

THE NEOCLASSICAL RESIDENCES OF THE NEWARS IN NEPAL
TRANSCULTURAL FLOWS IN THE EARLY 20th CENTURY ARCHITECTURE
OF THE KATHMANDU VALLEY

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Volume I

Text

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Subject

In the mid-nineteenth century, the palaces of the Rana rulers of Nepal began to herald a westernised architectural language. The earlier architectural style of the late Malla and Shah period underwent a radical change. All the numerous newly built palaces mimicked neoclassical¹ architecture of Europe and British India. Furthermore, the new architectural style was absorbed by the population of the Kathmandu Valley, the Newars. Their residences, built during the first half of the 20th century in the larger cities of Kathmandu, Patan and Bhaktapur, adapted and incorporated neoclassical elements. In fact, the Ranas and Newars were attracted by universal themes that were appropriated into indigenous Nepalese buildings. This architecture thus exhibits a unique Newar building style, the Newar neoclassical, or “Rana style”, as it is often called by the Newars themselves. Besides neoclassical forms, certain elements originating from Mughal architecture in India were introduced into the Newar vernacular architecture.

The purpose of the present work is to trace the evolution and interaction of the European form vocabulary in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in the Kathmandu Valley. This area offers the unique possibility to investigate an architectural transcultural process in a small scale and sequestered environment where the arrival and iteration of architectural motifs and styles can be thoroughly studied. The aim is to identify the different ways in which architectural language, building typology, ordering systems, design and construction methods, stylistic sources and architectural intention were combined by the Nepalese to produce a new, significant body of architectural work. Such an analysis of the hybrid architectural design processes in the formerly remote Nepal not only provides a framework for the assessment of this period and subsequent architectural and urban development, but also documents a unique approach to architectural design. It sheds light on distinct types of architectural hybridity that negotiate the transition from Newar building tradition to a previously unknown building style. With regard to the investigation of the aspects listed above, this work may be

¹ In contrast to the German literature that distinguishes between classicism (middle of the 18th century until the first half of the 19th century) and neoclassicism (19th and early 20th centuries), the English term “neoclassicism” describes the art and architecture of the whole period (middle of the 18th century until the early 20th century) cf. Stillman (1988).

perceived as basic research on a recent part of Nepalese architectural history with the tools of art historical methods and embedded in a transcultural context.

1.2 Newar Façades and the Discourse on Globalisation

The questions addressed to the past arise from current interdisciplinary discussions. In this context, I focus on the localisation of a regional identity – expressed through the hybrid vernacular – in a globalised world. The façades of the early 20th century residences of the Newars reflect multiple identities of their inhabitants. The façades may be regarded as transcultural contact zones, presenting different symbols, signs, languages and collective processes of consciousness. The hybrid architecture in the Kathmandu Valley emerged as a result of the adoption of Mughal and particularly of European forms in the Nepalese architecture. Neoclassical architectural forms were eminently conquering the world outside Europe from the 18th until the beginning of the 20th centuries. The Nepalese example of transcultural flows in architecture, particularly the appropriation of neoclassical patterns into the palace and vernacular architecture, may be regarded as paradigmatic for a trend that affected significant parts of Africa and Asia, e.g. the urban design of the Indian cities, but also of Bangkok, Shanghai and Tokyo. The scholarly investigation of these cultural flows thus is a contribution of the history of art to the studies on globalisation. This perspective offers a more universal approach to the Nepalese architectural history of the early 20th century and the migration of forms in terms of a global art history. In regard to Nepalese art-making and building activities certain universal features of human consciousness (Kesner 2007: 105) can be exposed. The aim of my investigation, however, is still to study the uniqueness of diverse art traditions and the culturally specific ways in which architecture has been created in the Kathmandu Valley during the first half of the 20th century.

Recent publications that deal with world history hold the view that history – local, national or regional – whether it deals with political, economic, social or cultural issues, ought to be considered as part of global history (Bayly 2005 and Hopkins 2006). Very generally speaking, globalisation is thus characterised by various ways of interaction and communication between all parts of the world. Globalisation in world history is not a novel phenomenon but has taken different forms and stages, categorised as “archaic”,

“proto”, “modern” and “postcolonial” by Anthony G. Hopkins (2002), who has done research in the field of imperial history. With regard to my research on aspects of transculture in early 20th century vernacular architecture of the Newars in Nepal, the “modern globalisation” that begins in the middle of the 19th century and continues into the first half of the 20th century (ibid: 33f.) is of special interest. During the 19th century, economic, colonial and imperial ambitions and the drive for modernism favoured the spread of uniform styles. The British expert on Imperial and Naval History, Christopher Bayly, assumes that the essence of being modern lies in regarding oneself as modern: “Modernity is an aspiration to be ‘up with the times.’ It was a process of emulation and borrowing” (Bayly 2005: 10).

The factors listed above, in particular, were responsible for the world-wide, soaring cultural networking and uniformity during the 19th and early 20th centuries. Each of them may be regarded as a crucial *primum mobile*. In fact, uniformity implies that a practice is established in order to create commonality. The uniformity that spread around the world grew from the desire of people of different cultural and ethnic backgrounds to present themselves similarly in public. This occurred on a large, sometimes global, scale.

Global uniformity developed while at the same time the appreciation for the “foreign” was strengthened through the rapidly growing interconnections between different human societies and cultures. Concerning the fields of art and architecture, the encounter between one’s “own” modi of representation and those of “others” could result in the awareness of alterity and in the interaction of practices of imitation (*mimesis*). Uniformity is thus not a synonym for homogeneity. In art and architecture, globalisation encompasses a variety of forms of western and non-western encounters that result in hybridisation and involve new perspectives on art making and visual (trans)culture. In this context, scholars concerned with global art history talk about “negotiation processes” between cultural traditions of visual representation (Juneja 2008: 190). These processes in the field of art and architecture create a productive bonding zone between cultures.

In the late 18th and first half of the 19th centuries, “history” was represented on buildings, symbolising the tradition and power of the new national states. With the building of the Pantheon in Paris (1764-1790), the Capitol in Washington (1793-1823), or the classic buildings in St. Petersburg, for instance, the claims of an antique origin of rationality were expressed. In early 20th century Europe, neoclassicism epitomised the

self-assurance of the past, suitable to represent the presence and reactionary and authoritarian political programmes. During the Third Reich edifices erected as cult sites for the Nazis and Hitler's fantasies about being the founder of a thousand-year Reich corresponded with the notion of ancient Roman architecture, associated with eternity. The neoclassical baseline was enlarged, multiplied, altered and exaggerated.

But the following examples of the uniformity of architecture focus on the world-wide spread of non-colonial neoclassical design. Until the beginning of the 20th century, many members of African and Asiatic elites thought conventions and traditions, religions and communities should be dismantled (Bayly 2005: 10). Several non-European rulers favoured western-style palaces. The half-independent kings of the kingdom of Awadh (Oudh) in Northern India built religious and profane buildings and blended European neoclassical architectural matters with Mughal motifs in the first half of the 19th century. In the so-called Meiji restoration of Japan in the late 1860s, the changes in all aspects of life included the introduction of western building styles that demonstrated that the Meiji government was strong, stable and modern. The Chowmahalla Palace in Hyderabad, a synthesis of Mughal and neoclassical styles, was completed in the 1860s by the fifth Nizam, Asaf Jah V. The Yildiz Palace (1880) in Istanbul was erected after the social and political reforms, the decline of the Ottoman Empire in the early 19th century in Turkey and after the following Tanzimat period ("reorganisation"). This period of reformations of the army, banking system, and the replacement of guilds with modern factories in Turkey began in 1839 and ended with the First Constitutional Era in 1876. Last but not least, the white-washed neoclassical palaces of the Kathmandu Valley, built after the middle of the 19th century to demonstrate and legitimate political power to the British in India, fit in this listing.

Dressing in the western top hat and black cutaway was adopted from protestant Christian reformists in Great Britain and in North America, by Chinese nationalists and leaders of the new Japan and Maori chiefs. The Ottoman fez became popular among the Egyptian, Algerian and Malayan male reformists (ibid: 12f.). European military uniforms were frequently adopted by non-European elites. Consequently, the Nepalese Rana rulers were portrayed in European-style uniforms in front of neoclassical peristyles and next to rococo armchairs in early Nepalese photographs of the late 19th century. Rana women posed at elegant rococo tables with "Chinese" vases. The latter, in fact, were *chinoiseries* from Europe and thus demonstrate the flows of European fantasies of Chinese art wares to Nepal.

The middle classes of the 19th and early 20th centuries in general strived for the standards of their rulers. This was, among other things, reflected by the fact that they copied the architectural styles of the ‘modern’ royal palaces. In the major Indian cities and in colonial China the local rising middle classes and Europeans moved from the old centres of the cities to modern built exclaves outside the towns (Junhua et al. 2001). They thus followed a world-wide trend which expressed the wish to live separately from the socially lower rest of the population. In contrast, Newars did not settle in suburbs, even though they prospered during the first half of the 20th century and became wealthy merchants or employees at the Rana court. Instead, they built their new houses around the central Darbār Squares of their cities following ancient urban structures based on caste and profession. However, the living habits of the Newars also changed within the late 19th and early 20th centuries. They strived for a higher standard by copying attributes of the modernity of the Ranas. As discussed in this work for Nepal, European patterns such as half-columns or acanthus design trickled down on the residential buildings of townsmen in many parts of the world, where the European patterns were interwoven with the vernacular architecture.

Many common people world wide wished to copy the consumerism of the royal court and aristocracy. In the 19th century, an international artistic sensitivity led to the formation of new museums. An international art market, reinforced by the colonisation of Africa and Asia, changed or replaced the older schools and traditions world wide. In Europe, the imports of both the Dutch and British East India Company ensured that Chinese and Indian arts found their way into the Great Exhibition (1851) in London and later exhibitions. In the European *palazzi* and country houses these foreign goods were arranged according to aesthetical standards dominated by the heirs of Renaissance master builders like Palladio. Between the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 20th century, the number of clients for precious artefacts – in the aristocratic and the sacral world – declined. Manufacturers in Europe and the United States began to fabricate cheap imitations, for instance of the late Chinese Qian-Long porcelain. The “original” art object was replaced by hybrid, half-European, half-Chinese objects. Another example of the global process of growing uniformity during the 19th century is reflected in the buying behaviour of rich Indian merchants in Calcutta, who favoured huge mass-produced Chinese vases and imported copies of European Renaissance statues made of Carrara marble. Precious European glass and British cast-iron balustrades were shipped around the whole globe and were even carried to the

Kathmandu Valley over the Himalayan Mountains on the back of porters. These luxuries, however, were not affordable to most Newars. Therefore they were translated into the realities of the common built environment of Newar cities where, for instance, a cast-iron balustrade from Scotland was taken as the model and realised in timber.

Of course, there had already been markets for foreign art wares earlier, especially in Europe, the Middle East and China, but they had been accessible only to a small group of upper class citizens and noblemen. With the dawn of the 19th century, this market became larger and international (ibid: 369). Uniformity of styles grew world-wide and across all societies, the West being but one epicentre. Societies with distinctive artistic traditions were changed dramatically during the 19th century. But uniformity developed in fine variations since people – for different reasons – withstood these developments and adhered to their local tradition. There were non-European art forms which often kept their vitality in hybrid forms and rather borrowed western ideas and techniques, instead of simply copying them one-to-one. Hybridity in art and architecture must not be equated with the fall of local art traditions. The blending of styles gave new impulses to artistic and architectural production. However, it cannot be denied that symbols were intermingled, traditions were jumbled and that high artistic craftsmanship sometimes lost its integrity.

1.3 Newar Houses and the Postcolonial Discourse

The study of early 20th century houses in Nepal also has to consider the postcolonial discourse, particularly when it comes to terms such as “tradition”, “modernity” and “hybridity”. The 20th century literature about Nepal often refers to the “traditional” house of the Newars. However, there is a general lack of the definition of the “traditional” house or at least no standardised usage which may lead to a misconception of the term.

Architectural features characterising ancient Newar architecture like the building with brick, ornately carved wooden doors and windows and the use of roof tiles are considered “traditional Newar” by western visitors. Since the building material and the iconography of certain motifs had been handed down from one generation to the next over hundreds and hundreds of years, there was indeed a Newar building tradition. Yet, it is worth considering these features as characteristics of vernacular architecture, keeping in mind that the Newar design was continuously developed over time. As will

be discussed below, one can proceed with the assumption that the house interiors and exteriors developed throughout the centuries. It may be presumed that a gradual change had taken place in the centuries preceding the early 17th century, even though there are no houses older than the 17th century. For the last 400 years, the house façades have undergone obvious changes that will be presented. During the 20th century, local building techniques, materials and design such as brick and carved wooden doors and windows and neoclassical conventions, stucco adornments and new materials were combined on the façades of Newar residences. The former Newar building style was changed fundamentally. However, the functional organisation and symbolic order and some traditional design patterns of the Newar house did not change at all. Thus, “tradition” and “modernity” differed yet were no contradictions in the Nepalese architecture. “Tradition” was not the complete opposite of “modernity” as is generally assumed in early western travelogues and also in more recent research literature. Tradition must not be strictly associated with the past, but rather reflects continuity in cultural practices. Moreover, tradition may continuously be established by individual persons or groups.

The 19th and early 20th centuries brought about a dramatic cultural imposition in Africa and Asia due to the large-scale colonisation by the central powers of Europe. In the course of these political, social and cultural upheavals, Europe emerged as the self-constructed “modern” prototype. Gregory Price Grieve, an American ethnographer who researched in Bhaktapur in the late 1990s, analyses the western Orientalist’s view and claims: “Accordingly, while romantic tradition is usually spoken of in terms of chronology, it has an implied orientalist geographic element. The ‘West’ is modern, while the rest – usually far away, ‘colored’, and poor – are traditional” (Grieve 2006: 34). Europeans launching their generally-accepted versions of modernity based their definition on difference: “to be ‘modern’ was to be ‘not traditional’” (Hosagrahar 2005: 1). In the eyes of those who awarded universal validity to the forms of Europe’s modernity, all other spatial structures and designs were considered transitory and incomplete, inadequate or “traditional”. Yet, as will be exemplified for Nepal, there have been economic, political and cultural interdependencies that were even tightened beyond colonised soil and made modernity an outright global project. After the lost war against the British in 1816, Nepal became a sort of British protectorate. The British considered Nepal a province of their Empire and sent a Resident to Kathmandu. The

Rana rulers in Nepal, however, widely rejected colonial power, at the same time absorbing ideas and forms that emerged from the economic, political and cultural upheaval in British India. In Nepal, urban villas that originated from the European or Europeanised metropolis were introduced by the Rana palaces. They were intermingled with vernacular spatial orders and given local responses in Nepal, a place condemned as “primitive” and “traditional” by Europeans.

Early European’s travelogues on Nepal present an Orientalist’s view on architecture. They mention the break with the “traditional” Newar building style and the introduction of European designs. From their western perspective, the Newar neoclassical was described as “modern”, yet “ugly” since it “appeared” in an environment that was considered “alien” and was romanticised due to its brick-lined buildings of the towns of the Newars. Since the Newar architecture which preceded this development was regarded as traditional, westerners obviously distinguished between Nepalese residential buildings built before and after the rise of European neoclassical adornments, which resulted in a new architectural expression. The latter, in the eyes of Europeans, was realised only in bad copies of European models.

Today, historiography of architecture and urbanism still runs the risk of assuming “traditional” and “modern” or the “West” and “non-West” as opposing and contradicting categories. Some scholars thus locate the so-called “traditional” societies outside the realm of the contemporary and “modern”. The Newar inhabitants of the Kathmandu Valley were living amidst their built environment – their houses, temples, places and streets – that was passed on from generation to generation. But they probably considered neither themselves nor their architecture as “traditional”. In the eyes of Anthony G. Hopkins, the notion of “locality” and “centrality” is partly a matter of degree and partly a matter of perspective (Hopkins 2006: 9). Whereas the degree depends on the realities of dimension and power, perspective is important “because what one observer regards as a locality or a periphery may be, for an inhabitant, a center – even the center” (ibid: 9). The Kathmandu Valley is indeed considered the centre of Nepal by the Newars.

Jyoti Hosagrahar, an Indian architectural critic who focuses on the relationship between urban development, modernity, and cultural politics, especially in South and Southeast Asia, challenges “the calmness of an accepted categorization of architecture (and their societies) into ‘modern’ and ‘traditional’, ‘Western’, and ‘non-Western’” (ibid: 2). Her postcolonial position, after which “the idea of ‘modern’ is a normative

attribute culturally constructed in the extreme inequities of colonialism” (ibid: 1), must be taken into consideration in research concerning former colonies.

The concept of “indigenous modernity” (Hosagrahar 2005) deals with the translation of dominant European concepts into local spatial practices. Even though the use and meaning of the emerging new forms were not identical to those idealised in Europe, they were nevertheless modern in Nepal and elsewhere in Asia. New spatial orders and construction methods reflecting colonial ideologies were introduced in Indian cities such as Bombay (now Mumbai), Calcutta (now Kolkata), Madras (now Chennai) and New Delhi through western architecture. But “*Complete* spatial and visual novelty can only come with a radical restructuring of society” (ibid: 6). Neither India or Nepal witnessed a complete radical shift in society, religion or art until the end of the 20th century.

How the perception of the dichotomy between “traditional” and “modern”, “old” and “new”, shifted in the course of time is particularly well reflected in the reports of late 20th century conservation programs and master plans for the cities in the Kathmandu Valley. Within those papers, recently erected houses with five storeys or more built with cement and concrete are regarded as a breach of the Newar building tradition. Structures built in the past centuries and before the middle of the 20th century, thus including the once modern, fanciful Newar neoclassical architecture, are often lumped together and generalised as “traditional” and “historic” by reviewers and planners of potential heritage sites.² This may be for different reasons: According to Hosagrahar, “As an imperialist fantasy, the normative models of modernism have excluded from the annals of ‘modern’ the ordinary, the irregular, and the changing vernacular, even within the coterie of ‘modern’ nations” (ibid: 6). She comments that

For those who expect unity, and those who imagine ‘modern’ and ‘traditional’ to be complete, visually identifiable features of a built form, *indigenous modernities* are disturbing in their discontinuity and incompleteness. The irregular breaks and continuities in forms and meanings that appear place-specific as well as the presence of overtly universal formations create a landscape of surprises that to some may

² See “Report and Recommendations of the Joint UNESCO/ICOMOS Review Mission to the Kathmandu Valley World Heritage Site”. Nepal 14-30 November 1993. Also see “Patan Heritage Conservation Actionplan (Masterplan)”, and Gellner (1996: 20).

appear as a kitsch version of European modernism or a sullied one of local traditionalism (ibid: 7).

