people from the neighbourhood got together?
9. So all the people from the neighbourhood got together.

That is how it got started?
10. Someone gave gas. Some came themselves. Others went home and did it. That is how.

You said that you have a shop here. You used to work in the shop. Before the earthquake, did you use to visit the Kasthamandap? What was it like?
11. With Kasthamandap, it already has been 34 years that I have been here. When I was a child it was also here, we used to go around the Kasthamandap.

Now that it is being rebuilt, what do you think? Did you also participate in it?
12. I did.

It is being rebuilt. How have you been contributing? And what do you think of the work that is going on?
13. It is being built well. In the beginning, I thought this might not be built. We started picking up the posts. One, and then two and then three, and then we had the feeling that it will get built. That is why I find it good.

It is being built. You have been seeing it. What do you have to say to that? What about the materials that were used? What about the lockdown?
14. The material that was used here, well, in other places where temples are being built, they use *bajra* (lime-surkhi, lime mixed with brick dust). But the *bajra* from the past, and the *bajra* from today: they are very different. This one was built with mud. The mud was not just from anywhere, it was built in

a good manner. Even during the lockdown, it was of course not only here, it was the times. I am very hopeful that it will be built. While it is being built, I find it good. Let us see, the faster it gets built, the better it is for us. It is, let us say, the people from Basantapur can say, 'Kasthamandap, such a big temple was rebuilt'. All the others are smaller ones. This is all wood. It is not like others that have brickwork to be constructed. I find it good that it is being built.

Thank you.

Interview C6

23 June 2020 (video recording in Nepali)

Namaste-dai, could you give us your short introduction?

1. I am [...], Marulache, resident of Bhimsenthan.

What do you do?

2. In 2058 [BS] I used to be working on a waste management project. In 2071, till Fagun/Chait I worked there. Then since 2072 I have worked in Bepar-bewasai.

In respect to the 2072 earthquake, we are trying to talk to you in respect to the Kasthamandap. I already know you were at the Kasthamandap during the earthquake. How did you get there, what was going on, and how did you plan the blood donation there at the Kasthamandap, if you could tell us about that?

3. If we are going to talk about the day of April 25th 2015, talking about that day, our bad luck or let us say misfortune, having been caught in it and having survived, do I call it luck? This topic, I cannot say this or that. On April 25th 2015, the blood donation campaign that was organized by the Nimbus Savings and Credit Cooperative, that is our organization. The blood donation on April 25th was the fourth or fifth time we set the date. The Red Cross organization that was at Brikuti Mandap, it was on April 25th ... they had given us the time of 8 or 9 and we were delayed. It got started at 9:30, quarter to ten. We had never thought that something like that would take place. At the time, all of you know, at the time it seemed to get cold. Because it felt cold, at the time I sat there with a bag and jacket. Moving around, I felt hot and took off my jacket. There I had cashew nuts. Since I had planned to go and meet my daughter the next day, I had bought cashew nuts which I had kept there.
4. In that, my *dais* of the organization, [...], our chief-sahib, and others we helped collect the blood donors, [...]-*dai*, we all, [...], we all worked there, other friends and *daju* (older brothers), there is [...], we all came early in the morning, arranged the place. Of the north, south, east, west, of the area, we had occupied a quarter of the southern section. At the time the *coolies* used to also sit there, where the *coolies* were sitting, we moved everyone out and cleaned it up. We took a quarter of the area, and were arranging things. Doctors, the nurses came. We arranged everything. For the doctor we called the people and the people came to donate. At the time they said it would be sunny, at the time we thought it was OK. We then donated blood. When it reached 50 pints... it was around quarter to, no half past, yes, sometime around half past that from blood donation Bhrikuti Mandap, they came to pick it up and we gave them the 50 pints. Those 50 pints were our value. While we continued giving. The *dais* were there, [...]-*dai*, [...]-*dai*, he was to look after the food. I was arranging, and other *dais*, checking

those who were coming to donate. Donating and coming, it continued like that. In arranging for food, there was also [...] *-dai*.

5. We were chatting. In the corner, next to the Gorakhnath shrine, where we had tied ropes, and we were sitting in the corner chatting. There it became hectic, coming and going. Then [...] *-dai* told [...] *-dai*, Ok, you should also donate blood. OK, it is coming to the end, we will also donate. We were talking like that. While we were talking, [...] *-dai* said, OK, now it is our turn. We are Newars, so we said it in Newari. [...] *-dai* said, OK [...], let us go, it is about to be twelve o'clock. I am going. I will not donate, otherwise they will complain at home. Ok [...] *-dai*, if that is so, let us go. So the two of us were in the corner. I also got up. He *wurrah* ran off. As soon as he ran, OK, what is going on, so I turned around to look and something hit me from the back. Once I got hit, I do not remember what happened. I fell, let us say.

6. Later when I gained consciousness, how many hours later, I did not know. When I gained consciousness, there were two *bainis* crying. Why are they crying, they are not even allowing me to sleep? I try to get up but cannot. I try to open my eyes, but I cannot. I try to talk but cannot. Things were in my face, I have no idea. The reason I could not open my eyes was because of the dust. I kept my eyes closed. I have no idea where I am. For two to three minutes kept still. Ah, this is what happened, I am here, and I *phonsi* [fell for it, got stuck] in a bad way. This is how I [have gotten caught]. Then, what was in my mouth, I eat. It was mud. How do I know what was there: mud and whatever? I ate it. Then I tried to check whether my voice would come back, and I talked. My voice returned, I could speak. The *bainis*, ... I thought at the time, maybe half an hour had passed I thought, overall. I did not hurry. The *bainis*, they were shouting I saw, two *bainis* from our cooperative. '*Mero babu, mero babu*', then they call the name of [...]. '*Dai, dai*', they say. '*Mummy, mummy*', they say. No one outside hears their voices. The two of them continue crying. They keep crying and shouting. There is only the noise of those two *bainis*. No one else could be heard.

7.  Ok, so I thought, eh, *dai* had run off like that. Did he survive or not? That is what I thought. A bit of my voice had returned. Now what to do? The shaking continued. I then realized that an earthquake had struck. I was going to die, or what was going to happen? But one thing, in one's life, people show off ... I am such a person ... I was just saying about dying. I will die. I do not want to live in this world. Even from home they give me tension. Also my own ... I do not want to live. My *dajus*, in such a world of lies, I do not want to stay, I want to die. I want to die. If I can, I will die. I kept saying that. All the time. Even at home, I wanted to die. I have my wife and my mother, but they keep complaining. At the time my mother's age was 81 to 82, now she is 86 to 87. My mother keeps complaining. It would cause me tension. When at the time things went black. At the time I remembered my mother, remembered them, and I wanted to live. How do I get out? How will they look after them if I go, who will look? With these feelings I had to live.

8. I am half a disabled person. My right side is weak. As you were asking what happened at the time of the earthquake, what I want to say, at the time, in 2072 [BS], more than others, God looked after us. It is certain that it was God. The reason is, one example, is me. The reason is, at the time when I was there, I 'took the name of god' many times. At the time I did shout. '*Dai*, save me as well', I shouted, '*dai, dai*'. They did not hear my voice. Next to the voices of the *bainis*, mine was nothing. They kept shouting. Others were moaning, '*aya, uh, aya, uh*', '*Aya, uh, aya uh*', they kept crying, the two *bainis*... there, what happened ... I thought, my friend, *dai*, ran, did he survive, or was he also get caught?
9. To survive, from here, how to move forward? I though, then for strength I prayed to Lord Hanuman, I prayed to Kalbhairav. Whenever I have troubles, the one I pray to, our Maru-Ganesh, I prayed to Lord Ganesh. There were five gods. Then in the end, Manakamana Mai. If you get me out of here, I will come and pay homage to you. At exactly that time some foreigner came, shouting 'Hallo, hallo'. I took the opportunity to shout, 'hallo, brother, brother', I said '*dai*, I am here'. As I was explaining, compared to the *bainis*, my voice was nothing. My voice was not loud. I do not know how many feet below I was. I did not know anything. I was unaware. But as I was talking, above, the *dai* who was saying 'hallo, hallo', afterwards I found out he was a foreigner. He was not an American. The reason being, how he talked and how I talked, the words were different. I thought he was French. It was not so, only later I found out he was Israeli. My *bhais*, my *sati-bhais*, they said he was an Israeli. I first thought he was French, since the words sounded like that. Because, I also ... he told me 'you continue, please, you continue talking', when he said one or two times, being excited or being scared, my voice, what happened is, I said '*lahkin, lahkin*' in Newari. When I talked in my language, he then talked in his. That is when I found out he was not American. He then started talking in English. We adjusted our language, his voice ... when he found out I was there, after talking once, outside there was a lot of noise. With that noise, once he shouted out loud.
10. All our *dais*, my *bhais* were outside, my *sati-bhais*, my *dais*, they were all working there for the rescue. Where I was, he was just above me. He then shouted 'Silence please! One people alive here down,' I heard him say. As soon as I heard him say that, again I took the opportunity to shout, 'please brother, I am down here, here down', I said. And then immediately he ... I knew ... his voice and my voice 'connected'. As soon as it 'connected', he shouted and others were quiet. Even more, immediately he ... What I was told later about the foreigner was, that when the earthquake [aftershocks] came, everyone ran away, but he stayed where he was standing, above me. What, how, in the beginning with his hands, however, he dug, with his and our voices... he said, 'please you are continue talking, because I hear your sound'. He was listening to my voice as he dug down. Through the means of your voice ... do not be scared, I am coming. He kept saying that

while he came. As he kept coming. As soon as there was anything, he asked me to talk. I also kept saying, 'I am here down, I am here down, please brother, please save me'. Only that. He kept saying the same. And then once or twice when that was happening to me, I could not move at all.

11. In what state I was in, we did not know, sorry, I did not know. There, he continued to come. My eyes are closed. My back is ... my head had started to hurt a lot. Something was squashing my head. I did not know. He kept coming. I said that something is squashing my head, it is a problem. He said, 'do not worry, I am coming', he said. It went on and on, he continued coming. As he came based on his and my voice, it took him maybe an hour. To get to me, he took an hour. And then he, he first got to my foot. And I said, 'ayah'. I said, 'please, you ...' call a Nepali to talk in Nepali. He then called, please a Nepali, it does not matter who. It was my luck that it was a *bhai* from my own *tole* (neighbourhood), I did not know. I did not recognize him, but later when I checked, it was a *bhai* from our *tole*. His name is [...]. He came and said '*dai*' and also talked. 'Bhai, this and this' and he said 'OK, *dai*, do not be scared, we are coming'.
12. Then as we continued talking in Nepali. Of the two, one of them got to my foot, and I said '*ayah*'. Then he said ... well, getting to my foot, so they had reached already. Getting to me he asked me whether he should get me water. It was the foreigner who continued talking with me. 'Water?' No, I do not need water now. He must have thought I needed oxygen. I asked what is doing that to me. My *bhai* told me that there is a timber post, a post, we need to get a dozer. At the time, for two three minutes I lost my hopes. They will bring a dozer and suddenly, even after surviving, I was going to die. I was going to die, I thought. He again, why is he not talking? 'Please you talk, please you talk', he said. He asked my *bhai*, and who explained. He then scolded him, is it the time to say dozer, say this? 'Do not worry, do not worry', he said, whatever it takes, I will get you out. *Dai*, do not be worried, I will get you out. He continued coming down [digging].
13. He brought water and gave it to me from below in a straw. How could I drink from a straw? It got into my nose. I moved my arms. My arm was in this position [pressed against my chest], and later they told me that the timber post had saved me from here to here [head to hip]. The same wooden post that hit me, I realized, had saved me. It is probably one of the biggest wooden post. That post covered me right up to here. Afterwards my *dais* told me this was the one. Later when I went to see, which means, one and a half to two months later when I got out, I went to see the place where the posts were kept. I assumed that it was that post. Which one, I do not know, but my *bhais* said it was. After getting out, the reason why I said there is a god is that my right arm is a bit weak. I had my bag. He asked whether I had my bag [backpack]. Yes I said I had kept my bag. What had saved me was a chair. It was a plastic chair that I was sitting on. It had covered me like this. The chair was protecting me like this and the timber post like this. He broke the chair. When the chair was broken, it felt like

around my head everything opened up. So when they were digging and it opened a bit, it was like a storm wind that came caused me great relief.

14. When they removed the earth [rubble], for me it was like a storm wind came, *wurrrrh*. And as he said ... and what I experienced, to put the bag on like this and to remove it, you need two hands. I felt as if I had done like this with my arm ... I know ... my bag. He said, shall I cut the bag. It was a new bag. It was like the one I am carrying now, it is below. It was the same bag. They cut the side. I found out later, a friend of mine, [...], he had kept the bag, that bag, one part was like this, and nothing had been done to the other part. It was because, when I was sleeping, the reason I said there is god, that is the reason. Then they, the two of them, they took everything out like this from the side. As soon as they cut my bag, it went down. In that bag was my jacket and things. Like this, when they cut the bag I slipped down. Then they took me out from below. They did not have to remove the timber post, they took me out from below, and my life, I am here with you.
15. Other than that, I do not know anything. That is what happened when I was inside. When I came out, as if a lion had come, I am a tiger, nothing can happen to a tiger, I took out my arm [waving] and come. When they took me out of there and in the hospital, there ... Basantapur, where you show the Dasavatar [temple], the car had been brought up to there. They took me up to there, then from there in the ambulance they took me to the trauma centre.

You had full consciousness when they got you out and they took you to hospital?

16. Yes, from then on everything .. those who did that, at that time, those who did that for us, stayed down and carried out rescue. Those who, even when they were taking me out, the *bainis* who were shouting, they were still shouting. But at the time, when they took me out, one of the *bainis* also was taken out. That *baini*, is also one person who survived. She said she had something with her spinal, she said something had happened to her spinal cord. That *baini*, she had come for her certificate. Her friend Bijay Manandhar, our own friend, he also lost his life. From our group, those we were called by Nimbus and had come, of the staff, one, two, three, four. Hmmm. four persons. Our member Rakesh Lal Shrestha, member of Nimbus, five, and others, from our Nimbus, eight to nine persons were lost [turned, meaning died]. Staff, friends also died. *Daju*, friends, old friends, who helped in our work, when they died, for me ... I had to suffer the loss, such genuine *daju*, friends had to die. There was no one as adjusting and helpful people like them.
17. I suffered a lot. Even to remember that day, it used to be like that. But having to talk about it today, for a year, it was a problem. I did not say anything to anyone. For an entire year I kept remembering that. Wherever I sat, I felt as if I was buried. Even when staying alone, quietly. I then would startle. That also happened to me. And then, how I got my life, how when I was below, I prayed went to pay homage to all the gods. In the final

moments, I also went to Manakamana to say that I have come. This is how I ... when I stayed at home I understood, in the year 2072 [BS] a lot of that happened, but wherever, whosever story I hear, I tell them this, that god saved us. All the buildings and temples, when that happened, not that much destruction happened to the people. A lot of what happened, happened, but as much as should have happened, that could not happen, because the lord held it up on the shoulders. You have also possibly thought of this. At the time ... I keep saying, the lord, truthfully, the lord exists.

There are other things to ask you. After that you recovered slowly.

18. Recover, when you say recover ... actually, individually I had problems. The doctors, our doctors from Nepal, what shall I say, a mistake. When, one to two hours after getting out of there, my arms and legs, my body, my face, it all swelled up. My eyes. Till then, as soon as they took me there, they gave me saline, but then later it did not work because my arms were all swollen. Because they gave me immediately, there were four or five saline that went in half an hour, then after that the saline did not work, you could not see the veins. At that time it became difficult. Later my arms and legs became swollen, but I was alive. Also on my head they ... something happened on the head. They only looked in two places. They said as if nothing had really happened, is what they thought. But individually what had happened was on my spine, number 1, there was a crack. Because what they did ... it did hurt me, even at home ... what they said was that they would put me on 'green signal'. Someone like me, whatever happens was acceptable. Where is your house? I am from Kathmandu. Ah, you are from nearby. You are like this. Yes, I looked, all our Nepali *daju-bhais* were brought and could be seen lying on the ground. I felt as if I was OK. But at the time it hurt me. I could not move. When looking at me, my body seemed to be all OK, from the outside. My head, it seemed as if something had only happened in one place. It was in two places. How we found out that it was in two places, was when discharging. That was on Saturday, and when they discharged me on Sunday morning, there were no ambulances, and it was difficult to sit. My *daju* [...], and [...] *-dai* had also come, they took me, and my brother-in-law, my wife's elder sister's husband, he came with his car, scooter, sat me on it and took me from there.

That means you went home the following day?

19. Yes, the following day. They said, everything is OK, is fine. But it hurt. I could not move and needed help. OK, so I thought considering how many people were around, that I best leave the bed for others, and we came. I came. At the time I could not stay at home, I was staying in Tahachal in a friend's house, on the lawn. To get up and move I needed a friend. I could not walk. Going with two friends, it hurt here [on the back]. Even there I spend the whole day lying down. After a month, it kept hurting, and then there was doctors from Cuba who had a health camp. Then there, I got all my x-rays done, till two at night. The doctors said it was OK without looking, but here they asked how and what happened. There, there was a crowd, so they did not look at me properly, I had the feeling. Then here, as soon as

they checked, they said this is what happened. When they said that it needs to be operated, I was shocked. I then consulted a nerve specialist, [...], he said that all this ... you need to take rest. So then I took another two months bed rest. That means, for three to four months I remained quiet. Afterwards it did hurt me. I took rest. I had medications.

Did you have an operation?

20. I did not have any operation. I took bed rest. Afterwards, that which was cracked, it healed.

After that you also said that there is god. It is as if you have a second life. You kept saying that you will die. Afterwards did you feel changed?

21. Change, in one's life, a person like me, saying really, let me die. I tell others not to show off. That is because, when there is death in front of us, that is when it seems that no one wants to die. We only say such things. Shall I call it human character, or ... what shall I say, but this is certain that when it is in front of us, we are scared. It does not matter how one boasts, there is fear. The earthquake, it does not matter how much one says one is not scared at all, but as soon as something happens, one is scared. That is because, at the time - it was maybe 3:30 or 4:00 when I got out, is what the *dajus* said – the three to three and a half hours that I was buried there, what I experienced, only I know. Now if I think back, if like the *bainis*, like the shouting *bainis* who were taken out later, they were removed. There they shouted ... what I did, only I know. I ate mud. I spoke time to time. I could not open my eyes, since the mud would get in. Whenever there was mud in my mouth, I eat it. As soon as I opened it. When I spoke the mud would get in, and I ate it again. They kept moving above, so the mud kept coming. So the part around my face I had to do that. At the time, vomit ... I also had to vomit. When I vomited, the mud did not come out. That is something extraordinary. I had to vomit. When they took me, when I had to vomit there – when there is an accident, and one vomits, knowing that that can happen we do that [turn on side to reduce chance of choking] – at the time I was scared. [...], in my mind I kept it. But when I vomited, extraordinarily the mud did not come. I have also not eaten anything. Only water came out. The mud did not come out at all. Now that you say that, what I found astonishing is that.

After that your head hurt.

22. Yes, the one thing about the disease I have, is my head hurts. Whatever I think - I am also a player, *buddhichal* (chess). The reason I left *buddhichal* is because of these headaches. As soon as I started thinking, it hurt. At my house, in our Newari, or Nepali, houses, there are always problems. That is what happened and I have a habit of thinking. As soon as I started thinking, my head ached. As soon as I started thinking, my head ached. Also my work, when I went to work, with everything, problems kept coming. When I asked, that since '62 to '63, my head started hurting, hurting terribly. When it hurt I went hospital, in the hospital I did MRI, I did CT Scan, they say there is nothing. Thinking that maybe something had happened to my nerve

[on the neck], I showed it to [...], he also gave me medication for the nerve. It gets slightly better, but then again I start thinking and it begins to hurt again. OK, this might be my disease, my headache, maybe lifelong I will have to bear with it. In '72 the blood flowed, what I mean to say with flowing is that on my bag, even after a month when they brought my bag, on the bag there was blood. All over the bag. When I saw that the blood flowed, when the blood flowed, after that, it does not matter how much I think, my head does not hurt. That is one thing that the lord ... it seems as if a life was given.

Do you play bagchal again?

23. *Buddhichal*. My age has passed. I do play, and when I play it does not hurt like that. [...]
24. Another reason for me to say that there is god is, in the morning [...] when the earthquake took place and half an hour later, or at the time, those *daju-bhai* who came to rescue, all day [...] The reason why there is a god is that after the earthquake, the *daju-bhai* who came to rescue, the Nepalis, all those who came, all the foreigners that came, they never ... hunger thirst, they never, even the hunger, they continued helping out. It was as if there was a 'power' that came. Otherwise, look at it, people get tired after doing a bit. Such huge beams, even doing that much ... they worked seven – eight hours continuously. Whoever came, what I heard later was that there were some people who came and distributed water. Based on this water, bananas, they did it. So what is that, it must be 'power'? It is the lord, it is that, when people get energized. Now, if we have to do this for one-two hours, we get tired. At the time, they say, it was not like that. Those who were rescuing, our *daju-bhai*, when asking all of them, they say that, getting that energy, it is quite astonishing. Is not it?
25. If I have to say something, in the end, the *daju-bhai* who rescued me, remembering the situation at the time, I would like to give them my sincere thank you. Those, even if they could not do it, they picked up individual bricks and passed it on, if they had not done it, ... if that person who came for me, later they said he was from Israel, if he had not done it. He could not have done it on his own, those who supported him. It was because everyone supported him. For him, saying that is clear, to respect him. And all those who were rescuing, all those who were there, now, I would like to thank them profusely every day. If they had not done it, I would probably not be. If it had been an hour or two later, I might not be here together with you.

For you that is a real memory.

26. It is a memory.

That event took place at the Kasthamandap. That programme took place at the Kasthamandap. At the time, deciding to do the blood donation at the Kasthamandap, before 2072, before the earthquake, what was your

relationship with the Kasthamandap? Did you regularly visit? You said you were from the Maru area. How did you grow up, between Kasthamandap and you, are there any stories from when you were young?

27. When I was small, say, I used to go there with my *sati-bhai*, when we were children ... *telcasa*, *asspass*, now we call it *luk-mari* (hide and seek) we used to call it *asspass*. The *daju* used to play *whagra* in one part, in the corners. There were places to hide. When we played *asspass*, where there were small rooms, with the small *tiki-jhya* (windows). I was one of them who could not climb up. My *sati-bhai* used to, like moneys – I kept thinking if only I could also climb up. At the time, sitting on my *sati-bhai*'s shoulders, when I got there, it was *oh-ho*, because I was slightly disabled, *oh-ho* I was like the others. I never felt as if I was disabled. Because of the love of my *sati-bhai*, the *daju-bhai* from our tole, that is why I never felt like that. I always went around as if I was fine, I went around doing all the work. I do anything. I do not mean anything, rather, whatever work, social work. Disabled usually stay at home, but I never experienced that. I used to go to the Kasthamandap. Whenever my back hurt, there was a ... when you have a backache there was this that you could go around, it was a post. That was a post, a wooden post. It healed, that is what we believed. It used to happen [4:55]. We went around there. At the Kasthamandap, whenever we had something ... there was the Gorakhnath shrine. Everyone knows the history, Prithvi Narayan Shah, curd was given to him, Gorakhnath god vomited and gave it to him they say. That is also something that happened in history. Then we have, this is a temple built of the wood of a single tree, which we had to lose. What we are proud of is that the Kasthamandap, that is the name of the Capital City. When we lost it the mind feels 'tasteless'. With that we have a lot. If we go one minute further down, in any case, in the same place.