But then there is no doubt that “modern” characteristics, in general, relate to the viewer’s present or immediate past. And following this definition, the Newar neoclassical style may be considered “historic”. By lumping the neoclassical houses of the Newars together with the preceding historic architectural language in the Kathmandu Valley, reviewers, planners and scholars, however, pay no attention to the evolution of forms in Nepal during the early 20th century. They neglect the obvious difference between Nepalese residences, built before and after the rise of European design.

1.4 State of Current Research

The research on the history and culture of the Kathmandu Valley by westerners started only in the second half of the 20th century due to the fact that for many centuries Nepal had not been accessible to foreigners. Only a very restricted number of travellers were given entry to Nepal prior to the middle of the 20th century, among them the capuchin monk Pater Giuseppe (1768), Gustave Le Bon (1886), Kurt Boeck (1898), Sylvain Lévi (1898), Perceval Landon (1908 and 1924) and Percy Brown³ (1910). Since the first half of the 19th century a British Resident and a surgeon were based in Kathmandu. Their accounts, however, are descriptive rather than analytic – reported through the eyes of orientalist or administrators. It was not before 1951 that Nepal opened up to the outside world – a scholarly historiography in the western sense did not previously exist. At this point, the first difficulties in dealing with Nepalese art history occur. Despite the effort to avoid presenting an orientalist or Eurocentric perception in this work, it is often difficult to depict a balanced perspective since the analysis cannot resort to Nepalese written documents, such as archival materials, or to cadastres and maps.

The anthropologist, archaeologist and art historian Mary Shepherd Slusser was among the first westerners who began to study the history, culture and religion in the Kathmandu Valley in 1965. Old travel accounts and earlier results of various travellers and few scholars turned out to be imprecise or contradictory or did not provide proper

³ Percy Brown was the curator of the Victoria Memorial Hall, head of the Government School of Art and of the Government Art Gallery, all three in Calcutta.

statements about the origin, development and complexity of the Newar culture (ibid: XI). Slusser pioneered Nepalese history and culture and published her major work *Nepal Mandala* (1982). She provides evidence for a 1500-year-long history of the Valley on the basis of a stone inscription from 464 CE (ibid: 7).

In the decades that followed, further western scholars focussed on anthropological, sociological and art historical questions. Significant contributions have been made since the 1970s by Niels Gutschow, Bernhard Kölver, Wolfgang Korn, Eduard Sekler, Ulrich Wiesner and Raimund O. A. Becker-Ritterspach, who specialised in the architecture of the Kathmandu Valley. Gutschow not only explores Nepalese buildings from the perspective of an architect, but also as an anthropologist who emphasises the importance of the built environment to ritual efficacy and demonstrates how the built environment acquires meaning through ritual performances. He published numerous books about Newar rituals together with the indologist Axel Michaels.

Scholars such as the social anthropologist David N. Gellner mainly dedicated their research to the tantric Buddhism of the Newars. Robert I. Levy, an American psychoanalyst and anthropologist, did extensive fieldwork in Bhaktapur in the early 1970s, analysing how the city mediates between the individual and the universe and giving an important anthropological study of Hinduism in the Kathmandu Valley. In the 1970s, the indologist Alexander W. Macdonald and the anthropologist Anne Vergati Stahl dedicated their work to Newar art history.

The authors listed above examine the timespan from the earliest traces of the history of architecture and art in the 5th century until the early 19th century. While the latest publications are based on older results, it is remarkable that an intensive discussion about the research results is rarely initiated.

Even though these works from different scholarly fields such as art and architectural history, archaeology, anthropology and indology, or global history and post-colonial studies contributed general elements to the present work, the existing literature on Nepal does not provide any work that explored the history of the early 20th century houses of the Newars.

In contrast, the colonial architecture of the British in India and the colonial style palace architecture and vernacular of the Indians have been the focus of several scholars such as Giles H. R. Tillotson, Sten Nilsson, Anthony D. King, George Michell, John Lang, Miki and Madhavi Desai and Banmali Tandan since the 1970s. Whereas architectural discourse for a long time had presented buildings mainly as art- or

technical objects, due to recent debates in social and cultural theory and the study of architecture, they are now also recognised as social objects that carry social and political meaning. The art historians Ebba Koch and Monica Juneja examine the appropriation of European Renaissance art and symbolism in the art and architecture of the Mughals. Since the last decade more and more contributions on architecture, urban design and material culture have been embedded in global and post-colonial issues, for example those of Jyoti Hosagrahar and Deepika Ahlawat.

These articles – their topics, and the different perspectives to deal with them – gave inspiration for my own interdisciplinary research. It is not only the geographical and cultural vicinity to which the debates on Indian architecture lend themselves to comparison with Nepal, but also the way historiography had been written about both countries until recently – mainly through a one-sided western eye, thus neglecting Asian perspectives. In Nepal any scholarly work on the neoclassical Rana palaces or the early 20th century houses of the Newars did not thus exist, one reason being that their new styles were neither considered Newar nor European by westerners. The mimesis of the neoclassical style and its incorporation into the local building style was despised, particularly in early travel accounts. They give testimony of the colonial discourse and the taste of Europeans, who found an imported architectural style more or less closely orientated on the neoclassical architecture in Europe. These Europeans abhorred the hybrid character of the buildings of the Kathmandu Valley. In their eyes, this Nepalese neoclassicism neither fit into its local setting nor could it compete with the European prototype. The reason for the lack of interest in the study of the neoclassical buildings in the Kathmandu Valley by the Nepalese themselves may be due to the fact that the heritage of the Ranas until today connotes usurpation and oligarchy to many Nepalese people.

Least of all, the Newar residences that appropriated the style of the palace architecture aroused the interest of art historians. Yet, in the context of the “Patan Conservation and Development Programme” which was supported by “Urban Development Through Local Efforts” (UDLE) and the German Technical Cooperation (Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ)) in the beginning of the 1990s, interest was directed towards the documentation of Patan’s historical heritage, including some early 20th century houses. Except the brief introduction into the theme written by Erich Theophile (1992) for the “Patan Conservation and Development Programme”, I am not aware of any other article dealing with the Newar neoclassical residences. They are not even mentioned in the literature on urban design and development in the Kathmandu Valley.

I am conscious of the fact that no single study can present all possible interpretations or cover all aspects of the art historical events of the first half of the 20th century in Nepal. This investigation hopes to make a preliminary contribution, providing some insight into the theme.

1.5 Methods

This work primarily provides basic research on the Newar vernacular architecture of the early 20th century, both at its origin and in a global context. I have studied the topic from a number of theoretical positions, also using different methodologies while always keeping in mind the art historical approach which is the focus of my interest.

While living in Nepal for several months in 2004, 2006 and 2007, I did extensive fieldwork and art historical research. Between September and November 2004, I exemplarily studied the façades of six Newar houses in Patan in the course of my master's thesis⁴. Several criteria had their impact on the selection of these houses. The thesis was based on Theophile's documentation in which he not only exemplarily presents certain houses but also suggests building ensembles (in the localities of Naṭol, Dhalāyca, Haugah, Tichugalli, Ukubāhā and Svatha in Patan) worthy of protection from an art historian's and preservationist's perspective. These ensembles are not part of the UNESCO's World Heritage Site, the Darbār Square, which exists since the 1970s. Theophile's documentation contains a collection of architectural drawings from 1992; five were described in my master's thesis: The Vajrācārya house at Mikhābāhā (fig. 576) and the Vajrācārya house at Bhīchēbāhā (fig. 259), drawn by Bijay Basukala and Asaram Twayana on behalf of the Kathmandu Valley Preservation Trust; the Shakya house in Guitaṭol (fig. 582), drawn by Gyanendra Joshi, the Amatya house in Dhālaycā (fig. 462); and the Amatya house in Naṭol (fig. 180) drawn by Sushil Rajbhandari. He also made the drawing of the Tamrakar house at Cākabāhī (fig. 587) that was taken from the archive of Niels Gutschow. The front elevations of these houses were all drawn with ink on a scale of 1:20. The houses are located in different localities, demonstrating the widespread existence of the houses with European forms in the city. This group of buildings exhibits a representative, rich repertoire.⁵ Based on my earlier

⁴ Weiler, Katharina: Zusammenspiel neoklassizistischer und newarischer Formen in der nepalischen Architektur des 20. Jahrhunderts. Heidelberg 2005 (unpublished).

⁵ Some of the houses were in a worse state of repair compared to their depiction on the drawings from the beginning of the 1990s. The front elevations do not depict the original situation and reveal irregularities.

preoccupation with these houses, the descriptions of the Vajracharya house at Mikhābāhā and the Shakya house in Guitaṭol are found in the appendix of this report. In addition, a local architectural draftsman, Anil Basukala, provided further drawings on my request: Shakya house at Ombāhā (fig. 361) in Patan; Joshi house in Bolāchē (fig. 589; see also description in the Appendix), house in Bolāchē (fig. 285), Piya house in Tulāchē (fig. 591, 592; see also description in the Appendix), house at the Gaṇeś Temple at Bālākhū (fig. 593), and house in Cochē (fig. 75, 76), all of them in Bhaktapur. These buildings were measured with a tape measure and drawn with ink at a scale of 1:20.

In the course of my research in 2004, I interviewed the present owners of the houses in order to get some information about the history of each edifice, a method I continued in 2006 and 2007 on a grander scale for the sake of a broader understanding of the history of Newar urban design in the first half of the 20th century. Due to language barriers, I was in need of a local translator for the interviews. Nutan Sharma, a historian and anthropologist from Patan whose research focus is the social and topographical history of Patan, could easily switch from Newari to English and vice versa and also acted as my information source, providing insights into the Newar culture. Questions concerning the date of construction, the name of the head of the craftsmen and the name and status of the builder such as his occupation and possible relation to the Rana court were of special significance.

Guided by the street maps of Patan and Bhaktapur drawn by Niels Gutschow on a scale of 1:5000 in 1973, I comprehensively localised and mapped the vast majority of still existing houses with neoclassical features in the cities of Patan and Bhaktapur between October and December 2006 (fig. 8, 10). Only in very rare cases were the courtyards not accessible. The historic building fabric in these cities is far from being intact since old houses are being continuously replaced by new ones. In contrast to Kathmandu, where the heritage of early 20th century residences has constantly been replaced by the building activities of the past 30 years, Patan and Bhaktapur have, however, qualified for my studies due to the rich corpus of early 20th century residences they still possess.

The houses were charted on the maps of the two cities, the façades were photographed in full and in detail and certain details such as doors, windows, pilasters and capitals, stucco embellishments and inscriptions, were documented. After the photographic

Yet, they lead the viewer to the original state of repair, especially in consideration of the rising decay or renovations with cement.

documentation, all pictures were archived and evaluated. For the comparison, the above listed parameters and building forms were quantified and the date of construction was recorded whenever possible. These data were analysed statistically. The collection and analysis of these parameters are essential for establishing a chronology of the appearance of forms.

During the research for this work, however, difficulties occurred, particularly during my fieldwork. The façades only rarely bear the date of construction and the owners did not remember the exact year of construction except in very few cases. The dating of houses was further impeded by the lack of public records in the form of cadastral entries. In many cases it is thus difficult to establish conclusive evidence for the time course of a stylistic development of neoclassical forms. Even a comparison with historic architectural photography showing lost Rana architecture in the archive of the Kathmandu Valley Preservation Trust (KVPT) in Patan provided little help since usually only whole building complexes, but no details, are documented.

No architectural drawings were found as were no pattern books, either Newar or European that would give the slightest hint on the formation and spreading of ornamental forms in the Kathmandu Valley. Often the façades were in a bad state of repair and decorative details were hidden behind a jumble of wiring. The narrow streets in the cities of the Newars often made it difficult to take frontal pictures with an overall view of houses.

In order to search for examples and patterns for the Nepalese neoclassical building style, I undertook a trip in the beginning of 2009 to Kolkata (Calcutta), India's capital city from the beginning of the 18th century until the early 20th century and a distribution centre for British consumer goods to other parts of India and the Kathmandu Valley. This search revealed numerous examples. The exploration of formerly new building materials such as cast iron and the sighting of archival material such as British catalogues in the British Library in London from the 19th and early 20th centuries brought new insights in the import of European goods into Nepal via Calcutta.

1.6 About the Chapters

Many of the forms and symbols exhibited on the early 20th century façades of the Newar residences originate in the Nepalese past that can be traced back to the 5th century CE. A brief geographical and historical survey of the Kathmandu Valley in the second chapter

thus seems appropriate. Since the houses and their builders and inhabitants were embedded in a complex social and religious system, the urban landscape and social organisation of the Newars is presented in the third chapter. A brief introduction to the cities of Patan and Bhaktapur illustrates the setting of the early 20th century houses mainly dealt with in this text. The fourth chapter is dedicated to the common Newar house in terms of its functional organisation and symbolic order affected by the complex variety of socially-organising principles and its construction principles. Only a close look at Newar towns before the synthesis of European and indigenous idioms was effective enables us to evaluate the enormous impact of the adaptation of European forms on the vernacular architecture in Nepal. Chapter five therefore provides the comparison of five buildings in Bhaktapur from the 18th and 19th centuries, with the main emphasis on the development of window and façade design within this period. Chapter six traces certain building elements of the Mughals in India that were incorporated into the Nepalese temple, palace and residential architecture, particularly in the 18th and 19th centuries, before the first muted indications of western design principles appeared.

Global art history deals with the history of constant transcultural exchanges of different forms of art that are affected by the practice of copying. Chapter seven is devoted to the notion of “copying” architecture and design in the 19th and 20th centuries, in Europe and British India in particular, in order to trace the origins of Nepalese neoclassicism. Special attention is paid to the complex relation between alterity, identity and mimesis, the awareness of otherness and its incorporation into one’s own visual culture.

Chapter eight is dedicated to the transmitters of the transcultural flows in the architecture of the Kathmandu Valley, namely the first Nepalese engineers who were educated by Europeans in engineering institutes in British India in the late 19th century and the Newar craftsmen who were employed at the building sites of the Rana palaces. These same people altered European architectural forms and incorporated them into their own vernacular building style.

The neoclassical Rana palaces are the subject of chapter nine. Only certain significant features of the palaces can be presented within this study in order to exemplify the pretentious architecture introduced by the Ranas after the middle of the 19th century. The focus is not only on the mimesis of European styles as a matter of taste, but I also address the issue of how far European luxuries were intrinsically tied to the nobles’ identity.

The main part of the thesis discusses the character of the early 20th century houses of the Newars, studying the modernisation of façades and their multiple identities in particular. Chapters ten and eleven explore the changes in the built environment after the devastating earthquake in 1934 that are reflected not only by the incorporation of European building forms but also of building materials from Europe. The European's reception of these indigenous modernisation efforts are analysed in detail.

In the following chapter, twelve, I present a framework for understanding how Newar culture generated and developed built form. The chapter explores how multiple meanings and identities, Newar, Mughal and European, are transmitted as nonverbal communication through the built environment with the help of several decorative examples. Chapter thirteen presents painted votive plaques on early 20th century houses of the Newars, dealing with their subject-matters and detecting changes in the composition and style on the basis of European painting techniques. Stucco inscriptions at Newar houses – subject of the last chapter, fourteen – appear as a modern phenomenon. In this chapter the form and content of house inscriptions in the Kathmandu Valley are dealt with. It reveals to what extent they demonstrate the impact of faith in the daily lives of common Newars since they are communicated as the collective voice of their builders. Several specifications, house examples from Patan and Bhaktapur, are presented in the Appendix.

2. THE KATHMANDU VALLEY

2.1 Geography

The Kathmandu Valley, the setting for my research, with its big cities of Kathmandu, Patan and Bhaktapur, is situated in the northeast of Nepal, at an average height of 1350 metres above sea level. From north to south the Valley is 19 km and from east to west 25 km wide. South of the Valley lies a mountain range of moderate height whereas in the North the snowy mountains of the Himalaya are visible. The Bagmati River that meanders through the Kathmandu Valley is the most significant sacred river for Buddhists and Hindus.

The climate is moderately subtropical with seasonal characteristics and a monsoon season from July to September. The climatic variance and occasional smaller earthquakes pose considerable challenges for the building material and structural integrity of the houses. Every 100 years earthquakes devastate the cities on a grand scale. These factors may cause a quick replacement of buildings.

To enter the geographically isolated Kathmandu Valley was difficult for a long time. The Valley was only accessible on narrow roads on foot and with pack animals. The first airplane did not arrive in the Valley until 1949. In 1956 a new highway to India was opened and in 1966 the Valley was connected with China by a highway. The Valley's location is the reason for its economical and cultural development: For hundreds of years the Valley was the gathering place for traders who had to stop on their way to India or China for seasonal reasons. The voyage southwards was only possible in winter to escape the risk of malaria in the Terai, and the journey to the North was only practicable in summer when there was no snow on the high passes.

2.2 Nepalmaṇḍala

Until the late 18th century the wealth of the Kathmandu Valley, reflected in the golden roofs of the numerous temples and the monastic structures adorned by artistic bronze and stone sculptures, woodcarvings and paintings was mainly gained from trade business. As a point of intersection of significant trans-Himal trade routes, the Kathmandu Valley became a centre for cultural exchange (Slusser 1982, I: 6).

The word “Nepal” meant “sequestered mountain valley”. The territory that marks the Kathmandu Valley today was known as “Nepālamaṇḍala”⁶, “Nepal Valley”, or simply “Nepal” (ibid: 7). In 1769 neighbouring tribes and princedoms were annexed. The Valley served as the political, economical and cultural centre of each dynasty (ibid: 7). The official name “Nepal Valley” was renamed as “Kathmandu Valley” only in the administrative reorganisation of 1962 (Gellner 1986: 123).