28. If we talk about that time, the *coolies* used to stay there. Looking at it, it feels as if we saved the lives of many people. The reason is, a lot of times, around Kasthamandap, it is a heritage area, tourist used to come for one to two hours, observing all the things. We had occupied the main gate. At the time it was not possible to come in. Because of that, the lives of many people were saved. We had to lose our people, but coming to understand later, 21 to 22 people had died, they say. From us, the blood donation event, the three sisters, three to four of them there, from them, anyway, three to four people and from our side, eight to nine people.

After that, Kasthamandap ... for two to three months you took rest. After that ...

29. Two months, after one month ... before I came there was a problem there. When that happened my *dajus* called me. They brought me by car, by motorcycle, I came by road, but I could not move around. After one to one and a half months, my body, what does one called it, I do not remember, it was a chest. You put it on to the left and right and in front, and then a jacket on top, so I could not move, like this. I was like this all the time. I used to

come out wearing it like that. Rest I took for a month, but in my mind ... I never used to be at home, whenever I used to stay at home that would happen [headaches] ... they picked me up and dropped me off by motorcycle.

When was it that you first went back to the Kasthamandap?

30. I have not entered the Kasthamandap. When they said they were rebuilding it, I looked at it from outside. I have not gone inside. One of my wishes is, once it is done, they are rebuilding it at the moment. Once they have completed it, and when they do the *puja*, when they do the *puja* to Gorakhnath Baba, I have a wish, if they call me, I have a wish, when they do that, to also sit there. In the *puja* to also be first to pay homage, that wish I have.

That which you said, that I will tell. It is also very important for you. That is also important for us. As you said, there is god...

31. Yes, from that same place, I lost my *sati-bhai*, my life was saved. For myself, for my family, for my *sati-bhai*, others, they are happy. But for me, that I had to lose my true friends, I have that sorrow, their family has it too [the sorrow]. Anyway, whatever happened, happened well. Whatever happens, happens well. In that I am happy. What to do.

One must remain positive dai. It also went well for you, one must say.

32. Good, yes good, how my head problem, which I told you about, that was there for many years, it is not there anymore. That is a plus-point. My medications ... I do not need to 'take tension' [stress]. For me, I am not stressed by this not happening, or that not happening. Now, in my head it is 'fresh'.

The Kasthamandap collapsed. Many people got caught in that. Your friends also got caught in that. Very quickly the talk of having to rebuild it started.

33. It is being rebuilt.

Do you have hope that this will get built

34. It has to be rebuilt. One day it has to be because it is one of the things that Kathmandu is recognized by. It is something that cannot be found anywhere else. I do not know whether there is in other places, in other countries, but in Nepal, it is known as a temple built of a single tree. I do not know if there is in other places. What I know, of my own area, my *tole*, Kasthamandap, built of a single tree in history, I only know of this one. Whether there are others, I do not know. Maybe, somewhere else, there might be. That information I do not have. But what I know, of my own place, of my own *tole*, there is only this Kasthamandap, built of one tree, they say.

Going in there, for you, ...

35. It is not about going in. It is to pay homage to Gorakhnath. In that place, how it is ... more than us, after it is constructed, whatever there is, those

involved in the reconstruction, it must also be difficult for them. People say from outside, one thing, but those who are 'in the field' it is difficult. It is a challenge. Because there are those who demand that it has to be built as it was before. It is not possible from a single tree. So, however it is being done, it is good. If it comes back with the same form. Whether the Gorakhnath god is there or not, I do not know. I have not seen the idol. That statue, whether it was destroyed, it broke, what happened, I do not know. Like it was before, from a tree, the pole that I mentioned before, whether that is there or not, I do not know. Did it break, is it there or not? That is also the one of the main things.

To that I would like to say that of Gorakhnath is there...

36. Shrine?

Statue. It was broken slightly near the feet. Therefore that was restored and is kept in the Hanumandhoka. They used to do puja practically every day. As you were saying, the pole is also there.

37. That is it. The most ... for that, telling people who understand ... because there is a power in that. Whether you believe or do not believe, but in us people, devotion, the devotion in us. By doing that once, we are healed. It hurts ... maybe ... but going there one does feel peace of mind. That is why, let there be the shrine, once let it be, for us, more than anything else, Baba also might have done that, from there ... if I get to pay homage. From us, ... at the time a big *puja*, a *chema puja* (ritual to ask forgiveness), when doing that, if we could also be a participant in it, it would be good.

Thank you so much, dai, for giving us so much time.

Interview C7

29 June 2020 (video recording in Nepali)

Namaste, could you give us your short introduction?

1. My short introduction. I am [...]. My house is here in Basantapur, next to Kasthamandap. We have lived here already for four to five generations. Since my father's, grandfather's times. Now Kasthamandap, Kasthamandap right from the beginning, since we were small, that is where we played, where we grew up. Since we were small. I have been from bottom to top, all over. What it was like early, what was made in between. In '41, in the year '41 [BS], there was a kind of restoration done. There were Bhairav shrines upstairs. There were gods. I roughly remember, on the upper floor. There are around there Ganesh shrines, in the middle is the Gorakhnath shrines. In the morning, after washing our faces, we visit the Kasthamandap and the Ganesh shrines daily. That is why, let us say, we believe in Kasthamandap. There is an old saying that to visit Kathmandu is the same as visiting Kasthamandap, it is believed, since all our gods and goddesses can be found there. That is why we visit there, almost daily we visit.

You mentioned your old memories. In respect to that, such as what you saw there, also in respect to the restoration, please explain that a bit.

2. Kasthamandap, for the generation before us, we heard that there were also shops in the Kasthamandap, but we did not see that. As far as we, I remember, there were not shops there. Only the vegetable shops. Around there, there were no shops, they had already put up the fencing. We used to go around inside and we used to play. We used to play right from the morning, all day long and we also used to play there in the evening. Whenever anyone would come from outside, from the districts outside Kathmandu, this was also a place to spend the night. If there was no other place to stay, they could stay in the Kasthamandap. They also slept there and would leave in the morning. During the festivals, such as Gaijatra, they start from there. Those who come here from far away, they start their Gaijatra from there. Also the making of masks, they did that inside there. Also, upstairs, it would have been open, was it in '41, or '40, maybe '39, I went up there once. There were Bhairavs there, just like that. Later on they kept the Bhairavs covered there. There were Bhairavs in all four corners. There were large statues of Bhairavs. After the earthquake, I only saw one of them. I did not see the others. I saw one of them. The others I do not know.

You said that there were people who used to come and stay there. Did you see this?

3. I have seen this, because, when people from outside, when they came to do shopping, or they came to watch the festivals, such as when they come to watch Indra Jatra, people stay inside there. That is because it is

protected from the wind and rain, so people come and stay inside. They come, sleep and the go.

After there was the fencing, how was it possible?

4. The fencing, it was not that they stayed above, it was below, in the place like a *pati*, there they slept. They brought their only sleeping things. They bring it, roll it out, sleep and then they get up in the morning and leave to do their work.

On the four burja (pavilions)?

5. Yes it was possible to go to the corner pavilions. It was possible to climb up there. It was actually not really that difficult to climb on the corner pavilions. It is a storey, just a small storey, and it is easy to climb. We also climbed up there. It was not like that, it was plain, covered with *teila* tiles. There was actually nothing there. People used to come and stay. Even during the festivals, people stayed there to watch. They used to come and sleep there. That I clearly remember.

What do you remember after the '40 or '41 restoration?

6. At the time of the '40 or '41 restoration, Kasthamandap was as it was just before it collapsed. Maintenance was carried out. That was when Elisabeth came, I remember it all. When Elisabeth came, before that it was quite dirty. It was dirty on the side, and at the time a bit of maintenance was carried out. When the maintenance was done, I ..., a lot of maintenance was done at the time. All the broken wood was fixed. The broken parts of the fencing was replaced. The cleaning and painting works were carried out at the time. That I remember, I remember well, because I kept watching things, as a child, I kept walking around, especially since it was in my own tole. That I know.

In that case, in the '72 earthquake, there was a lot of destruction. You were around there. At the time where were you and what did you see? During the earthquake what did you experience, could you tell us please?

7. Actually, the earthquake was on Saturday, in the year '72 [BS], Baisakh twelfth, in the morning. I had a shop here, nearby. It is a book shop, newspapers and books, magazines, I used to sell. In the morning I opened the shop, and doings so my slippers broke. With my broken slippers I was in the shop. Inside, the blood donation was going on. Usually I walked around there daily, but that morning I was not able to visit. I got caught up in the shop. Being caught up in the shop, I was thinking of visiting later. Then there was the blood donation going on, organized by someone I knew, so I went, I went there with by broken slippers. I then thought why go to the blood donation with broken slippers, so I went to buy new slippers. Instead of going there, I went to buy the slippers, and had gotten to the shop and just taken the slippers, something 'quite different' started happening. Different sounds began. With these sounds, the earthquake struck and people started running around. What, why, I could not even

think, what had happened. I stayed in the shop, against the wall. There were also others sitting behind me. On the road it became empty. While watching, the Kasthamandap ... for me ... it collapsed. It collapsed. How it collapsed was that it *dyapabasiyo* (sat down in one go). It collapsed. I was watching, looking at what was happening, when it *dyapabasiyo*. When it collapsed a lot of dust arose. When the dust and [...] rose, it was certainly an earthquake. [...] but a bit later, when it subsided, I ran came running from there. The broken slipper is in my hand and I was wearing the new slippers as I came running. When I came running there, most of the destruction had already taken place. In the sense, it had collapsed, everything was in chaos. What I saw their, first, was, while it was shaking, there were many people who were going from inside to the outside. There were also those who were going from outside to the inside. That was because some people thought that inside the Kasthamandap maybe they would survive, and there were also those who went there. I saw two to three people going in. But I also so those who were running out. While I was watching, that is what happened. Those who ran out, they might have survived. Those who ran in, many of them would have been caught. There were those who were caught.

What happened to you?

8. I started panicking. What happened? My house was also nearby. I came running. Running back, the road was quite empty, I came running to my shop. Next to my shop, the Trilokiya Mohan Mandir had also collapsed. It had collapsed towards our house. It collapsed towards our house, but what had happened was only half of the house was hit. My shop was also covered. My *dai* was in the shop and my *bhai* was also in the shop on this side. My bike was also there. My bike was buried. When I went there, the people, my *dai*, had already gotten out from the back way. For a moment it was totally quite. What I did was, for a moment I sat down. And then, where the Trilokiya Mohan Mandir had collapsed, there people were caught, three people were buried. We got these people out. It took us two to three hours. Two to three hours, and we got them out. They survived. They survived. There were another two further down and we could not get them out. I thing they would have died.

In Kasthamandap?

9. In Kasthamandap a lot of people got caught. Accurately I do not know, while we were getting the people out, they were bringing people from there. It also continued to shake. Going in front was also not right. People who were caught there continued to be brought from there, we got involved on this side. Others went to the Kasthamandap to get them out. I do not know accurately how many were caught in the Kasthamandap. But there were many that got caught. I survived by a few moments. If my slipper had not broken, I would have been in the Kasthamandap and been caught. I would have to say that I was saved by that slipper, because it broke.

After that everyone began to say that Kasthamandap needs to be rebuilt.

10. Yes, rebuilt.

It is being built. What do you think? Afterwards will you be going there regularly?

11. What it is, is that Kasthamandap must be built. Kasthamandap is an old sign. Kasthamandap must be built. It has to be built in the old design, built in the original design, in the original. It has to be built. It is being built. I am satisfied with how it is being built because, before, whatever might have been the politics, the reasons, it was not built. But now, at the speed in which it is being rebuilt, it is OK, it is now being built. But sometimes this and sometimes that, questions keep arising. But the work must go on without stopping, is what I believe.

Even after it is built you will...

12. After it is built, it must look like it did before, and we will visit like we used to. We have hope because Kasthamandap is an old place and we, right from the beginning, ... there is a custom that there are gods below Kasthamandap, the old gods and temples, the main ones are there at the Kasthamandap. This is where all the festivals and celebrations take place. It is the heart, Kasthamandap. We have hope.

Thank you.

Interviews C8

23 March 2021 (voice recording translated from Nepali)

[In Newari, asking when they had worked on Kasthamandap]

1. What did I tell you yesterday? When was it? '60, or was it '62 '63?
How could that be? '52, yes? Was it '52?
2. '52 or '62? There should be records at the Department of Archaeology. They should have the files.
They should have, but you know what the Department of Archaeology is like.
3. They should have.
At the time, who was DG?
4. Who was DG at the time? How would I know?
Who gave you the work? You must remember, who would it have been?
5. No, we did it through a tender.
Who used to come to site?
6. Who used to come to the site, who was the engineer? Who, who?
Can you remember? Was it a madam?
7. At the time could the chief have been a madam? I cannot say. At the time, the site works were looked after by...
Was this one of your workers? (Showing old photograph) Did you do this kind of work? Was the upper roof dismantled like that? Tell me if this is the work that you did, ok? Were all the rafters removed from the lower roof like this?
8. Yes, we removed all the rotten ones.
All of them were removed on the lower floor? Were these your workers?
9. No this is not it. This is probably from those who worked on it before me. We heard that due to certain irregularities the contractors were changed.
This is from before you worked there?
10. Yes. OK, tell me what you want to ask.
Please tell us a bit about what you did at the Kasthamandap. How you did it? What you did?
11. The work was restoration work. It was not as if we changed everything. We removed all the rotten and displaced timber.
When you say timber, which timber?

12. So, the rafters, some beams,
Some beams were also replaced?
13. Yes they were replaced.
From the lower parts?
14. Yes, the ones form lower part. The larger area. Where the wood was rotten, we cut it and also worked on joining new timber.
And above, much of the roofing was not dismantled?
15. The roof, we opened up the roofing of all three floors.
All three floors, the roofing opened up?
16. Yes, they were opened up, of all three floors. But in that photo, it did not look like my workers.
Do you recognize these people (on the photo)? Here?
17. *I do not recognize them. This is not my team.*
This is not your team? This young kids have the faces that look like the ones you bring to work now.
18. Yes, they do, these look like them.
Are these? Look here. You know, the ones you bring, look. Is not this Hira?
19. This looks like Hira.
Yes, this looks like Hira. Yes, this is Hira. Is not it?
20. Yes, it looks like it.
Yes, this is surely Hira, I have recognized him. When he was young. Since when has he been working? So this is Hira. These others on the roof you said you do not recognize. You said these ones are not. Wait there is one more. There is someone else laying the tiles.
21. This is how we worked, replacing
So you removed the entire roofing. You did not only replace the planking and tar-felt, but also the rafters.
22. Yes, also the rafters.
Look here (at the photo), is there any one you can recognize?
23. These guys look like the Awales (masons) from Patan. Yes, all these are Awales from Patan.
You hired them?
24. Yes, I did.
You hired the Awales from Patan?

25. Yes. At the time we hired the Awales from Patan.
These are?
26. Yes, they are from Patan.
Do you recognize them?
27. How do I remember? It has been 20 to 25 years, I can I recognize them?
Look at this one. Who is this?
28. They are also Awales, Awales from Patan.
Who is this?
29. I do not recognize him.
And this?
30. This is our own people. He is a labourer.
Is he still around?
31. No, he is not.
But there is Hira, Hira is there. So these photos are from the time you worked there.
32. Yes. We found that this is Hira, and then there is this labourer.
So this is your labourer.
33. Yes, he is my labourer.
So, we have also found Hira. And the work was opening up the roof and replacing it. So it was entirely opened?
34. Yes, the entire roofing was removed and then the entire planking was done and covered with tar-felt.
So the beams on this outer section were replaced, the ones that needed to be replaced?
35. Yes, on the outer section.
Not in the inner part?
36. Yes. So we recognized the two labourers.
When I saw these face, I had the feeling that they were the ones who work with you. Otherwise, they are usually Newars. Do you recognize any one on this?
37. They are Awales.
So they are also Awales. And this is Hira.
38. Can you get copies made of these photos?

How do I get them out? Print?

39. Yes, print.

OK. They must remember. Hira must also remember. If we ask him 'is this you', he will surely respond. It is because, do you see their faces? You still hire people like them. That is why I thought they must be yours. And so, what other work did you do? You did the roofing work. Did you also remove all of these?

40. We also removed all the *jhingati* (roof tiles).

Who used to come here from the Department? Who gave you the drawings?

41. I do not remember. But there was someone who lived down that road towards the Ganesh Temple, some [...] engineer. [...] Yes, [...]. He was a thin man. I do not know if he is still around. At the time he was already slightly old.

Let me ask you something. Inside here, there are these supports, inside the Kasthamandap. Was that also done at the same time?

42. You know [...] -sir, he would know everything.

You know these supports. Were they also placed there at the time?

43. This looks like they had a wall tie.

They did the wall tie and then extended it to the roof.

44. Yes, with the wooden pegs (*chukul*).

The wall ties here. This is where the rafters go. There is an additional support given here.

45. This is a wall tie, like a wall plate. You see this timber sticking out? That is fixed with a peg.

Yes, I understand that, but what is that up here?

46. Is that to give the square thing support, you know that which comes above?

*Bhangi (part of the *gajur*)?*

47. Bhangi. No, above there is a platform (*maidan*). There is another floor.

This is the top floor here.

48. That is the platform of the *gajur*, I thought it was that.

That is not the top floor.

49. If that is not the top floor, then maybe it is left for the staircase.

So what other work did you do? You did the entire roof. What else did you work on?

50. There was nothing more in our contract. It was only the roof.
What about below? Here.
51. We did not work on the *telia* (floor tiles). They were already there. We only did a bit of maintenance work, where there were no tiles. I believe that was all. The roof was fully done. When we did it, it was black. This is red here.
These are all photos from the same time. Here, if you look at the flooring, you must have had to do the flooring.
52. We did upstairs.
So you did upstairs.
53. Below, we did not demolish any of the walls. Whatever walls were there, we placed the timbers on them, and it worked.
You did not place the telia tiles? Who put the telia tiles?
54. No, not the *telia*.
Did you place the telia or not?
55. We only fixed the areas where there were no *telia* tiles.
And on the staircase, did you put the railings.
56. No, not the railings either. We did put in a new staircase. There is a lower one and an upper one. This is the one from the shrine. Then there is this one, which we put in.
The railings?
57. There is. There are railings there.
There were none at that time. Where are they?
58. On the upper ones? There are. Before they might not have been, and we installed them. It could be that in the previous one it was not done. [...]sir checked our work.
When you were working there?
59. Yes, what we were doing. He was at the Hanumandhoka at the time.
What did you bring all those bricks for?
60. That was for the plinth steps, I think, you know the plinth around there.
So you did the brickwork around there, and redid all the roofing.
61. Then we did all the plaster work. When we dismantled, the plaster was damaged.
So you also did the plaster.
62. We did the plaster restoration.

So the roofing was in such a condition, and it was fully dismantled. When you did that, then all the wood at the top of the posts were replaced.

63. The rotten timber was replace.

Did you work on the balconies?

64. No, not the balconies. The balconies were as they were, and it was not necessary to do. The main problem was that the roof was leaking, which caused all the problems.

We first thought that that was old, but then realized ...

65. ... that it has all been reconditioned.

So these would have been redone in '55 - '56

66. They were OK, it was only affected by the water.

So when you got the contract, your main work was to fix all that which was affected by the leakage.

67. It was necessary to deal with the roofing at the time. There was no necessity to work on other things. The timber of the roof were rotten, displaced or broken. So wherever there things were broken, we restored them. On this photo there does not seem to be a railing.

There is no railing. These are photos from when you were working there.

68. Yes. So we have recognized the people.

So thank you.

Interviews C9

8 March 2021 (voice recording translated from Nepali)

1. I am [...]. We are Newars [...]. This is our house. We are locals from here. We worried right from the beginning whether this gets built or not. We were worried. That is why we built that (the model).

Were you here during the earthquake?

2. During the earthquake, what happened was, father died. I do not know whether he was buried under this temple or that temple, but he was buried under a temple. We had an event at the Kumari temple, taking the Kumari's [...], there was an event. We were all at the event. There was an event at Chhetrapati. He had called me for the blood donation. At 11:50 I had an appointment to donate blood there, I had that timing. But I was saved. I was supposed to be there, I told to be there at 11:45. At the same time, [...] called, they called me there as well. I might have also been caught (*pornithyo*), who knows. That is what happened.

After the earthquake, during the rescues, did you get involved? How did you find out that Kasthamandap had collapsed?

3. I was at there at the event. I first heard that Dharahara had collapsed. That Kasthamandap and Dharahara had collapsed. Kasthamandap collapsed, I got a phone, and when it connected, I was told it had collapsed. My house is here. My brother also phoned. 'How was this house built?' He was on the fifth floor. He said, how is this house built? As it was shaking, he came down. Father had just left, and within five minutes the earthquake occurred. Father was lost. I could not come here. In Balkhu we also have a house. I also had to check there. Mother and father were here, and my misses was alone. My son was in China.

So you were not here immediately afterwards?

4. I came immediately. When I got here the bulldozers had not arrived, nothing had come. Everything was a heap.

The scene, do you remember it?

5. I took photos. It is all with me. If you need it I can give it to you. I have kept all the photos. I took photos from here and also from above. From up there, showing what had happened after the earthquake. That had not been opened. I have photos of that. I might even have a film. It was only afterwards that [...] team came and the rescue began. Because father was lost, I had to come here. It was at that time, within half an hour and an hour, the earthquake is still going on; here things are collapsing. That night I went to all the hospitals, searching. I went to all the hospitals. Then the bulldozers began *dhang, dhang* 'hitting' everything here. They are 'hitting', and the phone keeps ringing. I picked up and a woman's voice said 'Father is no more'. He is no more. He was at the Teaching Hospital. [...] there was also police there. The police had not informed. Even when they had the

possibility to phone. A volunteer called. I thanked the volunteer. Then they did not even allow us to keep the body there. They did not allow keep it in the 'ice' there. We said OK. It was already night time. I went there in the morning. In the following morning when we went to pick up the body, the earthquakes were still going on. Even when we were cremating our father's body, the earthquake was going on. There was no one there. We just did it. The clothes we were carrying, even the [...] was lost there. That was the time, what should we say? Because of that memory, and we have such a government, we do not know whether they will build it or not. It really became a concern for me. With my own investment, I got all the height and measurements from the municipality. I was born here and grew up here. I have made it exactly the same. Inside the staircase. They might mess it up. Maybe they will build it in any old way. They might build it in concrete. That is why we took a lot of trouble in making this out of wood. Then my mind shifted towards business. I was thinking of maybe make more of these. The one I had was bought. That is what happened. Initially it was not like that for me. We made it with that concept that they would not build it (the Kasthamandap). We made the model. People talked about it. They came to buy it. No one had this. I then kept it at the Chhetrapati [...] and then at [...] -dai's. We did a lot of research. [...] was also there. [...] also helped a lot. We had to get the scale, the height. We had to transfer it to the height. We hope that it gets built in the same manner. Nothing will be different.