The name of the population of the Kathmandu Valley, “Newar”, is more recent (ibid: 9ff.).⁷ The Newars are a clearly defined ethnic group. They make up more than half of the population of the Kathmandu Valley. Engaged in trade and craftwork, the Newars have been established in the bazaar cities since the 18th century (ibid: 11). Besides the official language, “Nepali”, its members also speak their own mother tongue, “Newari”, and practice their local customs. A standardised orthography has not yet been established. This is the reason why one and the same expression may appear in different variations in this work.⁸

2.3 History

Until the 18th century Nepalese architecture and typology was exclusively based on the repertoire of the North Indian architecture of the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta period (200-600 CE) mingled with innovations in the Nepalese Licchavi and Malla period. The time between 300 CE and 879 CE is labelled as the Licchavi epoch. Nepal’s contact with India was intensified during the time of Licchavi rule.⁹ During the 9th century the Paśupatināth and Bhairava cults grew popular and Śiva became the most important god for both the Licchavi kings and the inhabitants of the Kathmandu Valley.

The first historical evidence of the rule of a Licchavi king in Nepal is an inscription from the 5th century. Mary Shepherd Slusser, however, assumes the 4th century is the beginning of the Licchavi dynasty due to antecedents mentioned in the inscription. Whereas the beginning of Nepalese dynastic history dates back to the Licchavi time, a more recent archaeological excavation in 1992 suggests the Licchavi dynasty was not

⁶ *Maṇḍala*: lit. “circle”; spiritual image, or ideal model of the universe. Nepālamaṇḍala: “Circle”, or “land of Nepal”.

⁷ “On the basis of varied evidence – literary, historical, anthropological, linguistic, and that of tradition – we may, then, speculate that the Kirāta, metamorphosed by milleniae of miscegenation and acculturation, form the matrix of the Kathmandu Valley population, which in contemporary Nepal is designated Newar”, (Slusser 1982, I: 11).

⁸ The variations depend on my spelling and those of other authors cited.

⁹ The Licchavis emigrated to Nepal from India around 300 CE.

the first in the Kathmandu Valley. As to the Indologist Bronwen Bledsoe who wrote her dissertation on inscriptions of the three kingdoms (middle of the 16th century-1769, see below), sovereignty was seemingly singular (Bledsoe 2004: 58).

Based on hundreds of stone inscriptions (*silāpatras*) a relatively profound knowledge about the Licchavi period was established. Slusser also lists sources in art and architecture such as a great amount of stone sculptures and a few bronzes (Slusser 1982, I: 20ff.). Furthermore, we know about Nepalese history in the 7th century from accounts in Chinese annals such as those of Wang Hsüan-t'sê, the envoy of the lieutenant and Chinese ambassador.¹⁰ His memoirs tell about the first travels from China to India via Nepal (around 643 – 657) testified in written records.¹¹ His observations gain special importance for the history of Nepalese architecture: The houses in the late Licchavi epoch were artistically carved and also painted. The art of wood carving continued to play a major role for architecture in the time that followed the Licchavi dynasty, the Thakuri¹² period (around 879-1200).¹³

The more than 550 years between 1200 and 1769 are known as the Malla¹⁴ period. This time span is distinguished by Slusser between early and late Malla time (1382-1769) and may be separated into three political episodes: 1.) 1200-1382, starting time 2.) 1382-1482, politically a relatively stable time during which the Valley was unified, and finally 3.) 1482-1769, the period of the three kingdoms when the Valley was separated into diverse city states (Slusser 1982, I: 54). Bledsoe locates the beginning of the time of the three kingdoms in the middle of the 16th century (Bledsoe 2004: 58).

There are few transmissions from the Thakuri period and early Malla time (1200-1382).¹⁵ Until today, less than a dozen inscriptions in stone have been found and there are neither mintages nor foreign reports on Nepal. Colophons of manuscripts¹⁶, later chronicles and still existing monuments or their fragments help to illuminate the time (ibid: 41). Even though hardly anything is known about the kings who then ruled, Slusser assumes some of them to be successors of the Licchavi kings (ibid: 43). Bledsoe

¹⁰ Cf. Lévi (1905, I: 157).

¹¹ Today there are only short notes preserved in the annals of the Tang dynasty, cf. Lévi (1905, I: 158ff. and 163ff.).

¹² Thakuri is an honorific Sanskrit name and has the meaning of “gentleman”.

¹³ Cf. Foucher (1900, I: 18), and Petech (1958: 36).

¹⁴ In Sanskrit the name “Malla”, a.o., has the meaning of “wrestler”, and “winner”, cf. Slusser (1982, I: 53). It does not tell anything about the ethnic or dynastic origin of the kings. From the beginning of the 13th century the kings of the Kathmandu Valley entitled themselves “Malla”, cf. ibid: 54.

¹⁵ “I have taken A.D. 1200 as the dividing line, because 1380 seems too late, and more especially because it is awkward to exclude two centuries of rulers whom historians usually name ‘Malla’ from a historic period by their name“, Slusser (1982, I: 42).

¹⁶ Most of them are Buddhist texts from the 11th and 12th centuries.

(2004: 58) claims that there was no paramount ruler in the Thakuri period, but there were many local kings. According to chronicles these years were politically unstable. Cultural habits were adopted from the Licchavi period and transmitted to the Malla time: “The same sites, villages, towns and special places within them continued to be occupied in the transitional years as before. [...] The same temples and monasteries continued in use, and the same gods venerated within them”, (Slusser 1982, I: 48). Slusser considers that the power of the, until then, strong secular Buddhist communities (*saṃghas*) was weakened when the Licchavi rule declined. In contrast, the number of Buddhist monasteries (Skt. *viḥāra*, Nep. *bāhā*) increased in Patan (ibid: 48). Recent carbon dating of roof struts verifies the existence of such a Buddhist structure, Ukubāhā, as early as the 8th century.¹⁷

The Kathmandu Valley became an important place of refuge for Buddhists from India who escaped the Muslim invasion in the late 12th century. As a result, new tantric deities were worshipped in the monasteries. Their adoration reflected concepts of the Vajrayāna-Buddhism but did not replace the worship of older Buddhas and Bodhisattvas – Buddhists who follow the path of complete Buddha-hood in order to save all beings. During this period Hindu cults also emerged in India and Nepal. Their content and practice was similar to those of the Vajrayāna-Buddhism. Consequently, this was the beginning of the coexistence of the two main religious persuasions in Nepal that has lasted until today. Not only do they exist in parallel but are also blended. The amalgamation of Hindu and Buddhist beliefs is expressed by the adoption of gods and goddesses into the pantheon of the other religion.

Around 1380, Jayasthiti Malla became king and reigned over the whole Valley from Bhaktapur. The city remained the sole seat of royal power until the middle of the 16th century (Bledsoe 2004: 58) when, some time after the death of king Yakṣa Malla in 1482, the Valley was divided into three kingdoms consisting of the capitals Kathmandu, Patan and Bhaktapur and their hinterland. Like the Licchavis, the Malla rulers maintained close relations with their Indian neighbours. In the Kathmandu Valley the introduction of the caste system was propagated by the influx of Indian Brahmins (Slusser 1982, I: 65ff.). Bledsoe concludes that a Malla king such as Jyotir Malla around the 15th century “should be the leading sponsor of the principal deities of his realm” (Bledsoe 2004: 104) and the “consecrations by which reigning deities were given or regiven ‘life’” were to be performed by the king. She speaks of a “direct connection with the realm’s cosmic overlord” (ibid: 104) who was represented by Śiva Paśupati. In

¹⁷ Radio-carbon-dating initiated by Mary Slusser, scheduled publication in 2010.

keeping with Lord Paśupati's supremacy the Malla kings were committed to Śaivism. However, Bledsoe underlines that being a committed Śaiva did not exclude the right to perform Buddhist consecration, but "it is the totality of deities installed or 'living' there that in large measure constitute a kingdom" (ibid: 105). Jyotir Malla thus restored the most eminent Buddhist Svayambhū *caitya*. The Rāmavarddhanas, influential nobles from Banepa, claimed a Śiva (Madaneśvara, "Madan's lord"), a Viṣṇu (Jalaśayaṇanārāyaṇa), and a tantric goddess (Tripurasundarī) – "these three, plus a king, constituted a minimal set" (ibid: 105).

When the Muslims conquered neighbouring India, the Kathmandu Valley did not completely escape the invaders. In 1349 numerous residences and shrines were destroyed during a single week (Regmi 1965, I: 312ff). However, the Kathmandu Valley was never conquered by the Muslims. Later, Mughal culture had its impact on Nepal due to the long established relations and the proximity to India. Even if the façades of the Malla palaces adhere to local building traditions, Mughal forms were adopted in the Nepalese architecture after the late 17th century: One Hindu temple in Nepal was shaped in 1693 to resemble a rustic version of a domed mosque. The multifoil arch and the cypress column, both based on Mughal design, are found in buildings from late Malla time.¹⁸

Numerous buildings from the late Malla period still remain today, most of them deriving from the time of the three kingdoms. They are found in the royal cities of Kathmandu, Patan and Bhaktapur. The rivalry among the Malla kings brought about an artistic heyday. The only temple predating 1482 is the Indresvara temple in the city of Panauti.

In September 1768, Prithvi Narayan Shah, king of Gorkha, invaded Kathmandu after conquering most of the surrounding cities such as Kirtipur. He captured Patan and one year later conquered Bhaktapur. Kathmandu was chosen as the new capital and residency of the king. Father Giuseppe (da Rovato), a Capuchin monk and witness of the conquest, gives a description of the architecture of that time: "The houses are constructed of brick, and are three or four storeys high; their apartments are not lofty; they have doors and windows of wood, well worked and arranged with great regularity" (Giuseppe 1807: 308).

¹⁸ Slusser dates the erection of the Bhimeśvara temple in Maru-ṭol, Kathmandu to the year 1693, cf. Slusser (1982, II: Plate 213).

Under Prithvi Narayan's successors, other small kingdoms were annexed to the Kingdom of Nepal. No entry was permitted for Europeans¹⁹ and Mongols (Lévi 1905, II: 276ff.). Towards the end of the 18th century (1792) the Shah kings' aim to expand their kingdom caused trouble with Tibet, then a Chinese protectorate.²⁰ Expansions to the south resulted in a battle with the British in India.²¹ Three decades later the first commercial treaties between Nepal and the British were signed. But the relation between the two partners changed for the worse in the beginning of the 19th century. In 1802 the first British resident, Captain Knox, had to leave his post only a few months after he arrived. From 1814 to 1816 there was a war between the British and the Nepalese and the British won.

At the end of the 19th century Nepal had become a nation in the European sense. Foreigners generally were not allowed to enter. The Nepalese rulers²² rivalled each other. In a bloody coup in 1846, the Kot Massacre, Jang Bahadur Kunwar from the Thapa clan shot his uncle, Prime Minister Mathabar Singh Thapa, and scores of nobles and royal courtiers. After the massacre Jang Bahadur was appointed Prime Minister. The Shah King was exiled to India. In his place Jang Bahadur installed the young crown prince, who signed over all effective power to the new Prime Minister. The latter tried to legitimise his position by declaring his family to be direct descendants of the Ranas – the old Rajput maharajas of Mewar in Udaipur, India.²³ Jang Bahadur thus adopted the title "Rana"²⁴ and the autocratic reign of his Kunwar clan was passed from brother to brother and then to their sons.²⁵ Since then the Kunwars have been considered equal in status to the Shahs, and eligible for intermarriage.

Under the 100 years of Rana rule that followed, Nepal remained inaccessible for foreigners. However, military cooperation and trade relations with the British were tightened.²⁶ These political Nepalese-British relations and the voyages of Nepalese rulers to Europe from the middle of the 19th century on aroused great interest in European cultural habits, art and architecture.²⁷ In this period European forms began to

¹⁹ Traders and Capuchins.

²⁰ Rule of the Chinese Mandschu. China lost the war, cf. Slusser (1982, I: 77).

²¹ In 1765 the British, who gave military help to the Rajputs in India, lost a battle against the Nepalese Gorkhas.

²² Members of the Thapa family and Pandeys.

²³ This claim was dubious and not backed by genealogical evidence.

²⁴ After 1856 the Rana Prime Ministers adopted the title "Maharaja", previously reserved for the king.

²⁵ In fact, the succession was not hereditary but continued by usurpation.

²⁶ Cf. Sen (1977: 36ff).

²⁷ Pudma Jang Bahadur Rana, son of Jang Bahadur, illustrates the first voyage of his father to England and France in 1850-51, described in his diary, cf. Rana (1974: 113-152).

dominate the palace architecture of the Ranas and later were integrated in the vernacular style of the Newars.

In 1951 the Rana rule ended under the leadership of King Tribhuvan Vikram Shah, descendant of King Prithvi Narayan Shah. In the course of the years that followed, Nepal opened up to the outside world and was liberated from isolation. As a result, the Nepalese were increasingly confronted with cultural features different from their own background. The urban landscape reflects this upheaval in the introduction of building materials like porous concrete, cement and corrugated iron that change the appearance of the Newar cities to a great extent.

3. URBAN LANDSCAPE, SOCIETY AND RELIGION IN THE KATHMANDU VALLEY

3.1 Urban Mesocosm

The Kathmandu Valley is the urban centre of Nepal. More than half of all Newars living in the Kathmandu Valley populate the three cities Kathmandu, Patan und Bhaktapur – former capitals of the “medieval” Newar kingdoms. The rest of the Newars live in compact settlements such as Kirtipur, Dhulikel, Sankhu and Thimi. In the 1970s a vast majority of the inhabitants of Bhaktapur worked as farmers and craftsmen, i.e. as potters and carpenters, who also cultivated land. Even today, more than half of the inhabitants of Bhaktapur are engaged in agriculture. Compared to western ideas and definitions of a city propagated in the 19th century, in the case of the Newars the urban structures “town and country” and “citizens and farmers” are no antipodes. Even after the advent of western amenities, such as electricity and water taps in the early 20th century, there is no clear division of labour between agriculture, industry and trade in Newar urban culture. There was no decomposition of the extended family and no secularisation – significant criteria and developments for many western cities.²⁸

Religion acts as the organizer of Newar existence and frames the latter. Robert I. Levy (1992), an American psychoanalyst and anthropologist who did extensive fieldwork in Bhaktapur in the early 1970s, considers Hinduism as the organising principle for Bhaktapur and the personal experience of its inhabitants. Levy deals with the city and its symbolic organisation that “act as an essential middle world, a *mesocosm*, situated between the individual microcosm and the wider universe”. He claims: “The elaborate construction of an urban mesocosm is a resource not only for ordering the city but also for the personal uses of the kinds of people whom Bhaktapur produces” (Levy 1992: 32).

The local symbolism in the cities of the Newars is, to a great extent, derived from the complex repertoire of South Asian religious ideas and images that were locally transformed, ordered and finally put to use for civic purposes. Levy (1992: 429ff.) turns his attention to the selection of deities and ritual emphasis during calendar-determined annual events²⁹ of general civic importance that are open to each Newar community

²⁸ Both the caste system and extended family are the basis for a social structure which, until the 1960s, also widely implied a spatial immobility. A rapid change can be observed since then. Cf. Auer and Gutschow (1974: 5).

²⁹ Typically for South Asia, the Newars follow both a solar and lunar calendar, cf. Levy (1992: 403ff).

within the Valley, for instance the different ways of worshipping Lord Kṛṣṇa in Kathmandu, Patan and Bhaktapur.

Newar urban space is structured in ways that invite religious activities of its inhabitants. The Valley that is the Newar pantheon was given religious character by the localisation of groups of shrines, each dedicated to a deity. According to Alexander W. Macdonald and Anne Vergati Stahl (1979: 39), “The study of a pantheon is meaningful only if we pursue it at three levels. One is that of the gods. Another is that of men and women whose beliefs sustain these gods. A third is the level of ritual interaction between gods and men, men and gods. The examination of one level without consideration of the others quickly leads one far from religious reality.” There are multiple links between divinities, their images and their Newar worshippers. The relations include “initiations, consecrations, gifts and services rendered to the divinities, their representations and their officiants, participation in state, *guṭhi* and neighbourhood rituals as well as individual acts of daily or periodical worship” (ibid: 45). Each individual traditionally undergoes rites of passage (*samskāras*) on passing from one culturally defined stage of life (such as birth, adolescence, menstruation, marriage, old age, death) to the next. “The timing of the rites of passage is generated by the tempos of each individual’s life cycle, in contrast to the annual events [...] which submit the entire city to the seemingly impersonal tempos of regular cosmic events, affecting all in the same way, bringing everyone’s life into a common synchrony” (Levy 1992: 658).

The Newar citizens live in a space imbued with cosmic qualities throughout a complex system which involves the Valley, city gates, the city, streets, places and intersections, and the houses and their threshold. Clear borders for settlements, reflected in the trace remains of city gates (New. *dhvākhā*), used to separate the sacred city from the hinterland. Bal Gopal Shrestha (2002: 59) exemplifies the meaning of city gates in the Newar town of Sankhu. Each of the four gates in Sankhu is given a distinct symbolic function. “Dhomlādhvākā, situated in the Northwest of the town, is for carrying the procession statues of Vajrayoginī to the town during her festival. Sālkhādhvākā, situated in the Northeast of the town, is used for carrying away the dead bodies to the cremation grounds. Bhaudhvākā, situated in the Southwest of the town, is for bringing the brides into the town. Sāmṅādhvākā, situated in the Southeast of the town, is for giving away daughters in marriage”, (ibid: 59).

Death processions used to be performed within historical borders which defined the city. The location of the cities next to rivers may be regarded in connection with ritual reasons. Dying people are carried to the river in order to leave the world while touching

the holy water. The river, with its sacred water, absorbs impurity, implied by death. On the 10th day after somebody's death, the male family members have to purify themselves in the river. On the occasion of rites of passage that every individual undergoes during her or his lifetime, the river furthermore receives the ritual waste.

A significant difference between the towns of the Newars and settlements of other ethnic groups in Nepal lies in the compact urban clusters where the houses are arranged closely-packed alongside narrow lanes. In the Newar cities like Bhaktapur and Patan a disposition of the quarters (Nep. *ṭol*, New. *tvā*), orientated on professional affiliation resulting from castes becomes apparent.