Who did you get to work on this?

6. There is someone called Heera. He makes handicrafts. We had a handicrafts shop. That then changed. I transferred the New Road shop to here. Because it was handicrafts, I had a handicraft friend. He knew all the wood work. We all worked together. We ran around and he stayed here. In Bungamati, we took it to Bungamati and made it there. The lights also used to go. We took kept a generator there. We turned on the generator. We had to cut the wood.

How long did it take to make?

7. Two months. One, no it took two months. The main problem was that things did not fit. We are not engineers. Engineers would have easily put it together. We then went to show it to [...] -dai. Then we had to break it again. We had to make it fully of wood. What do we make the roof of? We did not find bricks. We could not get bricks made. Then we used a different type of brick. Then we made it exactly to size.

When you were making it, where were you thinking of putting it?

8. We just made it. Something might come of it. We just made it. A friend called Saroj, who went to America, he said let us make it. Heera was also OK with it. I invested all the money. Let us make it. How much will it cost? Maybe around one and a half lakhs were spent on it. Other than the labour, for the material. For the labour, Heera did it, shall we say it was free. In case we sell it, we were thinking of compensating him. That is how we did it. If we would get money. We never thought that we would invest that much

money. We did not know whether anyone would buy it. [...] Let us just make it.

Were you going to sell it, or give it to the municipality?

9. We did not think of that.

How did that process begin?

10. We did not know whether they would take it. We did not make it to sell. We just said make it. We have to make it for the Kasthamandap. It was our own feeling. Before we had our own handicraft shop. There was also a handicraft shop, we moved forward based on that concept.

Where did the talk of handing over or selling it to them begin?

11. Someone from the municipality came to buy it.

Someone found out that you had made it?

12. There was a lot of noise about this. Afterwards there was a lot of noise about it. In our Newar activities, there was noise, during those one or two months. The present Mayor is also close, so he knew of the activities. That is what happened at the time.

So that is what happened, that from their side they said they want to take it.

13. They said they would keep it, and even now they have kept it at Bhrikuti Mandap. Initially they kept it in the centre. Now they have shifted it to the side.

Where at Bhrikuti Mandap?

14. At Bhrikuti Mandap, I first saw it in the middle, and now it has been moved to the side. There is the municipality at Bhrikuti Mandap. In front of Sabha Griha. They have kept it in the middle. Before the Sabha Griha was the municipality. They kept it in the middle, but now they have it on the side.

It is there?

15. Yes it is there. They have it on the side. It is covered. We have it to them open.

In the lobby?

16. Yes, in the middle of the lobby, on the first floor. It was in the centre where the stairs come up. [...] We used to be scared. When there were earthquakes, we used to go and hide in there.

Since you stayed here, what are your memories of the Kasthamandap?

17. That is why we did not know that Kasthamandap would collapse. When there is an earthquake that it would collapse. What they did was, the reason why the Kasthamandap collapsed was because they did not restore it, the municipality. I told them many times. [...] It collapsed. It is not a temple that

collapses. In the centre, the four posts, they are strong. The four central posts, when they went, then the whole thing came down.

Did it happen like this?

18. It must have happened like that. My uncle, he ran away and came up to here, he survived. [...] And a carpenter who worked here in Marutole. You see the platform there, there was a pole. He waited there, holding on to the pole, watching the temple. There was a labour and a mason. He raised it two courses and the earthquake occurred. Concerning the renovation, I used to tell the municipality at times. The pigeon droppings, it is dirtying the place. It is dirty and rotting. We could not go up because it was rotten. I have the feeling that it collapsed because it was not renovated. In the inspection of the foundations, that is what seems to have happened. The foundations are amazing.

After the earthquake we collected all the wood and checked. A lot of the wood was rotten, at the bottom, on the ground floor. As you were saying, that it was already damaged at the time.

19. One of the timber elements on the edge, on top of the stairs, on the edge, that was quite holly. The pujas, it was some shrine, and people came to do puja. Of the four posts, one of them was already damaged. As they did puja regularly, it was damaged.

The one on the other side?

20. Yes, the other side. There was the mango wood. It was smooth. We used to play there.

The backache one?

21. Yes, the backache one. We have also put that one (in the model). Look, we have also put that. Everything is included there. The carving, the carvings of statues, that is the only thing missing. Other than that, everything is there. It is all built of wood.

The photos were in [...]’s Facebook. I had seen it from the beginning. To talk here, I had to find them. We first met [...]’-dai and he said that it had started with you. That is why we wanted to meet you. What memories do you have of playing in there?

22. There are many memories. We use to go and play marbles. Earlier, they used to allow us to go up, once a year. At Maghe-Sankranti, when they raised the flag on the roof. We used to go up. We used to get up to the top. On the top, there is space to stand.

Now that work is going on, considering what you thought about earlier, what do you think?

23. It is being built, but they delayed it a lot. This is not a temple to rebuild so slowly. This is the government, actually. That is what I felt. It was in '72 and now it is '77. It does not take five years. This is the easiest temple to build.

It is the third year that work is going on.

24. Third year. These calculations, it would not have taken very long. What is there here, in the middle there are four posts [...]

We had to bring the wood.

25. The wood will come. In Nepal it is not difficult to get wood. In Nepal, I would like to say this, TCN, during the Rana period, seeing the *sal* wood being thrown away, I had tears. *Sal* Wood. Just cut and left.

That is why it is difficult.

26. Exactly, the Nepal Government.

The entire system has to be arranged to bring it.

Interviews C10

23 March 2021 (voice recording translated from Nepali)

There is a lot of wind here. Sir, as far as we know, in respect to the restoration, the first one was in 1966.

1. Yes, 1966, Department of Archaeology.

Yes, the Department of Archaeology, once the Guthi Corporation was established, the first renovation

2. Yes the first renovation, yes it was Ramesh Jung Thapa. [...] He was DG. He was involved himself. I used to come and watch. I was not yet employed. He was here, a light skinned person. And [...], [...]’s father. I saw them walking around here. There used to be shops here. All of them were removed.

The shops, please tell us more about the shops, sir. The shops that were here, at the time, who had the shops here.

3. At the time, it was the Guthi Corporation. [...] Yes, it was cheap, at the time.

Was it only after the Guthi Corporation came into existence that they started the shops here?

4. That I do not know. When I was young, at the time, during the years 2022, 23, 24 (1964-1967), we used to come here to buy things.

So, since you were young, there were shops here?

5. There were shops. And up there, there were Kanphatta (pointing to corner platforms). [...] Yes, the Kanphatta used to stay here. [...] Yes, they stayed here. There were crowds of them. They used to kill the pigeons and eat them. They were very naughty. [...] Upstairs, I do not know. We never went upstairs. Down here there were crowds. Those who slept here, they were the Kapalis. The Kapali, they stayed below. Yes below. The Kapalis used to sleep here, and the Kanphatta, the *jogis*, [...]

Then, during the 1966 renovation, what did you see? What did they do?

6. They erected the scaffoldings, in my opinion, they did good work at the time. [...] They fixed all the roofs, and they carried out documentation, of all the things that were here. They prepared an inventory. The inventory, after I came, in 2041 (1984), we took all the things that could be found here and put them in an organized manner. It was all messy before that.

Where were the objects put?

7. They were kept here.

Up here?

8. Yes, all up here.

At the time, were there statues?

9. There were statues. [...] There were all kinds of statues. There were huge masks (Bhairav masks). There were also statues. His wish, it was also my wish, to open a museum here, upstairs. To allow visitors to go up and do a round, and give them a coffee. I told the chief, but it was not permitted. At the time we put all the objects in showcases.

At the time of collapse, were all the objects there? They were not, were they? They removed that in the between?

10. After the collapse, everything got messed up.

The items were here before the collapse?

11. Yes they were. On and off I used to come to look. There were also stone statues. There were two, three lions. There were also statues below. Down there in the small rooms, there were also statues.

Where did all the statues go?

12. I do not know. They all say *guthi, guthi, guthi*. No idea who took them. The keys are all with them.

Since which year have you been involved with Hanumandhoka?

13. Officially since 1986, that means 2040 BS.

After that there was another renovation.

14. That was in 2054-55. I was here. At the time the project chief as [...]. [...]...

In which year did you say?

15. 54-55. [...] Yes, Bikram Samvat. It would have been 2054-55. Because in 56-57 it was the SAARC meeting.

[NOTE: The eleventh SAARC summit was supposed to be held in Kathmandu, in November 1999 - २०५६ कार्तिक / मंसिर, but was postponed to 4–6 January 2002 (२०५८ पुष) due to the political situation in Pakistan. Since the SAARC summit was planned for 2056 (Nov 1999), and would have been known earlier, since it is in alphabetical rotational basis, work could have started already in 2054 – 2055 (1997/98)]

16. So during the SAARC summit, the dignitaries were to be shown around here in the evening. So, for that, the maintenance was carried out. There extensive heavy maintenance. That is when things were messed up. That was when I got into a conflict with [...].

At the time what all did they do?

17. They misused. That should not have happened.

What was the major work that took place?

18. The posts, rafters. To change them it was difficult to remove from inside the brickwork, so they drilled and the brick fell out. That was my main objection.

At the time who did the work?

19. [...] The work was rough. When I called, no one would listen here.
Was it a contract?
20. Yes, a contract was given.
It was done on labour contract (amanath)?
21. No, it was a contract [...] it was in the 1990s that DOA began to tender out projects. Work was tendered out to any contractor.
Before that, when you had come...
22. In '86
Was a renovation done at that time?
23. A renovation did take place. Before I got here, the chief did it.
Who was the chief?
24. [...].
He was the chief of Hanumandhoka (Palace Maintenance Office)?
25. Yes, Chief of Hanumandhoka.
Is he still around?
26. No, he is not.
At the time, what did they do?
27. However, since '36 (1979/80) I was here as an officer. But they did not give me any work.
And when the renovation was done in '88...
28. '86
What was done in '86? What was it for?
29. They changed the rafters.
They also changed the rafters?
30. Yes, they did. That was when I got into a conflict with [...].
But that with Shaphalya was later
31. Later as well.
I do not mean in '99, I mean in '86.
32. In '86, the old chief, he did not have much of an idea. It was just basic painting and fixing. It was just painting and fixing, and then we hung up flower garlands.
So the main restoration works was done during the time of Ramesh Jung Thapa and then Shaphalya.

33. Yes, these are the two times.

For Birendra's Coronation...

34. Coronation was in '31, which would be 1975.

What was done at the time?

35. Well, let's see, I was already in the Department of Archaeology, even though I might have been involved here, but not in the renovation.

They had only done painting works?

36. Yes.

I heard that during the coronation, no one entered the Kasthamandap, but they had come to the Maruganesh to get blessings, the King himself.

37. Yes.

Whether they entered or did not enter, it is not clear.

38. They did not enter here. At the time, they had laid out the red carpet, so they follow the red carpet. The main place is the Ganesh. They did puja there. They did not enter here.

But was this monument decorated?