Originally, most of the lanes in the Newar cities served as footpaths and until some decades ago chariots on wheels were only used for ritual purposes (Auer and Gutschow 1974: 5). The lanes are lined by multi-storey houses whose overhanging eaves almost cover the narrow space of the lanes (fig. 1). Neighbouring houses often share the inner wall. Door openings are low and usher into unlighted, dark passage ways which lead to the quadrangle of a block of houses. Numerous Buddhist *caityas* or Hindu shrines are located in the semi-public courtyards (fig. 3). Since ancient times the *caitya* or “*stūpa*”³⁰ has been the specific symbol of the Buddha and his teachings. The public space is widely used for individual purposes, e.g. the visiting of a temple, as a playground, but also serves as workplace (fig. 2).

3.2 The Social Organisation of the Newars

The Newars are Buddhist, *buddhamārgī* (lit. “those who follow the path of Buddha”) or Hindu, *śivamārgī* (lit. “those who follow the path of Śiva”), while both groups are structured hierarchically by castes and caste subgroups that determine the particular occupation of the members.

David N. Gellner, a social anthropologist, did extensive research on the tantric Buddhism of the Newars. The scheme below is based on the scheme published in Gellner's account (1996: 44) with some additions and modifications that seemed to make sense for my work. Two different names are used by Newars to refer to caste, *thar* and *jāt*. Since Sanskrit-derived names (*thar*) are honorific, they are given first in the scheme, followed by colloquial Newari non-honorific (*jāt*) equivalents in parentheses.³¹

³⁰ In Nepal, the Sanskrit term “*caitya*”, is more common than the synonym “*stūpa*”.

³¹ Gellner (1996: 63ff.) devotes a chapter to “Caste identities and the problem of names” and discusses the traditional use of names and recent changes in greater detail.

The *thar* in general describes the religious function or the traditional profession of a caste and is used as a surname by most Newars. As Gellner notes, three types of groups larger than the household may be distinguished within castes: sub-castes, caste subgroups, and clans or lineages (ibid: 64). I refer to Gellner's categorisation while other scholars such as Gutschow and Michaels (2005 and 2008) nominate the caste subgroups as "sub-castes". Caste names used in the text for the caste as a whole are given in capitals in the scheme. The names of some caste subgroups are then listed, whereas I decided not to present the rather rare divisions in sub-castes and the various lineage or clan names. Caste subgroups share the same surname – often a person's *thar* such as Jośī, Amātya etc. – and have the same socio-religious identity in common.³² Furthermore, the Newars are organised in funeral associations (*siguthī*) based on caste or kinship.

The social affiliation to both family and caste predefines the relation to the house priest, *purohit*, who is either a Buddhist Vajrācārya or Hindu Brahmin, Rājopādhyāya. Statements about caste names and the relations between castes may vary from city to city. While Gellner concentrates on Patan, Gutschow and Michaels present a different but detailed list of the several castes of Bhaktapur, their traditional occupation, and the domestic priest – either a Vajrācārya or Rājopādhyāya – and purity specialist, for most groups a barber (Nau) (Gutschow and Michaels 2008: 23). Comparing Gellner's scheme and that of Gutschow and Michaels some differences occur concerning the affiliation of castes or subgroups and their status within the caste hierarchy.

In Bhaktapur, the goldsmiths (Śākya), painters (Citrakār), oil pressers (Manandhar), farmers (Jyāpu), potters (Prajāpati), blacksmiths (Kau), dyers (Rañjītkār) and butchers (Khaḍgī) call a Vajrācārya (Gubhāju) for life cycle rituals (Gutschow 2006: 10). Because all Newars of a city worship the local gods of both religions, to speak of a hybrid religion of the locality seems more appropriate than the question whether a Newar is *either* Hindu *or* Buddhist.

David Gellner distinguishes between six principal Newar subdivisions of the caste hierarchy and presents their social relations (Gellner 1996: 41ff.). The notion "caste" is defined differently in its hierarchical context depending on one's perspective. In the eyes of Brahmins who find themselves on top of the pyramid, craftsmen, like

³² As Gellner notes, "The different caste sub-groups within a caste are often ranked, the claims to superior status being expressed religiously. The gradations may well be contested, but in any case they are very slight and do not impede normal intermarriage" (Gellner 1996: 65).

coppersmiths, potters, bricklayers, masons and carpenters, rank beneath former servants of the court and, as in Bhaktapur, below farmers.

On top of the pyramid Gellner (1996: 41ff.) names the Buddhist Vajrācārya (New. Gubhāju) priests who also worked as plasterers and the Śākya (New. Bare) who may work as goldsmiths, artisans and shopkeepers, and the Hindu Rājopādhyāya priests (New. Brahmū, Dyahbhāju).

Below them, in the second group, rank the Śreṣṭhas (New. Śeśyaḥ) including Jośīs astrologers, Karmācāryas (New. Ācāḥju) Śaivite Tantric priests, Pradhāns administrators, Rājbhāṇḍārīs royal storekeepers and Amātyas ministers. During Rana rule (1846-1951) many Śreṣṭhas acquired high positions of influence and became administrators.

The high status combined with wealth and employment contracts with the Ranas, especially of those two upper groups, is last but not least represented in their houses. From the beginning until the middle of the 20th century, the members in general inhabited residences with handsome façades. Stucco decor is their characterising medium, artistically formed into gentrified idioms such as angels, lions or neoclassical cartouches.

In the third group there are the Maharjan (New. Jyāpu) and Dāgol (New. Dāgu, Jyāpu), mainly farmers, but also Āvāle (New. Avah), brickmakers and those who work as potters, Prajāpati. The Buddhist subgroup of carpenters, Hastakār (New. Sikaḥmi) – who are named Śilpakār in Bhaktapur, and Bārāhi or Kāṣṭhakār in Patan – also belong to the third group, the same as the strongly Hindu Tāmraḥ (New. Tamah, Tamot), copperworkers, and Rājkarṇikār, sweetmakers.

Taṇḍukār (New. Khusah), farmers and musicians, Vyañjankār (New. Tepay), market gardeners, and Nāpit (New. Nau), barbers, rank in the fourth group. Painters, Citrakār (New. Pū), and blacksmiths, Nakarmi (New. Kau) also belong to the bottom of the clean caste groups.

Among the lowest ranking, from whom the clean castes will not accept water Gellner distinguishes between the fifth group, the Khaḍgī (New. Nay, Nep. Kasāī) butchers, milk sellers and drummers, who are not untouchables and may live on the periphery of the old city, and the sixth group, the untouchables.

People who prospered during the first half of the 20th century built new houses, regardless of their caste status: Just like the Vajrācāryas, Śākya or Śreṣṭhas the Newar butchers who owned buffalos and also were suppliers of milk prospered and displayed affluence in the neat, stucco embellished façades of their houses, which remained

located at the edges of the towns. These areas are also known as “butcher’s sheds” (New. Naygaḥ). Before then they had only been allowed to build one-storey houses (Shrestha 2002: 83), but the façades of those houses built in the first half of the 20th century cannot be distinguished from the residences of Vajrācāryas and Śākya. The houses of the butchers thus demonstrate the mobility of old status limits that were overcome during the first half of the 20th century.

The untouchables are death specialists, Kāpālī (New. Jugi, Nep. Kusle), who like the Khaḍgī also work as musicians and tailors. The untouchable Dhyahlā (New. Pvāḥ/Pohryā, Nep. Pode) are sweepers or fishermen who may be the temple guardians of important shrines.³³ The houses of the Dhyahlā, who also fulfil specific religious tasks during death rituals, and are associated with particularly impure substances, are located beyond the cities’ limits. Their building style in general differed from that of other Newars, their houses with thatched roofs having been one to two storeys high (Shrestha 2002: 83 and Gellner 1995: 265). None of these survive. The Dhyahlā’s access to money started in the 1950s with the result that today their new four-storey houses rival those of the Vajrācāryas, Śākya or Śreṣṭhas.

Each individual family, existing of all family members who centre on one hearth, belongs to a funeral association (*siguthī*)³⁴. The membership to a funeral association is hereditary and obligatory. Niels Gutschow and Axel Michaels, who devoted a book to the death and ancestor rituals of the Newars in Bhaktapur (2005), illustrate that in some cases all members of a caste subgroup are members of a single funeral association. In other cases subgroups may join parallel associations even though they consider themselves to be of the same status (Gutschow and Michaels 2005: 84f.). The authors describe the duties of the active members of a *siguthī*, their foremost duty being to assemble at the house of the bereaved immediately after one’s death and organise the cremation, as well as to congregate at the cremation site later on (ibid: 85f). Even though only a few of the members play an active role during the cremation “Their presence alone demonstrates solidarity among the group, for the members of the bereaved household and close agnates are not at all actively involved in the process of cremation” (ibid: 86).

Every funeral association was endowed with agricultural land, which provided income for particular occasions. The occasions at which the *siguthīs* meet at their houses

³³ In this case, to accept the deity’s blessed substances is not regarded polluting.

³⁴ *Si*: “death”, *guthī*: “association”.

(*guthīchē*) to draw up a budget and discuss membership issues to ensure the observance of social and religious customs and ceremonies are simply called *guthīs*. *Guthīs* determine the rights, but also the obligations of a Newar towards his community.

Every Newar family has a lineage deity (*dugudyah*) that is worshipped annually by the members of an extended family, a lineage (*phukī*). In general, the Buddhist community of a *bāhā* shares the same lineage deity. Furthermore, the members of every *bāhā* constitute a *siguthī*.

The smallest unit is the household. Until very recently a house always sheltered three generations, in a way symbolising the consistency of the householder, his ancestors and his sons. Yet, in the Newar joint family the sons inherit equally. As a result, the property of a joint household is divided among all brothers. In this way, new households, based on a separate hearth, result and the old household no longer exists. The old house is divided into the number of inheriting brothers with internal partitions and separate entrances. Often, parts of an old house are demolished up to the border of the brother's property and new buildings that change the appearance of the city emerge on a separate plot.³⁵

³⁵ Cf. Gellner (1996: 25ff.)

Scheme:

Water-Acceptable (Clean) Castes

I. a)

RĀJOPĀDHYĀYĀ (Brahmū, Dyaḥbhāju)
Hindu priests

I. b)

VAJRĀCĀRYA (Gubhāju)
Buddhist priests; later plasterers

ŚĀKYA (Bare)
goldsmiths, artisans and shopkeepers

II.

ŚREṢṬHA (Śeśyah)

Joṣṭi

astrologers

Kārmācarya (Ācāḥju)

Śaivite Tantric priests

Pradhān

administrators

Rājbandhārī

Royal storekeepers

Amātya

ministers

III.

MAHARAJAN (Jyāpu), Dāgol (Dāgu, Jyāpu), Āvāle (Kumhāḥ) and Prajāpati
farmers, and potters; later masons, carpenters, and many other trades

TĀMRAKĀR (Tamaḥ, Tamot)

copperworkers

Śilpakār (Lwahākaḥmi)

formerly stone masons, now carpenters

Hastakār (Sikaḥmi: “Śilpakār” in Bhaktapur, and “Bārāhi” or “Kāṣṭhakār” in Patan)
carpenters

Rājkarṇikār

sweetmakers

IV.

TANḌUKĀR (Khusaḥ)

farmers and musicians

VYAÑJANKÑĀR (Tepay)

market gardeners

NĀPIT (Nau)

barbers

CITRAKĀR (Pū)

painters

NAKARMĪ (Kau)

blacksmiths

Water-Unacceptable Castes (but not Untouchables)

V.

KHADGĪ/Śāhī (Nay, Nep. Kasāī)

butchers, milksellers and drummers

Water-Unacceptable Castes (Untouchables)

VI.

KĀPĀLĪ/Darśandhārī (Jogi; Nep. Kusle)

musicians, tailors, death specialists that may act as temple priests at Bhimsen shrines and the shrines of some mother goddesses within the city

DYAḤLĀ (Pvāḥ, Pwarhyā; Nep. Poḍe)

sweepers that may act as temple priests at mother goddess shrines outside the city

3.3 Patan

Patan is the oldest of the three cities. In contrast to Kathmandu³⁶, two main streets run axial from north-south and east-west in Patan and form a cross in the city's heart, the place of the old palace, the Darbār Square, locally known as Mangal Bazaar (fig. 5, 85). Like other cities of the Kathmandu Valley, Patan developed from a rural settlement into a trading town and into a centre of royal power without any precast intention of functional city planning, for example through the planned distribution of living quarters. Like a *maṇḍala*, the city limits of the sacred urban space, however, had been clearly defined (Hagmüller 2003: 23). Since the notion of a “planned city” only refers to the appearance of a city plan and site and does not implicitly define a new foundation according to a master plan (Untermann 2004: 14) the term ought to be discussed elsewhere for the city as a *maṇḍala*.³⁷

In Patan, four ancient Buddhist *caityas* defined the points of reference of the microcosm. The palace is situated at the point of intersection, which symbolises the axis of the world where the king resided.³⁸ Patan's city area is divided into 24 quarters (*tols*). They are named after ancient settlements or after Buddhist monasteries (*bāhā*), such as Nāgbāhā or Mikhābahī (fig. 7).³⁹

After Prithivi Narayan Shah's conquest in 1768, former city walls are said to have been decayed even though there is no archaeological evidence of a walled city. The citizens of Patan still have a clear concept of the (cosmic) urban area following ancient boundaries: Inside the city, *dune*, differs from the outside, *pine*, and place names containing the word “*ikhā*” (boundary), e.g. Ikhālakhūṭol (boundary gate locality) and Ikhāchēṭol (boundary house locality) also shed light on former city limits (Slusser 1982, I: 99).

The streets widen in irregular ways and open up to form small squares which are the centres of each quarter (*tol*). Every quarter of the city is provided with a main square. In Patan, being a mainly Buddhist town, a great number of temples, shrines, and *caityas* as

³⁶ Until the end of the first millennium a grid pattern of streets had developed independent from an earlier diagonal road in Kathmandu. Since that time the older road has intersected the blocks diagonally.

³⁷ The Indian city of Jaipur planned and built under Jai Singh II. (1699-1744), is one example of the foundation of a new city that was designed on the basis of a Pithapada-Mandala. The city as a grid with linear main streets and the strict division into square quarters reproduces the universe.

³⁸ Four corners are also often mentioned in the Bible, cf. Isaiah (xi, 12): “the four quarters of the earth”; Ezekiel (vii, 2 and xxxvii, 9): he speaks of “the four quarters of the land” and of bringing the wind from “the four ends of the earth”; Jeremiah (xlix, 36): “the four winds of the world” etc. In Hindu belief, four gods guard the four quarters of the world, in Brahmin rituals there is a ceremony in which the king creates the four quarters of the world, and in Buddhism there are four or eight guardians (demon kings, *lokapālas*) of the four quarters of the universe.

³⁹ Cf. Gutschow (1982: 158).

well as public meeting places (*pāṭī*) provide each place with an individual touch. Many of the numerous courtyards in Patan are enclosed by Buddhist monasteries (*bāhā, bāhi*).

Newar cities like Patan reflect a cluster of the city parts orientated on people's occupation relying on the caste system. For example, in the northeastern sector such as Guitaṭol, most of the farmers, Jyapu, live. The quarters of the southeastern sector are mainly inhabited by moulders of bronze, Śākyas, in the locality of Ukubāhā. Many Śākyas working as goldsmiths settled in the northwestern part of the city, whereas coppersmiths are found close to the city centre. Nāgbāhā is one of the main artistic centres within the city and is almost exclusively inhabited by Śākyas, a few Vajrācāryas, barbers (Nāpit), and farmers (Maharajan families) (Gellner 1996: 24). According to Gellner, a large number of rich traders also inhabit Nāgbāhā, giving rise to "the popular image of Nag Bāhāḥ as a rich man's (*sāhu*) area", and a place that is "better kept than most other parts of the city. Nag Bāhāḥ has what locals call a 'park' with rose bushes, trees and an enclosure in the centre, alongside the numerous votive *caityas* (Buddhist cult objects); it is paved with bricks and acquired covered drains earlier than most other parts of the city" (ibid: 24). Furthermore the same Scottish cast-iron street lamps as in the vicinity of the Rana palaces and in formerly wealthy residential quarters in Kolkata are installed at Nāgbāhā (see chapter *Supplier of Cast Iron: Macfarlane & Co, Glasgow*).

In Patan, just like in Bhaktapur, the houses of the outcastes are in the area beyond the former city limits.

3.4 Bhaktapur

Bhaktapur is situated on a gentle hill. The main road which leads through the town from east to west has a double-ogee form (fig. 6). Here and there it opens up to squares with temples, the most significant places being Dattatreya in Tacapaṭol and Nyatavala in Taumadhiṭol (fig. 9).⁴⁰

One city gate (*dhoka*) and the remains of more gates as thresholds recall the earlier limits of urban space. However, traces of an ancient fortification could not be excavated. In the North is the Kasankhusi River. In the south, the Hanumante River

⁴⁰ On the southside of Dattatreya is Vanalayaku ("old palace in the east"). Probably the palaces of the Kings Jaya Sthitimalla and Yakṣamalla were situated in this eastern locality. In the middle of the 15th century, however, the palace was relocated to the western part of the city, north of Taumadhi.

flows parallel to the main road and is of special importance for the death rituals of both Hindus and Buddhists. Alongside the rivers are embankments (*ghāṭs*), near which the corpses are cremated.

Bhaktapur is said to have grown from several settlements along the ancient trade route between India and Tibet. Possibly, the oldest dwelling centre at the crossing of the routes from Kathmandu to Banepa and into the northeastern Valley was extended in the 9th century CE. Compared to the axial arrangement of the “cosmic” street cross in Patan, Bhaktapur lacks the two cardinal axes. Still today people speak of the upper and lower city, which are not the sectors North and South of the main road, but the dichotomy of the eastern and western city areas. Even the processional route (*pradakṣiṇāpāṭha*) follows the main road before it meanders through the northern quarters.

From the late 14th century under Malla rule until 1768, the city used to be an independent royal city. After the conquest of the Valley by Prithivi Narayan Shah, Kathmandu became the capital of the new kingdom which spread under his son from Kashmir to Bhutan. Bhaktapur thus became dependent on Kathmandu. It was a provincial city with a Rana Governor who in 1855 transformed the centre piece of the palace, introducing the first plastered façade with Mughal arches in the city (fig. 69, 70). The houses’ muted, earthen tone of brick and tile has dominated the townscape of Bhaktapur until today.

Cosmic qualities are mirrored in the eight manifestations of the mother goddess Durgā, the *aṣṭamātrkā*, who protect urban space, are visited in the course of the processions and are assigned to one central main shrine⁴¹. Because they are joined in a “web of relationships” to other sacred sites in the city, Steven M. Parish, a psychological anthropologist who did fieldwork in Bhaktapur in the early 1990s, talks of the city as a *maṇḍala*, “a sacred circle, in touch with the divine at the centre and protected by the goddesses against dangerous, chaotic, demonic forces outside the city, thus keeping humans safe from ghosts, diseases, earthquakes, invasions, and other calamities” (Parish 1994: 21f.).

The lower city developed step-by-step around Tacapaṭol, a still visible road junction. The relocation of the centre (the palace) from the eastern to the western part of the city (the lower city) in the 15th century caused the systematic building at right angles to the main road, while the palace occupied a peripheral location in the north (Auer and

⁴¹ The shrines are situated around the historic core area. That is why they must have been installed after Yakṣamalla at the end of the 15th century.

Gutschow 1974: 16).⁴² The development from a former number of 21 *ilāka* to today's 24 *ṭols*⁴³, each with a shrine where Gaṇeśa, Bhairava or Durgā is worshipped, might have taken place in the 16th century.⁴⁴

Even though the palace is situated along the periphery of Bhaktapur, the idea of the palace as the centre is manifested through the social topography. Because of their occupation at the court, members of higher castes were allowed to settle opposite the palace in spacious three-storey residences.

The houses of farmers (Jyāpu) and craftsmen such as brick-makers (Āwāle), carpenters (Śilpakar), coppersmiths (Tāmraḱār) and potters (Prajāpati), are located on both sides of the main road. Butchers (Khaḍgī) cluster at the city's urban periphery. Clearly beyond the borders in ritual terms settle the "untouchables" (Pvaḥ) – collectors of leftovers at the cremation site, cleaners of the latrines and basket-weavers, duck-raisers and fishermen (Gutschow and Michaels 2005: 17f.).

A sub-caste of the Śreṣṭha caste, the Chathariyas⁴⁵, settles in Khaumā, Bolachē, in the northern part of Taumādhi, Tulāchē, Tibukchē and Kvāchē and thus encloses the palace in a semicircular way. Amātyas live in Sukulḍhokā (Tibukchē), Mulakhu (Maṅgalāchē), families of the Dhaubhadel caste in Taumadhi and the Hādā caste live in Icchu. The Jośī, astrologers, are scattered over a wide area (Regmi 1993: 42). Members of low castes such as painters (Citrakār) or purity specialists such as Jugi and barbers (Nāpit) are also scattered across the city (Gutschow and Michaels 2005: 18).

In the predominantly Hindu city of Bhaktapur, there are several Buddhist monasteries, *bāhās* that characterise the eastern part of the town.

⁴² Stürzbecher still denies the theory of an unplanned upper city and a planned lower city. Cf. Stürzbecher (1981: 82).

⁴³ cf. Bhaktapur-Map, In: Gutschow, Niels and Michaels, Axel: *Handling death. The Dynamics of Death and Ancestor Rituals Among the Newars of Bhaktapur, Nepal*. Wiesbaden 2005, p. 17ff.

⁴⁴ With the introduction of the Panchayat System in 1961, Bhaktapur became separated into 17 administrative areas ("wards") which have no impact for the citizen's religious life, cf. Stürzbecher 1981: 57. A "partyless" system of councils (panchayats) was introduced by King Mahendra as a pyramidal structure, progressing from village assemblies to a Rastriya Panchayat (National Parliament). The panchayat system constitutionalised the absolute power of the monarchy and kept the king as head of state with sole authority over all governmental institutions, including the Cabinet (Council of Ministers) and the Parliament.

⁴⁵ For detailed information, see Gellner (1996: 50ff).

4. THE NEWAR HOUSE

4.1 Construction Principles

The building style of the Newars until the end of the 19th century is reflected in its most elaborate form in the quadrangles of the palaces⁴⁶ (fig. 84), Buddhist monasteries (*bāhā*) and Hindu sanctuaries (*maṭh*)⁴⁷ as well as in the houses of wealthy citizens from

⁴⁶ In the centuries predating the period of Shah and Rana rule Malla kings resided and governed in their palaces (New. *layaku*) in the three cities of Kathmandu, Patan and Bhaktapur. The ancient palaces are situated close to the crossings of important trade-routes, in the centre of the cities and alongside spacious piazzas with several temples.

Surprisingly, the Malla palaces built since the middle of the 17th century were not pompous buildings and did not differ much in style, construction and height from the houses of the Newar people. Just like the houses, the palace wings were not higher than three storeys and were dominated in height by the temple of the goddess Taleju, the sovereign's protective divinity. Both the palaces and houses were built of unrendered brick and ornate wooden windows. In addition to the Newar residential quarters the Malla palaces were formed from building complexes that comprised a series of courtyards (Nep. *cok*). Within the compound there were also royal gardens, temples and baths.

Macdonald and Vergati Stahl (1979: 107ff.), draw a more detailed picture of the several palace structures. It would be beyond the scope of this work to study these Malla structures in detail; they will just be described briefly. Their mention, however, is necessary because the building style contrasts so much with the pretentious architecture introduced by the Ranas after the middle of the 19th century and influenced by Mughal and European styles. There is an increase of height from Malla palaces to Rana structures, but compared to European palaces the Rana palaces are of lower height and, furthermore, there are contrasts in the complexity among the Nepalese and European buildings. Götz Hagemüller (2003: 39ff.) compares Patan's Darbār square with the Josephsplatz in Vienna and realises: "The Viennese square looks like a much enlarged detail of the Patan plan" (ibid: 39). Furthermore the differences in height between the National Library which dominates the Josephsplatz and the Keshav Narayan Cok are striking inasmuch as although both have the same number of three floors, the Viennese building is three times taller as the palace wing in Patan: "Standing before either of them, it is difficult to imagine that the three main floors of the Patan Museum should be exactly as high as merely the ground floor of the National Library in Vienna" (ibid: 41).

In Kathmandu the principal courtyard was Mul Cok, built by Mahendra Malla in 1564 and rebuilt by Bhaskara Malla in 1709. There was also Mohan Cok, built by Pratap Malla and Nasal Cok. In Patan, too, a courtyard called Mul Cok was the main courtyard of three (fig. 84). It was built by Śrī Nivas Malla in 1668, who also built the southern courtyard, Sundari Cok. The Mani Keśav Nārāyaṇ Cok lies in the North and was built by Yog Narendra Malla in 1733-34. In Bhaktapur an original situation of the palaces before the middle of the 15th century is assumed in the eastern part of the city, at Dattatreya temple. The latter was built by Yakṣa Malla, who also built the oldest remaining part of the present palace complex, Mul Cok, in 1455 at Lāskū Dhokā in the West.

⁴⁷ Closely related to the building style of the palace of the late Malla period and Newar house is the quadrangle architecture of monasteries, Buddhist *bāhās* and Hindu *maṭhs*, scattered in the Newar towns and villages. Whereas *bāhās* are particularly characteristic for Patan and Kathmandu *maṭhs* are rather rare in the Kathmandu Valley. Today about 150 buildings known as *bāhās*, each with a functioning shrine are found in Patan and there are 35 extant *maṭhs* in the Kathmandu Valley among which Bhaktapur has 18 buildings.

John K. Locke (1985) published an extensive inventory on the *bāhās* and *bahīs* of the Kathmandu Valley and it is beyond the scope of my work to further elaborate the view on those Buddhist structures. Yet it is worth giving a brief definition of the *bāhā* since many of the numerous courtyards in Patan are enclosed by this building type: The Newar word *bāhā* is derived from the Sanskrit word *vihāra*. Each *bāhā* and *bahī* has two names, a common Newari name and an official Sanskrit name. In this work the Newari names are given.

The terms *bāhā* and *bahī* refer to an architectural structure. It may be originally described as a series of rooms built around an open courtyard. The monastery complexes vary in ground plan and elevation, and may differ in their origin and function. The room opposite the entry doorway is a little larger than the others and serves as the shrine (*kvāpāḍyaḥ*) of the monastery. The existing structures were built of brick

the late Malla and Shah period. The urban houses of farmers⁴⁸ are basically the simplified architectural form of the building types listed above.⁴⁹ Characteristically the houses of the Newars were built of bricks for walls and wood for joists and rafters.

The unifying character of the Newar building style shaped the look of a Newar town, even after the adoption of neoclassical forms into the local architecture. However, variations in the height and length as well as design of façades avoided a monotonous overall appearance of the townhouses.

Wealthy Newars used to live in a quadrangle as a single one-house unity, surrounding a courtyard, one front of each wing often turning toward the street or a public place and the other toward the courtyard. However, in most cases several living units form a quadrangle and every house ideally faces both a street and courtyard.

and wood, and there are no existing *bāhās* and *bahīs* predating the 15th century although, radiocarbon-dating of strut details of Ukubāhā in Patan suggest their existence as early as the 8th century.

Bāhās in general have lost their original function as monasteries. Most *bāhās* in Patan consist of a complex of residential buildings enclosing a courtyard, and there are even some extended spacious courtyards such as Būbāhā, Nāgbāhā and Nyākacūka. The single houses were built at different times and exhibit different building styles such as late Malla, Newar neoclassical and more recent structures, but the *bāhā* shrine, in general a two-storey structure, is still located opposite the entrance to the courtyard. It has preserved certain distinctive features such as the semi-circular decorative panel (*toraṇa*) over the main entrance whose main figure depicts the non-tantric deity in the shrine. The common motifs are the five Buddhas with Vairocana or Akṣobhya in the centre, or Buddha, Dharma and Sangha. The Buddha is usually Akṣobhya, the Dharma a four-armed figure of the deity Prajñāpāramitā, and the Sangha is represented by Śaḍakṣari Lokeśvara.

The entrance is often framed by two lion statues and the first storey is usually marked by a five-fold window behind which there is the council hall (*digi*) and a chamber for the esoteric deity (*āgama*). In some cases the shrine is even more elaborate and appears as a multi-roof, freestanding temple. *Bāhās* consisting of a courtyard surrounded by residential buildings and incorporating a shrine, either freestanding or set against one wall of a courtyard building, are described as “modern *bahas*” by John K. Locke (ibid: 5) because they had been built since the middle of the 19th century as a branch *bāhā* of one of these *bāhās* which own the right to initiate. In each courtyard there is at least one small *caitya* and a *mandala* on a pedestal (*dharmadhātumaṇḍala*), but there also may be several.

In contrast to the present state where there are only married or householder monks, there were monasteries with celibate monks at one time. Locke (ibid: 3ff.) states that it is inaccurate to talk of *bāhās* and *bahīs* as “former” monasteries since each of them is still inhabited and looked after by a community (*sangha*) of initiated monks, Vajrācāryas and Śākyas, who are married men with families. The community of a certain monastery is a patrilineal descent group. The Newar monasteries are not open communities accepting anyone who wants to live a life of a monk or nun.

The Hindu *maṭh* is institutionally defunct. However, their built structures survive, still owned by “born ascetics”. The first *maṭhs* were probably established in the 15th century, however most buildings date to the 18th century and were initiated by the late Malla kings in a quest to support Śaivism (Personal talk with Niels Gutschow, Abtsteinach, 24 December 2008). In contrast to the *bāhās* and *bahīs* the Hindu counterparts do not have a well-defined plan or elevation. *Maṭhs* are houses that were inhabited by male ascetics who gathered around a religious leader (*mahanta*). In case a community prospered it expanded into contiguous buildings. Thus, Mary Slusser talks about *maṭhs* as “large rambling affairs composed of several domestic quadrangles of variable size, condition, and age” (Slusser 1982, I: 141) that are physically basically Newar residences, however usually distinguished by extravagant timber work.

⁴⁸ Because Newar peasants, Jyapu, are urban citizens, a Newar farmhouse can also be called a kind of townhouse. It does not differ from the houses of neighbouring artisans. Cf. Slusser (1982, I: 130).

⁴⁹ e.g. there are more wood carvings on the palaces of the late Malla period (cf. Sundari Cok, 18th, Patan-Palace) and Shah period than on ordinary houses.

Concerning Newar palaces and houses, there is a great resemblance between the quadrangular plans of the palaces and the squares of houses that surround a courtyard and the more elaborate royal façade and the simpler houses. Most houses are clustered around courtyards from which they can be entered. Often they are connected to neighbouring courtyards by narrow passages (fig. 24, 427, 541) forming semi-public networks of circulation. As in the case of ancient and modern Chinese courtyard houses, enclosure and opening at the same time turns out to be a fundamental principle of Newar housing. The enclosed centre is an uncovered space, just as in the housing scheme of the Egyptians, the Peristyl of the Greeks and the Roman Atrium, or even the patio in Spanish and Ibero-American culture. According to Mary Slusser (1982, I: 183f.),

A further consideration in comparing the architecture of the Kathmandu Valley *vihāra* is the close correspondence of the extant examples [i.e. Ukubāhā in Patan; K.W.] to the palaces and common house. Whether Newar domestic architecture is modelled after the *vihāra*, or vice versa, is a question yet to be answered and one of great importance in determining the ultimate source of the Newar-style canon. That the domestic quadrangle was also a feature of the Licchavi milieu is suggested by the frequent presence within existing courts of centrally located and long-established *caityas* of Licchavi date.

These *caityas* have in fact been reinstalled since the 16th century.⁵⁰ According to the German architect Kurt Stürzbecher, who explored the architecture and urban development in the Kathmandu Valley, until the 16th century, houses only had a single-bay ground plan, whereas later it was doubled (Stürzbecher 1981: 140). Since there remain no such structures that were built before the early 17th century today, Stürzbecher's assumption is speculative.

Up to a few decades ago all buildings followed the same construction pattern: The basic unit of a Newar residential building consists of a rectangular ground plan. The number of storeys varies from house to house and, in general, ranges between three to four storeys. The height of a storey rarely exceeds two meters and the average height from the ground to the eaves is about 7.50 meters. The protruding eaves bear a gable roof covered by brick tiles.

⁵⁰ Personal talk with Niels Gutschow, Abtsteinach, 24 December 2008.

The Newar house is usually structured by three longitudinal brick walls (on both sides of the eaves and along the ridge line), which result in two bays (fig. 13, 15). They can be subdivided by wooden dividers or brick walls. Variations of this pattern are found, for example, in case the dividing brick walls are replaced by a row of wooden columns. Wooden joists bridge the gap between the longitudinal walls, bearing the floors covered by clay floorings (fig. 14). The floors are connected to each other, either in the front or back rooms, through steep stairs with seven steps. They must be placed in a way that the inauspicious South direction – the realm of death – is not faced by persons who climb the stairs (Levy 1992: 189).⁵¹

Symmetry is aimed at in façade design, based on the vertical central axis. Furthermore, the centre is often underlined by the size and shape of the centred door and the windows of each floor. The façade reflects the vertical orientation and increase in meaning of a Newar house, as will become obvious in the chapter *The Functional Organisation and Symbolic Order of the House*.

4.1.1 Masonry

Until the middle of the 20th century the foundation (*jag*) of a Newar house consisted of natural stone⁵² – preferably boulders from the rivers or broken rocks. On top of the foundation rose the walls. The outer face of a house was constructed from rectangular fired but unglazed bricks (*māapā*) (fig. 22), whereas green bricks were used for the inner walls⁵³. Another kind of brick, *dātiapā*⁵⁴ (fig. 23) with a red scumble on its front side was used for sacral and public buildings and for the façades of wealthier builders. The *dātiapā* was often used for the façade design of buildings built in the three centuries preceding the 20th century and in the first decades of the 20th century. The flush joints of the conical bricks were sealed with *silāy*, a joint sealant made of resin, oil, cotton and colour (Gutschow et al. 1987: 173). The caulking is hardly visible.

⁵¹ The Newars climb the stairs with the awareness of not being above another person or standing below somebody.

⁵² According to Becker-Ritterspach, the building masters of the Kathmandu Valley knew about the pressure resistance of stone as building material and its moisture repellent effect. The author underlines the magnificent complexity of mining, transport and treatment of natural stone in contrast to the supply and the acquaintance with clay as an explanation why clay was constantly chosen as building material in Newar architecture cf. *ibid*: 124.

⁵³ Unfired *māapā*.

⁵⁴ *dātiapā* or *telia ita*: “technological improvement” in the 8th century.

At the houses built after 1934 the *dātiapā* was more frequently replaced by the façade building with *māapā*. The caulking was often made of lime-mortar that is not flush with the bricks but the lime putty is visible on the surface. These bright façades contrast to the dark-red walls made of *dātiapā* and were also erected at Rana buildings: At the northwestern city gate in Patan, a building complex that today houses the “Dhokaima” Café dates back to the 1920s, when it was used as a store and outhouse to a Rana palace. This building and the annexed “Yala Maya Kerdra-Building” is a mud-brick building with lime mortar embellishments. Houses of Rana members of minor status, such as the Bhuba-Kunsh house built at Bani Mandal outside historical Patan in 1926, according to its present owner Yaduban S. J. Rana, are characterised by their brick-mortar façade and plastered cornices.⁵⁵

Slightly differing measures of burnt and unburnt bricks impede the regularly occurring bond. Often the bricks are not bonded when veneer bricks embellish the front. On house corners bricks also are not bonded, which causes a fast disrepair of the walls. Sometimes a protruding layer of bricks in the façade underlines the floor level in the shape of a cornice. Beside runners, binders and corner bricks, the *dātiapā* also appears moulded, i.e. with lotus leaves and quarter rounds used to decorate fascia, frieze or cornices above doors and windows. Friezes on each floor level embellish profane edifices of wealthy builders since the 19th century.⁵⁶ Until the early 20th century, the layers of the cornice were often characterised by varying (flowering) profiles, i.e.: lotus leaf design (*palehaḥ*) (fig. 28, 277), stepped brick (*bātuapā*), lotus leaves alternating with bells (*palesvā*), walnut design (*khvaḥsīgvaḥapā*) (fig. 28, 579), snake pattern with quarter-round profile (*nāhgvaḥapā*) (fig. 28), simple roof-like section, and upright lotus

⁵⁵ Personal talk with Mr. Yaduban S. J. Rana and Ms. Bhuba Raji Laxmi Rana on November 6th 2006, Patan: According to Mr. Rana, who was 80 years old at the time of the interview, the year of construction of his house was 1926 CE. It was built one year before his birth. Parts of the building collapsed during the earthquake but were rebuilt. The *nāyaḥ* came from Kirtipur though Mr. Rana cannot remember his name. His father, Mr. Khem S. J. Rana, let built it. It is characterised by its brick-mortar façade and is constructed with pinewood struts.