39. Yes, it was decorated. Which means, they cleaned it (*potiyo*) with red oxide. Red oxide and black oxide.

But in '86, when Queen Elisabeth came, she entered.

40. When she came she entered, and was given a key. I made all the arrangements. It had to be a unique experience, in handing over the key. We did not do any maintenance, but we hung up garlands of lava. We covered everything with the garlands of lava. It was unique. Flower garlands of lava. You know *lavako mala*, and in between we put cotton, colourful. That was typical Newari design. We put oil lamps in various locations. Not only here, but also inside Hanumandhoka. All the lights were turned off, no lights, and in various locations, such as in Nasal Chowk, we lit 108 oil lamps, butter lamps. The King was amazed, that was extremely uniquely done. At the time all the heads of state were there. Pakistan's Prime Minister Bhutto, Benazir Bhutto, the President of Sri Lanka, from India the Prime Minister, the guy who died, Rajiv Gandhi. From Bangladesh, Rahman. The president of the Maldives. They were all called here. It was on a full moon. There were no lights. There was the light from the full moon. And the oil lamps. On the floors, the marigold were torn apart and the petals strewn, with a bit of sparkles, and in the light it flickered. Benazir Bhutto, it was Prince Gyanendra who called me, and he explained to Benazir Bhutto, 'he is the person in charge of this palace, who has managed all this'. 'How did you get this idea? I have never seen this, it is like heaven,' she said. 'This is our traditional Newari decoration, lamp'. 'You did not only invite the dignitaries, but also the full moon', she said. So I got

a medal. There were only Brahmins around, and they exclaimed, who is this small person, who has taken a medal? What is this? When I got the medal, I did not request for it. I never requested for it. I believe one must work according to one's own ways. It is not the name but the work, it is about saving country's heritage. We need to save the heritage, and that is how one must work. I met the King of Spain, and received a medal from the Chancellor of Germany. They asked how I did it. I said I did not do anything.

What other activities were done in the Kasthamandap?

41. Ta Chatan Guthi,

Other than that?

42. Other than that, then marriage arrangements. Bratabandha (Hindu coming of age ritual). The religious '*dharmic tatwa pass garni*', in our Vajrayana. In our Vajrayana, we have to pass our *tatwa*. [...] The Hindus also recite the Mahabharata, it is also done here. Small groups, Brahmins keep coming, and receipt short stories from the Mahabharata, from the Ramayana. Such activities keep taking place at the Kasthamandap. I never disturbed such activities. They used to come and tell me, but I told them not to complain when the Brahmin recites the prayers. When they present religious texts, you should also listen.

They also sing bhajans? (hymns). Who sings the bhajans?

43. Our own Tamrakars used to do it. That person somehow he died. He used to sing *bhajans*, and also recite [...] stories. Suddenly he started selling hashish. He used to sell hashish. People who came to listen, even foreigners used to come, I did not know he sold, but later he went around 'hashish'. We caught him and took him to Hanumandhoka, to the DSP office. We was from our own *jat* (caste), so his brother came, saying he had not done anything. If he had not done anything, then would he have been caught? I told the DSP there, eh Ganesh, what is it with so and so person? Eh, this is what he did. Ooho. If that is what he did, then give him two and two slaps, hard, and do not let him go. Lock him up. Someone who does religious work, should not be doing such things. So I told him to give the guy two and two slaps, forcefully. He hit the guy. The guy got depressed and died.

And when they shot that film, Hare Ram, Hare Krishna. What [...]?

44. When they were shooting the film, I was already in the government job. I had just started my job. I watched it sitting in the crowd. Hare Ram, Hare Krishna. I do not know who gave the permission.

He was a friend of the King.

45. Dev Anand was the King's friend. I went to meet Dev Anand. I went to meet him at the Soaltee. My brother also looks like Dev Anand, they are the same height, a hero. So we said let us go, and carrying a camera, we went

to the Soaltee and took photographs. That was only to fulfil my elder brother's wish. There was Dev Anand. What other films were shot here? '*Eklay Budhu*'? was not here, which was shot in Hanumandhoka. And then there used to be political speeches. *Rachyadaan* takes place annually.

What?

46. *Rachyadaan*. Political speeches. Ganeshman used to come here. Everyone came. I used to come and listen. On the ground floor. Yes, sitting over there. And they also had speakers outside. They gave their speeches inside and it could be heard also on the outside. They complained that the King did this and that. Against the King.

They carried out restorations for the SAARC summit, but the SAARC summit was postponed.

47. Whatever the case was with the SAARC, they did carry out the work here. The work was done, but, yes, it was shifted.

They were planning to bring everyone here to hand over the symbolic key of the city. When the summit was shifted, did they carry out this activity? The handing over of the keys?

48. Handing over the keys. I was there for Queen Elisabeth. That was the first time, and I was here. Then there was the King of Spain. Then from Czechoslovakia, when he returned, he was killed. I do not remember his name. When he left here, he got shot. Afterwards it broke apart into two countries, into Czech and Slovakia, or something like that. When he went back, they killed him.

And beyond these, who was there? Was there from France?

49. No, no one from France. From Czechoslovakia, from Spain, I do not remember. After that, it became more difficult, and there was not stability. Then no one took any interest. There was not stability. People would only comment. The King did this, the King did this. Yes, the King might have done it, but it is something [...].

The SAARC was supposed to be in 1999 and it was shifted to 2001. It took place only three years later.

50. What Nepali year was that? In Bikram Sambat? Was it '56? Bikram Sambat? '54? '55?

In 2059 BS.

51. 2059, Birendra would have already gone.

Yes, exactly twenty years ago.

52. It took place during Birendra's time. It did not happen in Gyanendra's time. Could not be. [...]

I am also trying to understand the things concerning the guthis. It is very awkward.

53. It is awkward.
The laws, it was '22, '23, or no, it was '21.
54. In '21 the Guthi Corporation Act was passed. Yes, that was when the Guthi Sansthan was created.
A new Act was prepared later. That is weird, why was a new Act prepared. Usually you have amendments done to the old act.
55. Yes, a new Act. Previously the land owners, we are land owners, previously we would get half the land. But now, if there are 15 to 20 *muri*, we only get 4 *muri*. When the Guthi Corporation brought out the new act, it was reduced drastically, the *bali* (payment in percent of agricultural product). They prioritized the farmers. They gave the farmers, and also a lot of the property of the *guthis* was also given to the farmers, and the *guthis* collapsed. It was good for the farmers, but it also drowned the Guthi Corporation. The one who did this was Mahendra. Mahendra did a big mistake. The custom of encroaching on the *guthi* land began there.
It was in '72 and then there again in '76.
56. Mahendra died in '72.
The same year the new Act came into force. Why did they introduce new acts? Usually it is amended. But here they have a new act. I looked for the old act but could not find it.

Interview C11

21 September 2020 (voice recording translated from Nepali)

1. [...] A non-Newari person told me 'Kasthamandap has collapsed. We must start a campaign for the reconstruction of Kasthamandap'. [...] This was the executive director of the Social Welfare Council, Govinda Adhikari.
2. You should do something. For the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap, a campaign needs to be run. For the reconstruction of the Kasthamandap, let us run such a campaign that will rebuild Kasthamandap, will [...]. So we established a committee. In the beginning, we got various types of people, such as, those who can develop 'opinions'. From Baikuntha Manandhar, to a pop singer Bobby Pradhan. We also included, a variety of people, all the intellectuals. We had Kumar Ranjit, who helped. Kumari Ranjit is ..., he works in Yekha (*bahal*), but he is a journalist. We included such diverse types of persons, and we made a committee. Chunda Bajracharya, [...]. What is most important is, we ..., what happened was, if the work on Kasthamandap would be given as a contract, quality would be lacking. That is why this has to be done through *amanath* (owner built). The government guys, we talked to the government, the National Reconstruction Authority and everyone. At that time, what was told to me, after talking about various things, was, 'can you really rebuild it?' That was what was said. When that was asked in a challenging manner, I said 'we can!' 'We can rebuild it. There are two three things from my side. The first is the people. So how are we going to rebuild? How are we going to get people's participation?' When I talked there, during several occasions, the National Reconstruction Authority signed an agreement with us. OK, so you do it. I had also included the Municipality. We signed an agreement with the Municipality also taking part.
3. But, what happens in Nepal is, the political situation went in a different direction. There were elections. With the elections, what happened was, the issues concerning the Kasthamandap became more politicised. When the Kasthamandap is rebuilt, that person will be invited to inaugurate it, that person will be invited, that person will be honoured, the other person will be honoured. The Municipality then said that they will do it. What we said was, when the municipality said that they would do it, that community participation and such things would not be important for them. It will get rebuilt. Why share something that is going to be built? It would lead to such kind of pressures. After that, the way the established the user-committee, and such things, all kinds of things, they established the user-committee. That was a different case.
4. My ambition had been raised to consider, while rebuilding the Kasthamandap, why not establish a University? This would be linked to providing training to those involved, while working, carrying out the work. We also got in touch with all the *guthis*, the *guthiars*, because Kasthamandap, truly, is something evolutionary. The Kasthamandap is

something, that *mandap*, truly, is without a door. Why does it not have a door? It is a *sattal*. Later, in the *sattal*, the Gorakhnath *guthiars* started coming, then other *guthiars* came. Why not bring all this together and link it to a university? My brother, I am not saying this because he was my brother, but what my brother did with the Akash Bhairav, I also have the inspiration to do something like that. Now, I have seen there, everything. I only use basic knowledge, I am not an expert. I am clearly not an expert. But I manage. I was considering this as I moved ahead. But, as we built the Kasthamandap, a new boss came along, let us say a new committee was formed, they said, 'you have contributed to this, you must be part of the committee.' I told them that they should invite me as my organization. If you call my organization, then it does not matter whoever might come. They did not want to recognize my organization. Just because they called [...], as an individual, I cannot walk around proudly. That is why, what I told the restoration group, to write a letter to the Campaign, saying they need to participate, and whoever the Campaign deputed will be there, it will be the Campaign. What these people did was, they invite me to meetings, but I have not been going. It would be easier if you ask me, since if I just talk it becomes one-sided.

As you mentioned, why did you get involved? What was the reason for you to get involved? As you said, not that you will rebuild it, but that it needs to be rebuilt.

5. So, that which I thought as I got involved was, that at least – we are so rich in respect to our cultural heritage – really, to consider the cultural heritage of this Nepal Mandala, that which one knows as Nepal, it is this cultural heritage that defines it. Because it is this cultural heritage that defines it, the cultural heritage that defines Nepal must be safeguarded. So we can say, if we can contribute to this cultural heritage, then we are contributing to Nepal.

As you said before, one of the main concerns was that this should not be done through contractors, that the traditional, the knowledgeable artisans should rebuild it.

6. When the Authority (NRA) gave me the responsibility, the Authority gave me the responsibility, we had to register our organization. When we had to register our organization, we had to ask for volunteers. We had to register a new organization, and sign the agreement through the organization, with the authority. When we did the agreement, what I asked was, this needs to be non-political. Only if it is non-political will there be everyone's participation. At the time, the volunteers who came to us, I never asked, 'Of which ethnicity are you?', 'Of which personal view are you?' Someone who helped me greatly was [...]. He really did a lot of volunteering. He also ... my concept of being non-political. Later that politics got inside, that is a different story, but at the time it was not political. So we decided to take out our profile, of the work we were doing. Work on the profile is going on. [...], these people, are involved.

So you are thinking of bring out something on your work?

7. A profile. So what kind of profile should be taken out? What work did you do at the time?

That is what needs to be brought in front, I believe.