After Mr. Yaduban S. J. Rana and Ms. Bhuba Raji Laxmi Rana had married, they named the house Bhuba-Kunsh-House, after Ms. Rana. Before, the name of the house was “Jeev-Kunsh-House”, named after his mother. According to Ms. Rana, the building costs used to be 25 paisa (silver coins) salary per day. In the beginning, nine family members and seventeen soldiers used to live in the building. A “pauna cota”, a special meeting room in the house, was furnished with chairs, tables, photographs and European chandeliers. In the twenties, normal people and even Yaduban’s family normally sat on the floor. Having chairs and tables was rare. Yaduban’s mother, Jeev Kunsh, was a daughter of the King of Saldian. She became the wife of Khem S. J. Rana, a far cousin of Jang Bahadur Rana. The third wife of Juddha Shamsher was the grandmother of Bhuba. Her daughter, Janak Raji Laxmi Shah, was Bhubas mother.

⁵⁶ During the Malla period less attention was paid to the frieze, laid in brick, except at Sikhara-tempels (a shrine, with tower-like laid brick roof) where flowering bands have been chosen to embellish the façade since the 17th century. Since the 18th century, this architectural detail appears on cult buildings and renovated monastery edifices (Becker-Ritterspach gives examples in Bhaktapur), cf. Becker-Ritterspach (1982: 148).

leave (*kasimvaḥ*) (fig. 28).⁵⁷ Those motifs also appear as carved friezes, window frames and on columns in wood.

The Hṛdayeśvara Temple of Cupīghāt in Bhaktapur (1842), its cornice being built up from 18 steps of brick, is mentioned by Gutschow, Kölver and Shresthacarya (ibid: 178) as an example for the variety of brick mouldings on ceiling beam levels which had grown common in the beginning of the 18th century. With the development of the so-called massive tiered temples replacing the projecting eaves of the traditional one, they had reached stylistic perfection. Older buildings, however, present moulded brick cornices only above the windows.

Gutschow, Kölver and Shresthacarya document the traditional work of Newar brickmakers, presenting each step of the making of brick. In the end, a green ruffian (*nhaḥ gane*: “slightly dried”) is cut to size with a special knife (*syāḥcupi*) and the facing side of the brick can be moulded with another knife (*bekvaḥcupi*) differing from the *syāḥcupi* or chisel (*thūjyābhaḥ*) (Gutschow et al. 1987: 174ff.). The authors claim that

The brickmakers (*āvāḥ*) of the Kvachē [Kvāchē; K.W.] quarter in Bhaktapur did not only carve cornice bricks and mould snake virgins for the string courses. They obviously strove to emulate the woodcarver’s work, carving as it were, in clay. Among adopted forms we find windows (*tikājhyāḥ*, *pasūkājhyāḥ*), tympana (*tvalā*), and string courses depicting various gods and goddesses (ibid: 180).

At the end of 19th century in Europe, brick was considered a building material “supreme” (Burn 2001: 35) to stone. Already in the beginning of the 19th century, brick was becoming a popular building material in the European colonies of Africa and Asia. The British James Prinsep, who worked as the Mint Master in Benares (today Varanasi) in the early 19th century, informs about the European buildings in Secrole such as the Court, Treasury, The Mint and the prison having been built in the “simple” modern building technique, in brick and mortar. The latter differed from the fine and dense red coloured sandstone obtained in the hills of Chunar and Mirzapoor and used to built many temples and ghats in Benares (Prinsep 1996: 16).

Long before brick grew popular in 19th century Europe building with brick was a centuries-old architectural characteristic in Nepal. Although former carvings were abandoned when Western forms were adopted in the architecture of the Newars, the new forms in brick mouldings were achieved with the same methods and tools as

⁵⁷ Order from below, rising, cf. ibid: 149.

before.⁵⁸ A great variety of forms in brick (fig. 275-285), best comprehensible in the brick-lined façades of the Bhaktapur houses, sheds light on the rustic but playful exposure to the formerly modern architectural vocabulary, based on European models. The translation of those forms raises the question as to why the Newar brickmakers (*āvāḥ*) did not use prefabricated mouldings as did European builders (Burn 2001: 238); they carved the bricks with tools as can be proofed by the traces of the mason's axe on the brick surface.

4.1.2 Columns

In the ground floor, the part that turns toward the street or courtyard often opens up with a row of wooden columns and may remain an open room (fig. 4, 19-21).

On most Newar buildings the columns generally consist of a shaft which has a plain lower part and is abundantly decorated in its upper part.⁵⁹ The capital is characterised by the diminution of its cantilever (fig. 19-21) and is typical for Newar load-bearing constructions. The capitals are provided with ripples on the underside. A slender plate is set between the shaft and the capital. Such open ground floors have been found since the 16th century.

The Newar capital that used to consist of one part of wood or stone including its cantilevers in 19th century constructions is sometimes found multipart: There are cube-like capital and lateral shelves that resemble the cantilevers and are shaped like the latter. Often the capital consists of one piece but the design looks like it was made of many parts (fig. 21). The colonnade with multifoil arch with right-angled doorframes can be regarded as a characteristic Newar interpretation of Mughal forms imported by the Nepalese in the times of Shah-rule since the late 18th century.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Burn mentions that the European design of (moulded) bricks in the second half of the 19th century "should look unmistakably as if made in brickwork", (Burn 2001: 238).

⁵⁹ There is a variety of patterns – differently designed layers – both on wooden and stone columns with a cubic or cylindrical shaft. The ornaments of columns and their capitals, however, have changed in the course of the centuries, cf. Gutschow and Michaels (1987), Annex: Comparative elevations of eight wooden pillars), and Becker-Rittersbach (1982: 203ff.).

⁶⁰ "Der newarische Zimmermann hat diese – in Stein gedachte – Konstruktionsform auf das Material Holz übertragen, ohne die traditionell gegebene Bauweise grundlegend zu verändern. Das sattelartige Holz fällt zwar fort, an seine Stelle treten beidseitig aus einem Brettstück gefertigte Bogenzwickel in paarweiser, hintereinander liegender Anordnung. Der islamische Bogen besteht somit aus jeweils zwei kapitellartigen Hälften, der überlieferten Auffassung der newarischen Baumeister entsprechend" (Becker-Rittersbach 1982: 207); However, Gutschow proves the abdication of capitals on ground floor columns already in the second half of the 18th century: At Ranga Mahal (1790) in Gorkhā, i.e., the columns are bearing the lintels and the lateral spandrels have no static function, cf. Gutschow et al (1987: 144).

4.1.3 Doors and Windows

Until very recently, doors and windows were made of wood and the windows were provided with shutters instead of sheet glass. Doors and windows⁶¹ share the same construction principle, with an external and an inner framework at the inner and outer face of the wall. The two frameworks were made separately and were joined before starting the masonry.⁶² Both, doors and windows present a sophisticated building structure since several frames may adorn the actual opening or lattice window viewed from outside the house.

The bearing frame of a decorated door is set behind the surface of the wall. The outer framework (*purātva*) – decorated, consisting of several frames (including a secondary frame and another frame that mediates between the primary and secondary jambs), and stepped – surrounds the whole door and bridges the gap between the surface of the wall and the level of the bearing frame (fig. 24, 26, 33) (ibid: 224).

Gutschow, Kölver and Shresthacarya illustrate a structural analysis of a characteristic lattice window⁶³ (fig. 27) that reveals a primary bearing frame with sill (*kvakhalu*), lintel (*mūtāgāḥ*), and the jambs (*mūbāhā*); a secondary frame with the bearing jambs (*hāchēbāhā*), sill (*āsan*) and lintel (*cvakulā*); a tertiary frame consisting of sill and lintel (*tikājhyāḥ-mā*), considered to represent a female quality and the jambs (*tikājhyāḥ-bā*), considered to represent a male quality, supported the latticework; and two extra decorative frames – one of multiple parts around the whole window and the other one placed between the jambs of the primary and secondary frames (Gutschow et al. 1987: 197f.).

The sills and lintels are special characteristics of the Newar way of construction since they project beyond the jambs and remain visible in the wall. Thus, they not only underline the horizontal alignment of the doors and windows, but also of the façade as a whole. Whereas the primary frame with long wooden sills and lintels on houses with less sophisticated embellishment are very simple and flush with the wall, rather functional and of static purpose, they bear artistic adornments on the houses of richer people.⁶⁴

⁶¹ door, New.: *lukhā*, Nep.: *dokhā*; window, New.: *jhyāḥ*, Nep.: *jhyal*.

⁶² cf. Becker-Ritterspach (1982: 151ff.). For the construction of window lattices, see ibid: 154 (gloss).

⁶³ The window is located on the first floor at the western wall of the Gorkhā Rājā Darbār.

⁶⁴ cf. Slusser (1982, I.: 132, and II.: plates 111, 113). Becker-Ritterspach differentiates door elements under the consideration of the building method and specifics, cf. Becker-Ritterspach (1982: 155ff.). Basic types of windows, i.e. the *tikājhyāḥ*, may also be provided with additional décor. They differ depending on whether they are situated on a profane building of the caste of farmers, (unembellished, only functional), or at a bahī or bāhā. cf. ibid: 173ff.

Doors and windows are aligned symmetrically on the façade (fig. 4, 37-42). Just as the function of the floors underlies an established order, there is always a similar design pattern for each of the floors. On houses with Europeanised window formats, however, the vertical usage sometimes cannot be related to anymore from outside the house (fig. 65).

If the ground floor does not open up, the wall is subdivided by a door, flanked by small window openings. The doors have an average height of 1.50 metres and thus are very low⁶⁵. A house may have two, three or even five doors.

Door openings of the houses of the Newars always used to have two-wing doors. They are opened to the inside of the house and stop against the outer door frame. From inside a house, the entrance can be locked by heavy and massive wooden bars; from the outside, there may be chains with iron locks.⁶⁶

Next to the doors, there may be blind windows or square windows of squat proportions with wooden latticework (*tikājhyāḥ*) that are also characteristic for the first floor, or “middle layer” (*mātā*). *Tikājhyāḥ* are windows with latticework (*jāli*) either joined to the bearing frame or fixed into a separate frame (fig. 28, 30). The technique of achieving the latticework can be compared with the technique of weaving: The carved battens are fixed in the inner frame and may run orthogonally or diagonally. The battens that run vertically (new. *eka*) are used like a warp and are open-worked in regular intervals. The weft battens (new. *teka*) are shifted at right angle to the warps and have cut-outs on their surfaces at the intersections with the warps. Battens that are attached behind the wefts fasten the latter and achieve that the warp and weft battens match and are flush with each other at their face side (fig. 29). Such openings illuminate the rooms only to a very restricted extent and prevent the view into the house. Behind the *tikājhyāḥ* there may be two-wing shutters.⁶⁷

Each part of the window frame was used to adorn the latter with artistic woodcarvings including mythical icons, like the sacred pot (*puṇṇakalāśa*) flanked by dragons (*malah*), peacocks (*mhaykhā*), the sun-god *Sūrya* and his horses, or celestial nymphs (*apsaras*). Last but not least, the lattice windows with their rich variation of lattice design are

⁶⁵ cf. Slusser (1982, I: 132); Becker-Ritterspach gives a benchmark for the door format on several building types: l: 65-70 and h: 130-140, cf. Becker-Ritterspach (1982: 155); low doors also have the purpose that one has to bow while entering the house, instead of going in straight. The average height of a door at a 17th century house is 135 cm, cf. Hagmüller (2003: 70).

⁶⁶ cf. Becker-Ritterspach (1982: 153); cf. Slusser (1982, II: plate 118); cf. Gutschow et al (1987: 231f.).

⁶⁷ cf. *ibid*: 153.

highly decorative elements that adorn the façade and give the latter its “face” (see chapter *The Symbolic Form of the Lattice Window*).

In the upper floor which is, in general, the second floor, larger tripartite windows (*sājhyāḥ*⁶⁸), behind which there is the living room, are placed into the middle of the façade (fig. 31). Their latticework is enclosed by a frame that is movable and can be opened to the inside. It may be hung at the ceiling. Behind the window, there is a wide and low sill. In rare cases the windows have five openings (fig. 32). The *sājhyāḥs* bear rich carvings and stand out as the most decorative element of the façade.

On late 19th and early 20th century windows the decoration is delicate and elaborate. There are varying but repetitive iconographic window programs, especially on the window’s wooden apron planks: Often there are five peacocks in a row, seen from the front (fig. 55). Lions (fig. 416, 417) or the figurative depiction of the sun god Sūrya with his chariot and three, four, five, or seven and since the 20th century even six horses (fig. 58), adorn the windows. Since the first half of the 17th century, when the Viśveśvara temple was built in Patan in 1627, visible signs of Chinese or Mughal motifs such as the dragon⁶⁹ (*malaḥ*) (fig. 56) are found in wooden and stone carvings of Newar architecture and later also appear on pilasters (fig. 504). The gazelle, frequently found in carvings, in the Buddhist context is a symbol for the turning of the Wheel of the Law (fig. 54, 417). The latter is a symbol for the Buddha and a reference to his sermon in the Deer Park. There are also winged, celestial, garland-bearing figures, *apsaras*, (fig. 57) or female dancers (fig. 580). The latter and godlings (*yakṣiṇī*) are also popular motifs in Newar architecture to embellish struts at Buddhist and Hindu temples and monasteries (fig. 346, 388).⁷⁰ Furthermore, there are floral carvings and foliated scrolls with lotus leaves, vine tendrils or acanthus motifs (fig. 49, 53, 54, 59).

In the course of the first half of the 20th century, window carvings were more and more simplified. In the end, the *sājhyāḥ* was developed to a tripartite window opening with wooden balustrades or iron bars and outside hanging shutters (fig. 61-63). The windows were no longer inclined, but stood upright on cantilevering joists.

⁶⁸ For the word *sājhyāḥ* Slusser finds several translations. She heard of a translation of “window that can be opened”. In Slusser’s opinion the word derives from the Newar word for the number three, *sva*, since it always describes a triptychon, cf. *ibid*: 132.

⁶⁹ Ingeborg Luschey-Schmeisser (1978) writes extensively about the transcultural flows of the dragon motif. She assumes that the motif of the so-called “Chinese dragon” was formed in Turkestan and was affected by Western features, transmitted through the Scythian (8th century BC-2nd century CE) and Sasanian art (*ibid*: 122).

⁷⁰ Cf. Deo (1968-69: 28f.), and Sharma (2003: 48f).

In general, the central windows of the second floor are provided with an odd number of three, five or, in rare cases, seven openings. Most houses have only one *sājhyāḥ*. It may be framed by smaller windows on long façades. The primary window frame has been flush with the masonry on houses since the middle of the 19th century⁷¹. In contrast, the primary window frame is set slightly behind on houses of the late Malla period. As a bay window, a *sājhyāḥ* can project from the wall in two different ways, as an inclined (*kasu sājhyāḥ*) and an erect bay window (*bardali sājhyāḥ*).⁷² In his dissertation about the building principles of Newar architecture, Becker-Ritterspach (1982: 210ff.) finds the precedents of the late 19th century bay window in the open and later closed balconies of the Malla period.

4.1.4 The Roof

Thick walls are needed to bear the heavy gable roof made of wooden rafters, covered by lower tiles, a 10-25 cm thick layer of mud and roof tiles. In addition, the rafters are supported by struts (*tunāḥs*) whose bottom end rests on a brick fascia or on lightly protruding consoles. These struts are often adorned by carvings.

The roof openings for light and ventilation (*bhaugāḥ*) are covered by specially-moulded terracotta (fig. 36). Besides the rectangular roof tiles (*āypā*) the roof boasts other sorts of tiles, like the pointed *kvapuapā* on the ridge (fig. 35), and on hipped roofs there are beaked corner-eaves tiles (*gvāgaḥcā*) that give a special character to the corner of the eaves. The corner-eaves tiles are embellished on their cusp by the head of a rooster (fig. 35), kite, or even Bhairava.

4.2 The Functional Organisation and Symbolic Order of the House

The most striking aspect concerning the early 20th century residential buildings is the fact that the modernisation happened only on the surface, as if to dress the houses with modern design or fashion. The rest of the house, the “body”, was arranged as it had been for generations due to the functional organisation and symbolic order of the Newar house. Important representational elements were changed while the spatial order of the Newar house remained unchanged. As presented in the following, there was no loss of

⁷¹ Niels Gutschow, personal conversation, 31st October 2007.

⁷² cf. Becker-Ritterspach (1982: 217).

the symbolic architecture of the house because the lower floors remained associated with outsiders, impurity and also death. The upper parts, in contrast, were more intimate and domestic spaces. When people started to plaster their house façades, the new idiom did not at all change anything in the interior.

To study a Newar house without knowing its functional organisation and symbolic order is like writing about a temple and not being aware of its ritual function. The function of the floors follows an established order, just like the structure of society and as it has been subject to recent changes. In its vertical dimension, the house becomes increasingly intimate, differentiated and also vulnerable to pollution from level to level. An ancient text, the *sthīrobhava-vākya*, was translated by Gautama Vajracharya and presented by Mary Slusser (1982, I: Appendix V). In the *sthīrobhava-vākya* literally meaning “may-this-house-endure-sentences”, which used to be recited by a priest at the consecration ceremony of a newly built house, the main parts of the Newar house are set in parallel with the Buddhist, Brahmanical and Vedic cosmos. Concerning the vertical symbolism of the Newar house, the ground floor is compared with the underworld, the middle storey appears as the world of mortals, the top is heaven and the household’s chamber for the gods on the top floor is equated with deliverance (Skt. *mokṣa*). Tantric divinities are mentioned in the *sthīrobhava-vākya*. The Newar house and façade is put on a level with these tantric divinities that are objects of Newar universal adoration and anthropomorphic models of complex metaphysical concepts and ideas. This implies that the house, just like a *mandala*, also mirrors the religious universe.

Still today, a lotus flower carved in stone, *pikhālākhu*, is located in front of the entrance of each house (fig. 16). It is a stone that absorbs impurities and ritual waste, receives a share of household feasts (New. *bhvay*), and on the new moon day in November it invites the deity Lakṣmī into the house to ensure affluence and wellbeing (fig. 17).⁷³

While there is never a basement, the ground floor (*chēḍi*) provides for store rooms (fig. 15) – occasionally, sheep are kept – shops (fig. 588) or workshops. In the latter case, the ground floor is opened up with a row of wooden columns in the shape of an arcade (*dalā*) (fig. 75, 76, 591, 592). Not only is the ground floor used as a store room, but for the past decades it partly serves as a bathroom and a place for personal hygiene besides the public deep-wells (*tū*) for washing. On the ground floor, a person’s deathbed is laid out and it is the place for the annual death ritual for the deceased parents. Even

⁷³ The *pikhālākhu* is used as the division between the inner world of the household and outer world, in several rites of passage (*samskāras*). Cf. Levy (1992: 191).

people considered to relate to impure castes like butchers (Khaḍgī) may step over the threshold into the ground floor of a house, but must not ascend, which underlines an “outside” status of the lowest floor.

In a symbolic way, the staircases create a border from the impure ground above which are the upper floors, the purest being the kitchen on the top floor.

In the first floor (*mātā*), whose ground plan may be subdivided into smaller single rooms, there are sleeping rooms, whereas the living and representational rooms are located on the second floor level (*cvata*) (fig. 14, 15). The latter appears as a wide and spacious room because the longitudinal middle wall is often replaced by a row of pillars. The kitchen (*bhutū*) with pillars supporting the ridge beam is in the attic (*baigah*), a dwarf storey (fig. 14, 15). There, the family takes food, seated in long rows on the floor. The hearth area and the household shrine (*dyah kvata*) at the top layer are, in general, placed toward the East, the most auspicious direction. From the kitchen there is access to the roof terrace, which is used to dry the washing, peppers or vegetables. A “sun stone”, the representation of the sun god Sūrya, who is worshipped each morning by the wife of the householder, is placed on the balustrade of the roof terrace.

This designation of the top floor, on the one hand, refers to the purity requirements of the Newars and to the idea that nobody is allowed “above” the god (Auer and Gutschow 1974: 81). On the other hand, feeding the open fire with rice straw for cooking was only possible on the roof level because the smoke could easily escape through so-called “cat-holes” (fig. 36), openings in the roof which are covered by round tiles (see chapter *The Roof*). Nowadays, most people cook with gas or kerosene. As in other parts of South Asia, boiled rice, the basic staple grain of the Newars, and certain cooked pulses can only be accepted if a member of one’s own hierarchical level or of a higher level has prepared the food. In most upper-status Newar⁷⁴ families women are not allowed to cook during menstruation. Levy notes that most Jyāpu and “middle-level” families let menstruating women cook everything but rice which is used for ceremonial purposes. Similarly, they are not allowed to carry water (Levy 1992: 123).

Thus, there is a strong connection between the status-derived idea of purity, caste and gender hierarchy, food and the symbolism of the Newar house that are suitable to Levy’s description of ‘embedded’ symbolism cited below. The latter represents “culturally shaped embedded and naturalized symbolic forms” (ibid: 26) such as aspects of purity, purification, impurity and contamination.

⁷⁴ Levy surveys menstrual, but socially defined, disabilities of the Newar in comparison with the Indo-Nepalese, cf. Levy 1992: 122f.

The interior of a Newar house is characterised by rather simple furnishings. Valuables and clothes are stored in wooden chests in the first floor (*mātā*). Straw or bamboo mats serve as seating accommodations and may be used as mattresses, but since the late 20th century people also sleep in beds. During the day, the blankets are rolled up and stored away. Western-style furnishings such as tables and chairs are seldom used. In case there is no electricity⁷⁵, clay and metal oil lamps, which are placed in wall recesses, illuminate the narrow and dim rooms. In the kitchen area under the pitched-roof, stocks of rice, pulses and grain are stored in clay pots and chests. Potatoes and vegetables are kept in bamboo baskets (*khaicā*) that are hung below the eaves (*pākhā*) (fig. 18). Water is carried to the kitchen by the women of a household in brass pitchers (*ghaḥ*) (fig. 208) from the local step-well (*hiti*), as water from the deep-wells (*tū*) is exclusively used for washing.⁷⁶

4.3 Newars and the Relation to their House

A complex variety of socially-organising principles affect the symbolic organisation of the Newar house. According to Levy's survey, "people seek their most satisfying answers to intellectual paradoxes, mysteries, and threats to solid constructions of 'self' and 'other' and 'reality' in the complex ordering devices of marked symbolism, and develop, in fact, a craving for such devices, a *symbol hunger*" (ibid: 32). Levy deals with "embedded" and "marked" symbolism as organisational concepts. "The term 'embedded' implies 'indirect, secondary, and figurative meanings' that are condensed and dissolved in any culturally perceived object or event so that they seem to belong to the object or event as aspects or dimensions of its 'natural' meaning. [...] 'Embedded symbolism' is associated with the cultural structuring of 'common sense,' [sic!] the structuring of assumptions, categorizations, and phrasings through which meaning is created and selected out of the flow of stimuli generated and experienced within a community." The author defines "marked symbolism" as "something whose meaning must *evidently* be sought elsewhere than in what the object or event seems to mean 'in itself'. 'Marked symbols [...] are objects or events that use some device to call attention to themselves and to set themselves off as being extraordinary, as *not* belonging to – or

⁷⁵ In the year 2008 there was a load shedding that supplied the houses in Bhaktapur with 41 hours of electricity per week.

⁷⁶ Gutschow, Kölver, Shresthacarya (1987) demonstrate in detail the characteristic implements of a Newar house.

as being something *more* than – the ordinary banal world.” He gives examples such as “attention-attracting, emotionally compelling kinds of human communication, whether it be art, drama, religion, magic, myth, legend, recounted dream [...] which are marked in some way to call attention to themselves as being special” (ibid: 27).

Following Levy’s idea of culturally and religiously defined symbolism, the Newar townhouse is not only a residential building, it rather conforms to a variety of complex usages by its inhabitants. The Newar house is a “symbol of self” (Lang et al. 1997: 30) for one as a member of a group, rather than for the individual. It is essentially important as it is the place for the initiation of the son of a household, while the symbolic marriage of girls takes place outside the house. The house used to always shelter three generations and thus is the symbol of and place for the consistency of the householder, his ancestors and his son. It is the house where the ancestors are fed and death rituals are performed.

The facets of the Newar house correspond to the collective separate identity of its inhabitants because “every mature individual is involved in a great number of *different* culturally defined and validated realities and experiences calling upon and evoking quite different aspects of or even kinds of ‘self’ as he or she moves from one to another” (Levy 1992: 31). These individual developments validate both in the microcosm of a household, the extended family and the urban mesocosm and its social structure while each individual undergoes several rites of passage (*saṃskāras*). It is beyond the scope of this work to work out the details of those rites of passage⁷⁷, but the individual undergoes what Levy describes as “a successive movement into larger sets of relations and spaces, an increase in the definition of personhood, and an associated emphasis on increasing purity and moral responsibility” (ibid: 659).

To give one example, the role of the women of a household is changed within their lifetime. A woman can, in short, be described as a daughter, then as a wife while marrying into her husband’s household, mother and daughter-in-law and finally as a mother-in-law herself. Moreover, she is the mistress (*nakhī*) of the household, eventually even the mistress of the entire clan (*phukī*) and as a widow she is free of any obligations. Furthermore a woman has many obligations as the aunt (*ninī*) of her brothers’ children. In the Newar symbolic marriage (*ihī*) the Newar premenstrual girl is symbolically given by her father to a symbolic entity, which is probably Viṣṇu. This ceremony takes place outside the house in public places. It notionally implicates that a

⁷⁷ Scholars such as Gutschow and Michaels (2005, 2008) and Levy (1992) present and analyse the dynamics of *saṃskāras*.

girl is expected to understand the cultural rules for separation and purity. She leaves childhood, becomes a member of the clan and, for the first time feeds her ancestors during the course of the ritual. In fact, it is the pre-menarche ceremony (*bārḥā taegu*) that requires a girl's passing beyond childhood and her awareness of important aspects of responsibility. From then on, she is regarded to be responsible for not polluting herself by sharing vulnerable foods with people from lower caste levels and for purifying before eating.

The girl is to be isolated for twelve days in a room in the first floor of her natal house some time before her menstruation. The windows must be covered to keep the sunlight out and no male kin must see the girl during this period. However, the girl is visited by other girls and women. After twelve days, the girl is brought to the open roof terrace to see and worship the sun and "be seen" by it. Being taken outside (*bārḥā pikāegu*) is the ceremonial climax of this rite of passage. It represents the reintegration of the now potentially sexually mature girl with religious and social forms and controls.

The next step in the sequence of *saṃskāras* is the "true" marriage (*byāhā*) and the time a woman leaves her natal home to become a member of her husband's household, whose lineage god she worships from this moment on. Yet, she will return to her natal home on many occasions every now and then and thus never really leaves her home for good.

While the senior woman of the household, the *nakhī*, supervises the general housekeeping, she is assisted by her daughters and daughters-in-law. As a young wife, a woman is often treated as a low-status outsider. She is considered potentially polluting and at the bottom of the family's hierarchical food-giving system. With the birth of her first child, a woman becomes the "supporter of the lineage". Through her children a woman becomes more related to the family of her husband. Her prestige and authority increase while her parents-in-law age and her children grow and in the end she will be her daughter-in-law's mother-in-law.

Since the 1970s, the house has been subject to a growing loss of symbolism. The reason for this development can be found in significant changes in society and social structure, such as spatial mobility and the need for rented premises that also affect the living habits of the Newars. Single floors of a house have been let to non-family members and the ground floor has often been used as a living room for the last decades. Everybody cooks in her or his living unit within a house, be it the first, second or fifth floor. The

house owner does not allow his tenants to perform death rituals at his house. Tenants are forced to resort to the embankments of the river.

5. THE CHANGING FACES OF NEWAR FAÇADES

5.1 The Investigation of Five Façades from Bhaktapur

What is often described in literature as “the traditional architecture of the Newars”, as discussed in the introduction, in fact describes buildings that mostly date back to the 18th and 19th centuries. In many cases, these surviving buildings had already fallen into decay or had been renovated or even replaced since the 1970s. There had been a stylistic development in Nepalese façades before European building concepts strongly changed the appearance of the towns in the Kathmandu Valley.

The stylistic development in the past centuries can be exemplified best by the modification of window design and changing proportions. The comparison of five buildings in Bhaktapur from the last three centuries – Sukulḍhokā Maṭh, Kvathu Maṭh, Banepali house, and two houses in Lalachê and Taulachê – reveals the development of façade design.

The Hindu sanctuary Sukulḍhokā Maṭh in Bhaktapur (fig. 38, 44) dates back to around the middle of the 18th century. Former changes in the façade design, especially at the level of the ground floor, were restored in 1978 with the aim to return to the original state of repair of the building.⁷⁸ It is characterised by its brick walls with wooden cornices and artistically carved wooden doorframes, lattice windows protected by cornices of brick.

On the ground floor, there are three symmetrically aligned doors, between them two small lattice windows.⁷⁹ On the first floor larger lattice windows are situated in the axes of the doors, the central window being prominent. There are two small lattice windows above their ground floor counterparts with a bigger wooden frame. Both the ground floor and first floor demonstrate a remarkable rhythm through the different sizes of doors and windows.

On the second floor a projecting, inclined bay window (*kasu sājhyāḥ*⁸⁰) with seven openings and showing different lattice patterns extends across the facade. The central opening differs from the ones that frame it by its multifoil arch. Whereas the windows

⁷⁸ Cf. Parajuli (1986: 272f.).

⁷⁹ Concerning the outer windows, the drawing here is incorrect because the protruding window sills on the first floor are visibly longer than the door lintels on the ground floor. However, it may not be provable if today's arrangement resembles the original and if the doors are in their original position.

⁸⁰ Cf. Becker-Ritterspach (1982: 217).

in the ground and first floor bear fixed latticework, the inner five of the seven window lattices in the second floor can be opened.

The house has a noteworthy symmetrical street-front that is stretched horizontally. The alignment of the doors and windows results in four axes on both sides of the central axis. A variety of nine different forms of window openings is presented. Whereas the ground floor and first floor share two vertical axes on either side of the central axis, those two in the second floor are staggered, except for the central window.

Although emphasis is put on the central axis in all three floors, the façade is characterised by its horizontal alignment. It is underlined by the visible sills and lintels that protrude beyond the jambs and extend into the wall, the rectangular format of the larger first floor window lattices and the square format of the small window lattices and their latticework. Last but not least, the bay window emphasises the building's length.

Although the windows seem to be large, the extent of the frames does not tell much about the real size of the opening. Rather, they are only small lattice windows with little openings between the latticework: The inner frame at the small rectangular first floor window at Sukulḍhokā is about 25.5 x 25.5 cm. The latticework that fills this space of 650.25 cm² consists of 25 small openings of 4 cm² (a row of five on each side). The very opening of the window thus is about only one-sixth of the window's actual size.

At first glance the façades of Kvathu Maṭh (1748) (fig. 39, 45) and Sukulḍhokā Maṭh in Bhaktapur have much in common. They both date back to the middle of the 18th century. The disposition of openings at the Kvathu Maṭh, the arrangement of windows and axes, reflect the original situation. On both houses there is the same number of openings of different size on the ground floor and first floor. They are not arranged in a horizontal line, but rather seem to jump on different levels of the façade while the vertical central axis dominates the symmetry. The massive doors, timber window frames and cornices and lattices are less delicately carved than those of Sukulḍhokā Maṭh, and are protected by brick cornices.

Compared to Sukulḍhokā Maṭh, there are two additional windows that frame the diagonally protruding bay window with five openings on the second floor and may illuminate the latter. All latticed window openings, except the corner openings of the bay window on the second floor, are divided by a vertical bar and have multifoil arches. In contrast to Sukulḍhokā Maṭh, the vertical alignments of the windows are almost completely avoided on the Kvathu Maṭh façade, except in the vertical central axis. As a result, five vertical axes frame the central axis on both sides. All windows except on the

second floor are openings with a fixed lattice, while there is more space between the latticework of the windows at Kvathu Maṭh than at Sukulḍhokā Maṭh. Furthermore, there are additional, slender fixed lattices in between the five openings of the bay window and the apron planks are replaced by latticework. Even though the lattices cannot be moved, they display special finesse to the storey and provide the latter with the notion of transparency.

The Banepali house in the quarter of Tacapal, in the east of Bhaktapur (fig. 40, 46), was probably built in the second half of the 18th century. The house is three storeys high and presents an alignment of the openings that is symmetrical to the vertical central axis.

The ground floor has become an open arcade, a shop front with three sections and separate wooden shutters, framed by two doors. A slightly protruding roof covers the openings.

Compared to the buildings described above, within only a few decades Newar façade design had visibly changed. On the first floor level, all three windows and their openings (including the diamond-like lattice pattern) are of vertical proportions, demonstrating that the development of the upright window format which prevailed in early 20th century architecture began before the middle of the 18th century. The windows are protected by window cornices. The central window is larger than the outer ones and its opening is embellished by a round arch. The lattice is fixed to a separate frame that can be moved up to lighten the first floor – a true invention in the concept of the Newar façade. In the framing windows the latticework is still fixed. Between the first and second floors, there are no carved wooden cornices as in the case of Sukulḍhokā Maṭh and Kvathu Maṭh, but the end of the joists are visible on the front.⁸¹

On the second floor the bay window with three openings projects erectly– another significant difference to the inclined bay windows at Sukulḍhokā Maṭh and Kvathu Maṭh. Its central window differs from the rest because it is provided with a cusped arch that is carved more delicately than that of the other two. The outer window openings are adorned by semicircular arches. Each window opening on this floor has a latticed apron plank. Since the lattices are in an extra frame that can be moved up, the lighting of this storey through the small lattice openings can fully be replaced by a grander opening.

At the Banepali house, the wooden elements such as window and door frames are still used as bearers of iconographic carvings. The variety of window sizes and the changing

⁸¹ The original drawing by the Bhaktapur Development Project, taken from Becker-Ritterspach 1982, fig. 208, reveals mistakes: the ends of the joists are not depicted.

horizontal alignment of the windows provide the façade with a convincing rhythm. The different vertical axes are staggered: There are two on either side of the centre on the ground floor; the first and second floor share one axis on both sides of the central axis while the outer openings of the *sājhyāh* claim one additional axis that frames the centre.

The Austrian architect Götz Hagmüller, renowned for his restoration work at the World Heritage Site of Bhaktapur Square, his restoration of the Patan Museum, and the reactivation of the former “Garden of Dreams” in Kathmandu” compares the diagrams of façades with a sheet of music: “The wall openings are the primary elements in the articulation of structure and rhythm” (Hagmüller 2003: 53). In this sense the “notes” – windows that characterise the “musical structure” (ibid: 52) on older buildings – are less pronounced at the Banepali house. The vertical arrangement on the upper floors follows a stricter order than on houses built a few years earlier. Not only have the window formats changed and developed vertically. The windows also provide the inside house with more light than those of the Sukulḍhokā Maṭh and allow an open view outside.

The number of three and two openings varies from floor to floor (including the cat-holes of the top floor) on the slender façade of the house in possession of K. P. Mool in Lalachē in Bhaktapur (fig. 42, 46). In the staggered alignment of openings, a pyramid order is reflected while emphasis is put on the centre of the façade. There is one central axis and an outer axis on each side.

The door and window sizes and their actual openings reveal a dichotomy: On the ground floor as well as on the second floor, emphasis is put on the door and window frames rather than on the comparatively small openings. However, the frames are far less ornamental than those of the previously presented buildings. Compared to the small window lattices on the second floor that can be removed, there are larger upright windows on the first floor. Even though they are common fixed lattice windows they provide larger holes than the square *tikijhyāh* on earlier buildings.