8. It will probably, in my calculations, that they will complete it in Chait (March/April). That has happened to us now is, you know the people who died in the Kasthamandap, the earthquake, those people have also become our heritage.

This is also what I have been saying, [...]ji. It is not only reconstruction. At the time the concern was not only that it gets rebuilt, physically rebuilt, there are many smaller things linked to that. It is necessary to include all these things. What we said, what we will do after the reconstruction was completed, I am happy to hear that you are preparing a profile. I had also talked with them, with [...]. [...] were involved with the intangible. You all had done a lot of work. All that should be published somewhere. We were even considering publishing it in this one.

9. Someone who gave me confidence, a lot of support, was Kasinath Tamot.

I have also met Kasinath-sir. We were also talking about possibly a different publication on inscriptions. Now sir is also sick.

10. The other day he was hospitalized [...].

I have not been able to meet him recently. That is why, all these experts, community, everyone has their role. As you mentioned also Kasinath-sir. I will also meet [...]dai, and will also talk to him like this. Everyone got involved not for personal gain.

11. No one got involved for personal gain.

Even now, with the Reconstruction, all those who are working there, ... I also used to come here, when you were with Rebuild, I also visited a few times. I am also working on various things with Archaeology (Department), at Hanumandhoka I have been doing a lot of work from the beginning. Rija used to call once or twice, I used to come. Sometime [...]dai, sometimes Sumana used to call. I used to come. In what I could contribute in, I of course could not contribute in everything, I used to talk. In whatever has been reconstructed, everyone has played a role, directly or indirectly.

12. They have.

Maybe everyone cannot come and sit in the same place. It might work out or not. But all the work, we must appreciate each other's work I believe.

13. At the time, we contacted all the community. Let's say, Rajkarnikar Community, the one from Bhimsenthan, Sa Guthi. We contacted all of them. We managed to get in touch with many of them. We had to the same thing to tell to all of them who we contacted.

The concept that you had started off with, do you think it has been achieved?

14. The way it is being built down, what has happened is, that the reconstruction is the main thing. The biggest thing that has happened is that it has become too politicized, now, in this process of construction. Politicized in the sense, our poor Member of Parliament, [...] I even forgot his name, Rajesh Shakya. Who is doing the work there? Where is the participation?

I also admit he has a major role. What happened politically is, as per our experience since we are now working on the Kasthamandap, he has been fully involved. Kasthamandap, as a structure made of wood, it is so difficult to get wood. I had never dreamed of this issue. He goes each time to arrange the wood, get it cut, loaded on the truck, and then he returns. If there had not been a bit of politics involved, it might not have been possible.

15. He became highly politicized.

Working there, we also believed this should not be politicized. What we realized in this project was that if there had not been this political support, we would not have been able to bring the big wooden posts of the Kasthamandap. The policy itself is like that. At one point, the Department of Archaeology has already shut down the sawing of long pieces of timber. We needed timber that was seven metres long.

16. The four posts that were put up, as per my simple knowledge, it needs to be in equilibrium. There are three old and one new post [note: it is three new and one old]. Does it not make a difference? The reason I cannot accept that is the type of seasoning that was discussed in the beginning. In the past it was brought from the jungle and after years and years of seasoning, it has to be from a single quality. But there is one timber which is new, [...] there are three old and one new. When putting in the new one, will there be equilibrium?

We had a lot of discussions. The committee, in respect to political, administrative, [...] we had actually brought all four new timbers. What happened was, we did a lot of research, in respect to the quality of the wood, and in this project we even got the opportunity to see wood from way back. There was the post from the eleventh century. It carries history. We even found a piece which is from the fifth century. It is history. When we do restorations, when the wood is not damaged, we reuse it. In that respect we had a discussion within our Expert Team, including Tiwari-sir and Maskey-sir. When we had the meeting in the Committee, we brought all four timbers, saying we need to be ready. All four timbers were brought. What happened then was, no this is carrying history. When we talk about the history of the Kasthamandap, we can say this post is a 1000 years old. To confirm this we did tests. Is this wood rotten or not? Like you said, the new wood is heavy and this is light, which is true. Concerning seasoning of the wood. It was not possible to season such large piece of wood. In our

discussion, it was said that such large sections, when they dry, they change very little in size. That such a long piece of wood shrinks, we had a lot of discussions on this, within our Expert Team. We sat with our experts before taking any decisions. As you were saying today, this is my concern, as well as things that we have changed, all these points should be included in our publication.

17. That will only be useful for history. We will wait and see how long it will last? The problem is that people say that nothing will happen, it does not matter. When asked who said it, they say it was the head carpenter (*Sikarminaike*) who said it.

Yes, also the carpenter. They have experience, by knocking, looking at it, listening to it. What we did was, we always talk about traditional, now we have modern science, modern technology, there is a means of checking the wood. Concerning the four timber posts, already during the first year, when the excavations were carried out, I was also involved in that project, to check the quality of the wood, we had taken samples.

18. What the most important thing is, the intention. The intention is only how to show the work. Instead of considering what might make a difference, it is only about showing the work. The wood has come, over and over again. To tell you truly, if all four posts had been replaced, nothing would have happened, is what I want to say. Four of them of the same quality. We brought it, there is enough money. Intention, they brought some brick and piled them up to show, that the bricks have come and they show it. Who should they bring for the inauguration? That is what our MPs is thinking of. Politics is moving in the other direction.

There will be some politics in any case.

19. There will be politics, in that respect, that is exactly why we said we with cultural heritage should not get into politics. We should not get into politics, that exactly that. To let you know, within my group of volunteer friends, you know [...], minister, even [...]’s daughter used to come and work there. We had not met. This is the daughter of a Communist, brother of a Congress, we did not consider any of that. Everyone should come, this heritage belongs to everyone. It has to be everyone’s ownership. How do we get ownership? Ownership has not come.

What do you think we need to do for that?

20. The time has already passed. To bring ownership, we have to start anew. What I want to say is, when there are various types of events, how do we get them involved? Make sure there is trust. If we do it, then all the communities will participate. Have they been called?

I will also include this, [...]

21. Ownership, no what I am saying is, are you expecting it from poor Rajesh Shakya?

Actually [...]ji, Rajesh-dai is leading the project, but we also have the expert in our expert team. We also have discussions regularly. What you said about the communities, we have also talked with the Ta Chatan Guthi. We asked them what they would want to do, that they have been staying here from the beginning. Since the collapse, what do you want to do, a small puja? What would you like to do? We asked them like that. One of the main challenges was of course to get the wood, we really assumed that, that is slowly working out. We are in the last stage of getting wood. There is still one or two lots that still need to come. Now we feel that one of the big problems, big challenges has been resolved. We are in that phase. Now we are getting into the phase of final finishes. So what else is there that we need to do? We do not want to miss out on these. That is the stage we are in. In that respect we also wanted to get in touch with you. We used to see you there, but it has been a long time since you last come over there. While thinking of coming and talking, today it seems to have just happened.

22. That which you are trying to do here, that document will be very useful. My things will come out in two or three locations. I am about to bring out a book. My things will also be presented there. Then in this profile that we said we are working on, it will also come there. In my collection, I have collected all the books that have been released. One such book, 'The heritage war' (Sampada-ko ladai) that Damodar Neupane wrote, it is written there. I read it. Who should I call 'Newar'?

Someone who speaks Newari?

23. No, what I have been saying, in respect to who we should call a Newar, whoever believes in the heritage and culture of the Nepal Mandala, is a Newar. To be a Newar, it is not being a Shrestha. Being a Newar is a community. That community is made up of those within the Nepal Mandala. What I told Damodar Neupane, you are a Newar. He became very emotional, that he was now a Newar. He then became even more involved. He wrote that in 'The Heritage War'. I read it, I felt happy, I do not know when I spoke what, but he had written it down, that I had said that. Even now, for me, as I was saying, Govinda Adhikari, he is a Newar.

What it is, [...]ji, we are, ... everyone is talking about their identity. But as long as you do not appreciate my things, and I do not appreciate your things, I will only hold on to my things, there is no future in that. As long as I do not consider your things to be important, even though I am not in your family, we do not accept that it is important for you, we do not appreciate each other. It will not be long lasting. I believe we are now moving in that direction. We are becoming conservative towards our heritage. We should not be conservative. In this same context, when going to talk about the Kasthamandap, Ramesh Jung Thapa, DG, the very early DG, Ramesh Jung Thapa, who first did the Kasthamandap restoration.

24. I started by bringing Ramesh Jung Thapa's book.

I also went to meet him. The way he spoke, why at that time we had to deal with heritage, because the cultural heritage of Kathmandu Valley is so

important. He is also not a Newar. The anger we have towards the Department of Archaeology, but the politics not only of the Department of Archaeology but the entire country has become like that, it is no use just blaming the Department. But the intention for the construction, the intention with which earlier people worked, we must appreciate that at least a bit. We are always negative, with everything. Where is the positivity? We need to all get together and say we can do it.

25. *How much have we understood? [...] The things that [...] raised. Even [...] was blamed for many things, that he takes money from INGOs, he takes money from here and there, he was so pressurized [...].*

What do you think should happen? You started off with a certain concept. How should the participation take place, or what needs to happen that what you imagined is completed. 'What I wanted has been fulfilled'. What has to happen?

26. *When I look at this then, to maintain the ownership, you have various activities, and in these activities they have to sacrifice their political prejudices.*

Those kind of activities have to be arranged. We have to arrange activities that are not politicized, and you would not hesitate to participate. The community would not hesitate.

27. *Exactly.*

There are many different types of people in that team. Everyone has their own opinions. Even though everyone has their own opinion, we convince each other to move forward in a certain manner. Everyone has their own opinion, but we need to think of what is best for this. We discuss things, let us do it in this manner or that manner. Even [...] -sir, from the beginning has said that the community - as you said you were going to do it through donations – we get people to contribute certain materials, not a lot of money, each person can give a certain amount, let us do something. We discussed this in our committee. We are still getting to that stage. What activity can take place where everyone can participate? We are also in the process of identifying this. The community should also be able to participate. Everyone cannot get involved in everything. In the beginning, when we were cleaning up things, we invited people. We cannot get such participation for all the work. We are now trying a bit. We would be happy if you would also come and do something like that. An endeavour that you had started, now that we are coming to the end, we all work together. We would be very happy if you would also come, [...] -ji. I will also talk to others. You also mentioned the profile of Rebuild, I am happy. It must be published somewhere. Work is work, even if it was voluntary, are were many who worked hard, I know, it should not get wasted. [...], you mentioned the daughter of [...], I also work with her. I also told her many times, the work has to be published. You can do it yourself, or we can include it in this publication as a chapter on the work that was carried out by Rebuild Kasthamandap. I told her to include it. I do not know whether it was

discussed in your community. She might have been awkward for her. We can include it as work of Rebuild Kasthamandap in the publication, was what I proposed.

28. Everyone had worked on it, [...]

[...]-ji, I will talk to them again [...]

29. I will understand

Today I feel very happy that I have talked to you like this. Even I have spent time on the Kasthamandap. I have an office, but I have left that and am working on this. Let there be something, everyone has been involved, as you were saying before; there is no one personal selfish interest. Everyone says that they will give as much of their time as possible, as far as possible I will do it. Even those who are working there are the same. As you said, yes, at a certain level we have politics, but I believe without that politics it would be very difficult. I have gotten that feeling, extremely. Wood, wow, it is very difficult.

30. I have to talk here (someone else).

OK.

Interview C12

21 September 2020 (voice recording translated from Nepali)

[...] Please sit down sir. So at the time, the main person looking after the site was [...] -mam.

1. Yes, she was project chief.

Then, as you mentioned before, there was a photographer called Pushpa Man Chitrakar, is that right sir?

2. Pushpa Man, he was the head of the photography section.

Is he still here?

3. He is still here.

Where is he?

4. In the Ganesh Lab. Sometimes we meet him here. When I meet him, will tell him.

He is from Ganesh Lab, aha.

5. From the Ganesh Lab, he is the son of the Ganesh Lab. You know the photographer who comes, the tall one? He use to come. He was also around during the time of Birendra Bhakta. He used to keep coming here.

What we are trying to understand is that in 1966, during the time of Ramesh Jung, who was the main person looking after the site? [...] sir?

6. It was [...].

Who was that?

7. It was [...]’s younger brother.

Younger brother. He should be here. [...] is not?

8. I sent him off after scolding him. Because of your wrong conservation, all this collapsed. Now it also collapsed.

Looking at this in detail, it does not seem to have been due to the work in 1966. What all went wrong, it was during a later time. Today we will meet [...], they had done all the work, during the later time. We will discuss with them about all the details. But if you look at the photos, the photos we have, the old DOA photos, they are all from later on. They are not from '66. In the later one, supposedly [...] had done all the tiling work. He had talked about that yesterday. Today I will also go and talk to them again. So, actually, it was not during the '66 that the bad work was done. That was the first project, which was carried out as a model project. Work probably was done OK at the time. Later, in '75, they did some painting work for the King's coronation.

9. At that time they did not touch it.

When Queen Elisabeth came, it seems they did some extra work.

10. At that time they also did not touch it.

They did not do much, they only painted. Then the major work would have been in '52 (1995).

11. When they shot those photos, it would have been at that time. They mentioned that some unnecessary things were done. Rafters were cut. They drilled for the pegs and they also put in steel rods. That is what they said was done.

[...]

12. The beams should sit on the wall plates, but they are not there. All that had rotten. They only put it so that it holds. How can that be? It has to hold all that load.

It has to hold the entire roof.

13. Look at the photos from '52. The wall plates are useless (*khatam*), all rotten. It was all very useless. That is why it collapsed.

To ask about this, to talk with [...] -madam,

14. You cannot.

... cannot. We were thinking of chatting with [...], get some information from them. So after '60s, the next big renovation was in '99.

15. Shall I call the expert to come here?

Who?

16. The person called [...]. Will he talk?

*It will be interesting. Our observations, in so many places we have written that during the '66 renovation there were a lot of mistakes done. As per our present observations, and the collection of documents, at the time it should have been done well. It was in the later one that a lot of mistakes (*garbar*) happened.*

17. (*) *In the beginning we did not have the information. In the photographs that were taken later, one sees it. It is not certain what was done during the first time.*

Let us talk with [...]. Do you have his number?

18. There is someone staying there with his youngest brother, at the Library.

[...] you said.

19. Yes, [...]. He is [...]’s younger brother. [...]’s uncle.

From where, is he from Patan?

20. From here, from Kathmandu. He stays right here, right here. Down ...

In that case we should meet him. We met with Ramesh-sir the other day. We told you.

21. They will not say. When they were working on the Vishwanath Temple, the temple right in front of the Krishna temple, the roof fell, two roofs fell.

You are talking about Patan.

22. Yes, in Patan.

In front of Manga Hiti

23. Yes, in front of Manga Hiti. At the time two people had died. When I went there to look at it, they had put the rafters without joining them, just like that.

Side by side.

24. Just like that. All of them. How did it hold? He supposedly built it in '52 [1995]. It was also built in '52. It must be that this and that was built at the same time.

[...], when he was involved, it was not in '52.

25. '52 or '54, what it is actually, the date I do not know. [...] from the time of those photos

Yes, those photos are there.

26. It would be '52.

Was [...] from '52 or from the time of Ramesh-sir?

27. Ramesh-sir was surely not there at the time.

From when he was the DG of the Department.

28. At the time, DG of the Department was Shaphalya.

No, when they removed everyone from here, in '21. In '20 when the first renovation took place of the Kasthamandap. At the time, who was there? You said during the later one.

29. At the time it was Ramesh Jung Thapa.

Ramesh Jung Thapa would have ordered someone to do it. Someone would have led the work.

30. That is [...].

[...].

31. It would be [...]. There was the Hanumandhoka project, the UNESCO project. They were involved in that from the beginning. Neils was there, Hagmueller was there.

What is interesting is that in Shaphalya's book, he explains the '22 at length. For the one that he had done, he writes that in 1999 – 2000, similar work was done, and finishes it in one line. There should be a report on that.

32. There should be a conservation note. Everything should be there, at the Department of Archaeology.
- That has not been long, 20 years ago. Twenty-two years ago.*
33. If we say '52, or '54, then it would be 22 or 23 years ago.
- It is only that long ago. I just remembered something else, sir. In '66, then some 35 years after there was the big renovation, that would also have been major since the entire roof had to be renovated, and the flooring was done. So major work was done after 30 to 35 years. Then 25 years later this collapsed.*
34. What must have happened, that they did just a little bit of work.
- But then they say it was fully removed. You saw the photos. In those photos, the rafters were removed, fully.*
35. They must have removed them because the planks had become weak. They must have put thin planks.
- It must have been, at the time, our [...]...*
36. In some places they might have replaced some.
- It looks like they replaced a lot of the lower ones. In the photos it is totally open. They have removed them entirely. I will talk with [...] and confirm what work that they did at the time. They said they had done the work. They should know better than those we write about the site. He said that they had put the tar-felt and laid all the tiles. If we show him the photos, maybe he will remember.*
37. [...] is a good person. In '52 Archaeology fixed it, that is the reason why it collapsed.
- That is what seems to have happened. Even when doing restorations, it can lead to a lot of problems. So, consideration has to be made to do it correctly, would the conclusion from this. From this we can say when it was done, and how it was done. That is what we are trying to write about. They said that after they got the work, they started and no one came to see the work until it was finished. When they were distributing the work they supposedly talked big. He told them that if you are going to give me the work, give it, if not then then do not, since I also have other work to do. But once they gave the work, they did not even come to look.*
38. They do not come. No one comes. During the entire work, no one comes, not even the people from Pashupati. Even those from Pashuapti, they are the same. Like monkeys. They are good at taking money.
- They are involved until the work is arranged. Afterwards, when money is paid, they are involved. In looking after the work, nothing happens.*
39. That is the same with Archaeology (Department).

Here, what we want to do is also quote the workers, in a few places. In respect to the work done, where did the information come from, we can possibly include certain quotes. In '66, who was involved? Hari Ratna is not here. If we knew who worked with Hari Ratna, it would be interesting.

40. In Hanumandhoka was done by [...]. The other projects it seems where given to others.

At the time who was there?

41. [...]didi. [...]madam. The supervisor was [...]. When they came here, I told them that it was because of them that Vishwanath had collapsed, and this had collapsed. What kind of work did you do? How much money did you earn? That is what I told them. I told them directly. With a red face, he said he will leave now, and left.

OK, so we should talk once with [...].

42. [...] is old. Whether he was in Archaeology or not, I do not know. From that time, the carpenters are probably not there. The ones they used, one of them would have been Mangal Lal.

Who brought him?

43. Mangal Lal, they also tried to bring him here. Mangal Lal Chitrakar. They had tried to put someone old here.

Did all these people always come from Bhaktapur?

44. From Bhaktapur, Khokhana, from Bungamati.

Even then everyone was from there? It does not seem that there were any from Kathmandu.

45. There are not any in Kathmandu. ... from very early on. In Kathmandu they all became business people (sau). They are from Bhaktapur. There are not any in other places. [...] Mangal Lal is also not here. Hakal Bahadur probably not. First it was Hakal Bahadur and Mangal Lal. Mangal Lal was like his son. He was a champion, in laying the *jhingati*. That was the person we laid the *jhingati*. He would remove the growth, it is what he used to do. There is Hakal Bahadur who is still here, from Bhaktapur.

Interview C13

2 March 2021 (voice recording translated from Nepali)

I just met [...]dai and we were talking about the collapse of the Kasthamandap.

1. He would not have remembered anything, he was unconscious.

He said he had spoken. It was a foreigner.

2. I know, there was a foreigner. He was buried over there. When we got him out, we thought he was unconscious, so we put him on a stretcher and sent him to hospital. Would not have remembered anything. Then there was someone from right here. He was sitting right here. He had been called to have some tea. He just came here a few days ago. If he had not been called to have tea, he would have died.

3. A person who was standing here, ran out there and had a heart attack and died. He was already out there, but then had a heart attack and died. He does not remember anything, even the guy who was hit by the wall. A Kasain.

What was very interesting was that I saw this photo. I remembered this foreigner. Looking at this photograph, I was wondering why the photographer had shot this, since a photographer would have thought of something before shooting. So I thought this must be the person. When I asked him by showing the photograph on the computer, whether this is the person, he was slightly shocked. He said this really could be the person. I had a photo of the person. This is a photo of when he was dug up. When talking, first I did not feel like showing it, but then he said you must have more photos, show them to me. I then showed this. This is me, he said. I had not realized that this was him.

4. Yes, this is Chandan.

He said that he has kept these clothes safely, as a memory of my second life. So there was some kind of a link. So this would have been a big moment for him.

5. If Bikram would not have brought that machine to cut, would he have survived? That was to save Chandan-dai. It was possible to cut the huge post (one of the main four posts) that was over him. He brought that machine (chain saw). There was load-shedding at the time.

Is it possible to meet him?

6. It is possible to meet him, why not?

Because when I took the interview of the rescue,

7. I will give you his number.

Yes give me his number.

8. Bikram is sick. I do not know if he will come.
Is there anyone else? Someone who was really involved in the rescue.
9. There is me. And the person from that tole, Birendra. Then there is the guy who sells fish, Shivaram. Then there is Birendra. There are two - three others in there. Then there is Gagan. Then there are the young guys, I have an entire group of young guys.
A few days back we talked with Amulya,
10. There is Gagan, and Maila, and Mahindra, Mahindra Sakya. They got involved with their whole *jiyan*. I left at 75 to 80 year old and came here. I had gotten a phone call, but I walked around from there and came here. At home no one knew where I was at the time. No one's phone was on, only mine. There were phone calls from all over, from America, from all over. Only my phone was on. This is quite an astonishing phone, this number. It can be tracked, it is recorded. This is my office number. It is the first number in Nepal starting with zero, mobile number. It never shuts down, it never turns off. It is on 24 hours. Even now I cannot turn it off.
So what do we do tomorrow?
11. With Vikram, he will not come. His older brother will only come.
Tomorrow at 10:00, he says. [...] He has said that we will meet here?
12. A few days ago I was at the office and I had a small argument.
You had an argument.
13. Yes, quite an argument. These workers, when there was lockdown they were not here. I arranged for these workers. At the time they fired one of them. I asked why you fired them. I was shouted at very badly. It is difficult to find good workers. During such a time we need to listen to the workers. If it was not for them, this would not be built. Just wait and see. [...] I can heal by touching like this. Even Tulsi-dai, when he was hit, with a helped him.
Was Tulsi-dai hit?
14. Yes, with a crowbar. When he hit like this with the crow bar, he fell. He was not hit by the timber. Luckily he fell on a tyre. If it has been the ground it would have ended up very different.
He sometimes has tries a bit too much.
15. Sometimes he uses a bit too much technique. I gave him medicine. When he was carried over there, his face was red and I though he had fallen over because of high blood pressure. [...]
Sometimes they have to use both their head and their strength.
16. I never make fun of them. I always ask them whether they have had tea. Whether they have eaten. But you cannot take them out to eat, they eat a lot.