The alignment of the door and window openings on the façade of a farmer’s house in Taulachē in Bhaktapur (fig. 41, 46) is balanced. There are two doors and a small lattice window on the ground floor and three lattice windows on the first floor. The trinity evoked by the three openings and one axis in each case besides the centre on the ground floor and first floor is replaced by two different kinds of axes on both sides of the central axis on the second floor. There, a bay window with three openings and with

movable lattices and latticed planks that allow little light and air to enter through is framed by two oblong windows.

On the first floor, the three horizontal, almost square windows vary in size but their sills are aligned on the same horizontal level. Although the windows on the ground floor and first floor are fixed lattice windows, a tendency to enlarged window openings can be observed: It is due to the reduced frames and the upright window format of the two outer windows on the second floor that are almost room high and are provided with a wooden balustrade. In contrast to earlier buildings, the sills and lintels are shorter and the two outer windows on the second floor even do without any protruding sills – they are almost of European style. Their frames are smaller than those of the central bay window. They are positioned in such a way that neither the sill nor the lintel shares the same level like the triple window.

5.2 Changes in Window Design

Windows and doors are of utmost importance for Newar architecture, acting as the most significant elements for structuring the façade. The windows are latticed and there is a great variety of different lattice windows as presented in a dictionary of architectural terms (Gutschow et al. 1987: 191ff.). The higher the level, that is from the ground floor to the top floor (not including the kitchen area under the roof) and with the increasing purity associated with the different floors, the more open the window: On the ground floor where goods were stored, the small lattice windows that framed the door allowed hardly any light to enter. The windows on the first floor were generally larger, with latticework, and the lattice was fixed. These openings ensured enough air for the dry rooms. The windows on the second floor were the only veritable openings from the western point of view: their shutters – lattices set in an extra frame – could be opened upward and the windows allowed people to sit on the broad bench and lean out. The second floor windows of palaces and residences were divided into three or five of these openings.

Not only do windows underline the symmetry of old buildings, but they are also bearers of representative decoration. That is why the extent of a frame does not tell much about the size of the opening. Sometimes, only small openings in the wall provide a passage for spirits. At Mahākālī Dyaḥchē in Bhvalāchē (ca. first half of the 18th century) in Bhaktapur (fig. 37, 43), e.g., the opening is already reduced by its lattice,

and in addition bears iconographic figures, situated in the centre of the latticework. It is thus not the “opening” as a provider of light that is important, but each square centimetre of the window is used as a playground of iconography and artistic embellishment. They are the focus of esoteric interpretation. The actual opening is of very limited size.

In the middle of the 18th century, Newar craftsmen created the most sophisticated woodcarvings (Gutschow et al. 1987: 193). The introduction of the European oblong and upright window had started at the end of the 18th century in the Shah period when contacts of the Nepalese Royal Court with North India under British colonial rule led to the introduction of new forms in the buildings of the Kathmandu Valley.⁸² Before that time, windows had been designed with square and rectangular, occasionally circular openings.

5.2.1 The Symbolic Form of the Lattice Window

Since the early modern period the window opening and the view cannot be separated in western culture: A crucial notion of the window lays in its dialectic of insight and outlook. The English language suggests three significant meanings for the word “perspective”: “sight”, “outlook”, and “view”. The sight and insight is attracted by often richly decorated window frames that decorate the façades. In turn, the visibility of the world is experienced by turning the view from the interior to the exterior. A window that allows a view – insight or outlook – is, however, the antithesis of the idea of a window in the Arabic-Islamic and also South Asian and Newar culture.

In his contribution to contemporary cultural history, *Florenz und Bagdad. Eine westöstliche Geschichte des Blicks* (2008), the art historian Hans Belting compares the view of the “western world” developed from the (re)discovery of the perspective painting in the Italian Renaissance with the different view in the “Islamic world”. He emphasises the social practice of using the gaze: There are numerous ways to regard an image while the gaze depends on the viewer. The author detects the perspective as a European way of viewing. The perspective was already discovered by the Arab Alhazen in the 11th century but did not catch on in the Islamic art due to religious and cultural matters. Belting’s observations are, among others, exemplified by the analysis of the European and Islamic window. In Islamic architecture the light being screened through

⁸² Cf. Gutschow et al (1987: 203).

the wooden lattices and reflected through the geometry of the lattice is “staged” (Belting 2008: 272ff.), and it is directed into the room where the inhabitants are aware of it without glancing outside. The lattice throws a pattern that wanders through the room in the changing daylight. The view is primarily a perspective of light that enters a room as a luminous flux recognised by the inhabitants as a geometric pattern.

Being the most decorative feature of a Newar house façade, the Newar lattice window ought to be seen from outside the house. Yet, it is primarily for air and restricted light but not for the perspective. In the Islamic and Newar context the window lattice symbolises the division between inside and outside, that is between privacy and public sphere. Whereas the inhabitants are hidden behind the lattice, the street is visible from a position close to the window. The Newar lattice window – as compared to the Islamic window – screens the light into a room to a pared-down extent. The Newar window acts as a “screen for light”, inward-looking, rather than being a “window that allows perspective”. The Newar lattice window protects the dark and narrow room of a Newar house against the sunlight. The window lattice functions as a light barrier, the filtered light is pure and abstract. The lattice thus liberates the light that may appear to the inhabitants of a house as the essence of itself, as a symbolic form of cosmic power (ibid: 274ff.).

There are further levels of interpretation of a Newar window. They are of esoteric nature, but demonstrate that a window in the context of Newar vernacular architecture is not only a screen in the wall to limit the flow of light in and allow for the passage of air. Niels Gutschow (1982: 75) cites an ancient Newari manuscript, the *vastu vidhi-vastu lakshana vishuddhi*, that describes the associations of the structural parts of the Newar house with various gods. “Naturally every door and window of this kind of structure needs special attention, and an opening, the very boundary between the enclosed space and the outer world is experienced as a highly vulnerable part” (ibid: 75). The iconographic programme, such as the sacred pot (*purṇakalāśa*), dragons (*malah*), peacocks (*mhaykhā*), *apsaras* and snakes (*nāga*), functions as signs of protection. Gutschow observes (ibid: 78) that an initiated Buddhist Vajrācārya priest always experiences form as an equivalent of Buddha’s teachings (*dharma*):

Thus the window tells him of the division of the world into three realms. The sill with the demons constitutes the underworld (*patal*), the lintel the upper world (*svarga*), and the opening the middle world (*madhya*). *Kalash* motifs on primary,

secondary and tertiary jambs, as well as on the *torana tha*, mark the borders between the underworld and the earth [...]. Other windows like the *pasukajhyah* with its five openings are understood as the eyes of knowledge (*jnana chakshu*): the building is supposed to perceive the outer world through a kind of screen.

In the *sthirobhava-vākya*, a text of prayers, exhortations and injunctions were recited by the priest at the consecration ceremony of a newly built house. The ancient text suggests a wide range of associations of the Newar façade with the local pantheon while focussing on the dualism of male and female forces and adds: “If there are three windows under the eaves they are Buddha, Dharma, and Saṃgha. If there are five windows under the eaves they are the Five Tathāgatas. The grille window [*tikijhyā*] is Vidhiharihara”, (Slusser 1982, I: 421).

The Newar window was set in an anthropomorphic context by the Newar woodcarvers who identified it as part of a face. “The local craftsmen interpret the design details of the primary jambs as hair curls (*saethu*) and the indented frieze above the opening as teeth (*va*)” (Gutschow 1982: 76) and often, eyes are painted beside door openings or on door shutters (fig. 33, 34). The decoration of a Newar window is more than a mere abundance of form.

Levy (1992: 192) alludes to the fact that the ritual experts who are responsible for the proper construction of the house after symbolic criteria consider the house as a human body. Structural elements in Newar architecture are personified and some of the staged rituals performed during the construction of a house, according to Levy, are regarded as rites of passage.

5.2.2 Shifting the Point of Focus: The Window View

From the early modern period in the 16th century until the era of colonisation, the western window that allows an open view had been a regional phenomenon in Europe, whereas lattice windows were characteristic for buildings in Islamic countries and South Asian architecture. The perspective in the Latin sense of *perspicere*, “looking through” (the window) was considered by Europeans as the norm for “naturalistic seeing” and as a painting technique acted as the instrument of colonisation. In western culture the perspective painting is allocated with the idea of a window. The window and the horizon are both bound to the view: There is the focal point and the vanishing point, the

observed outside world and the limit of the view. The perspective operates between the point of the eye and the vanishing point. Thus the perspective is also an approximate representation of an image as it is perceived by the eye on a flat surface such as paper. The two most characteristic features of perspective are that objects are drawn smaller as their distance from the observer increases and are depicted foreshortened while the size of the dimensions of an object along the line of sight are relatively shorter than dimensions across the line of sight.

Even though Europeans brought the theoretical principle of the central perspective to India by exporting Flemish graphics to the court of the Mughals since the second half of the 16th century, illusionistic painting was rather not appropriated by the artists employed at the court. In India, perspective painting was later supported in great institutions such as the Bombay School of Arts and by British photographers, while the open-window view was propagated through the colonial architecture. In Nepal, too, the lattices were finally abandoned and the window became an opening while the façade opened up increasingly. Simultaneously, perspective painting, *camera lucida* and photography were introduced in Nepal as will be demonstrated in chapter *Changes in Composition and Style*. The term *tasbirjhyāḥ*, “picture-frame window” or “window like a picture” used by the Newars to describe the western-style window in Nepal reflects the changing aesthetic ideals. It is the opposite of the *tikājhyāḥ*, the “pointed window”. The *tasbirjhyāḥ* perceives the view, the outside and inside, as an image. In this logic the outlook of a window may be regarded as a picture or, seen from outside the window frame becomes the picture frame. In the beginning of the 20th century the window in the Kathmandu Valley was thus referred to colonial design in British India, adapted by the Ranas and characteristic for their European-style palaces. The window cornices of wood or brick were avoided.

In the beginning of the 20th century, the idea of the lattice window on Newar residences was widely translated into a latticed yet vertical opening without any visible protruding sills and lintels (fig. 47). The lower part of these windows, the panels or apron planks (*jhyāḥkvatāḥ*), continued to be used as bearers of the same mythical icons, i.e. dragons or peacocks, as already mentioned. The wooden window frame as well as some folding shutters not only presented mythical figures but also floral design. Yet, in the late 1870s, the then surgeon to the British Residency in Kathmandu, Daniel Wright (1877: 6), noticed that “the best specimens [carvings; K.W.] are to be found on the older buildings, as the taste for it seems to be dying out.” Perceval Landon, a British journalist who visited Nepal twice – in 1908 and 1924 – was commissioned by Prime

Minister Chandra Shamsher to write a book about the history of Nepal in which he gives a heroic picture of Chandra and glorifies his reign. In his account, Landon was aware of the Europeanisation of the Newar window. Describing the jambs of some windows as “fluted with lotus moulding, and crowned with box capital half Ionic and half Hindu in character” (1928, I: 183) he helplessly expresses a notion of the changes in Newar design (fig. 78).

By the beginning of the 19th century, the outer frame (*purātva*) [which surrounds both the secondary and bearing frame; K.W.] of the window structure was frequently omitted. The *hāchēbāhā* (secondary jambs) were constructed flush with the wall, the protruding ends of the bearing lintel were often hidden behind the facing bricks, whereas the secondary lintel lost its decorative [character; K.W.] and gained a bearing function, stressed by a capital (*metha*)-design” (Gutschow et al. 1987: 204).

Whereas on brick façades of the 19th century, crossties (*āgaḥtāḥ*) are visible in the wall next to a window or below (fig. 28), and often have figurative carved ends, in the 20th century they become more and more plain and often remain invisible, especially when the windows are framed by stucco or the façade is plastered (fig. 47, 60).

Appropriate to the development of the proportions of windows from rectangular to upright, the oval window format was favoured instead of the circular opening by the end of the 18th century (ibid: 211).

Another step towards the western window was the furnishing of the oblong lattice with crossbars (fig. 47). Finally, in the early 20th century, room-high window openings provided the interior with light and could be closed with outside hanging shutters. They connected considerably between outside and inside, because in general, there was no use of glass. The inhabitants had the basic requirements for a “western view”, that is an open-window view. The connection between inside and outside, however, is only valid for the view, but not for the viewing subject who stays inside while watching the outside world.

Timber carvings resembling the decorative iron bars of balustrades in French windows took the place of the lattice in a fixed frame (fig. 60). The pattern of the wooden balustrades was mainly arabesque or floral and thus the window remained important for embellishing the façade. Some patterns were copied and interpreted from precast

models, rarely found in the Kathmandu Valley. Some cast-iron patterns are found in Kolkata (Calcutta), India's capital city from the beginning of the 18th century until the early 20th century, from where the balustrades were transported to the Kathmandu Valley (see chapter *Balustrades and Columns*). In Patan special patterns of decorative wooden bars became popular, which are still obvious today. For instance, an almost identically designed bud-like floral element with a calyx was a popular pattern during the first half of the 20th century.

5.2.3 Blind Windows

In some neoclassical Newar houses, blind windows (*gaḥjhyāḥ*) and niches are used to produce the symmetry needed to underline the traditional order of the façade. The blind windows differ from the blind windows (*degahjhyāḥ*) common in temples. There they embellish the second or third floor: Constructed like windows at first glance, their central opening is divided by a horizontal bar. Instead of being closed by an apron plank, the small upper part remains open with the bust of a deity looking out (fig. 72).

The aesthetic concept of the western window was translated into the design of blind windows. Blind windows became a dominant feature at many Rana palaces, for example at Basantapur Darbār (fig. 66), a wing of Hanuman Dhokā in Kathmandu built under Jang Bahadur Rana around 1860 or at Lal Baithak (1855) (fig. 69) initiated by Jang Bahadur's brother in Bhaktapur. On these whitewashed façades, various blind windows are assembled featuring Mughal and western design.

We find similar blind windows on the façades of plastered early 20th century houses where in rare cases even a wooden shutter is imitated in stucco (fig. 67, 68). But in general, there are brick-lined niches. Most of the time they are found on the ground floor level of a building, but there are exceptions where they are located on the first or even second floor level. Often multi-foil blind windows or niches in Mughal design decorate the brick walls while a blind window may be adorned by a plastered frame (fig. 73, 74). Sometimes a blind window is placed in the central axis (fig. 75), sometimes two blind windows flank a central door (fig. 71), but in almost all cases they underline the symmetry of a house.

5.3 The Alignment of Early 20th Century Façades

Until the beginning of the 20th century the Newar façade was the antithesis of a grid – despite coherent ordering systems. The “facial expression”, as Hagmüller (2003: 52f.) characterises the avoidance of strict vertical and horizontal alignment of windows in the buildings of the Malla times by varying size and placement on different levels, that creates a particular “rhythm”, was widely replaced by the western neoclassical doctrine of positioning each window accurately along a vertical axis. The façades of the modern early 20th century Newar houses often conform to this principle. The old patterns in design, however, are often not entirely denied and they still reflect local patterns: The new façades range from houses with vertical windows of the same size and a vertical alignment, but with emphasis on the central axis by a triple window (resembling the *sājhyāh*) or with special embellishment to monotonously repetitive fronts and façades that open up to the maximum.

In *Hints on Household Taste* (first published in 1868), an English book about good taste by the British architect and furniture designer Charles L. Eastlake⁸³, the author assails the architecture of “modern” Paris designed by Haussmann, calling it “cold and formal” (Eastlake 1878: 18): “The long unbroken line of cornice, window-range, or parapet, which presents itself to the eye in interminable perspective, becomes wearisome even in the widest and loftiest streets” (ibid: 18). Yet in the context of Newar cities the streets are not suggestive of a monotonous design since they are not drawn as endless rows lined with uniform façades but rather appear as irregular formations. The urban design is not the product of a single planner but the façades reflect the mindset of the Newar communities negotiating local and “foreign” principles.

In most houses of both cities, Bhaktapur and Patan, a central tripartite window with vertical openings on the second or third floor or on both levels has been adhered to (fig. 61-64). It may be framed by other windows. There are only few exceptions in the cities of Bhaktapur and Patan, where the façade is not subdivided by an odd number of door and window openings. The by-law of Bhaktapur even today requires an odd number of window openings on newly built houses. Symmetry, however, is always kept.

The façades reflect the traditional ordering system of the Newar house suggesting the living and representational room on the second floor level (*cvata*) behind the triple window. The originally horizontal format of the façade, for instance width greater than

⁸³ Charles L. Eastlake (1836–1906) became one of the principal exponents of the revived “Early English” or “Modern Gothic Style” popular in Victorian architecture.

height, was changed into a vertical front. Twentieth century houses were reduced in width, but often built with three or four storeys. Latticed horizontal rectangular openings that used to provide passage to a screened light and offered only very limited view to the outside were replaced by lofty oblong windows that almost had the height of the floor and that could be closed with outside shutters. They provided the interior with unfiltered light and to a greater extent allowed communication between the outside and inside.

6. REWORKING INDIAN ARCHITECTURE IN NEPAL

6.1 The Sikhara Temple

The history of Nepalese architecture is the history of constant intermingling of local and foreign idioms. It is difficult to assert when Indian architectural motifs occurred for the first time in the Kathmandu Valley. Indian motifs were imported to Nepal by craftsmen, pilgrims and traders from India and Nepal. There has been an established impact of cultural elements from India since Licchavi times, so Buddhist *caityas* have been modelled after Indian ones. In his dissertation on the Nepalese temple architecture the art historian Ulrich Wiesner (1978) detected Indian features in Newar temple architecture of the late Malla time, for instance in several decorative and structural details of the portal system of the temple of Paśupatināth in Deopatan: The lintel extremities that project beyond over the jambs and remain visible in the wall, a floral decoration of the lintel in the form of rosettes or the curved wall brackets that are placed diagonally in the corners between the jambs and the projecting lintel, to name a few examples (Wiesner 1978: 52ff.). According to Wiesner, their archetypes are found in the Kuśāṇa (2nd-3rd centuries) architecture of Mathurā, India. In the Kathmandu Valley and even in India, a number of buildings replicate the temple of Paśupatināth in Deopatan (ibid: 1f.).

In Nepal, the *sikhara* temple type and the first cupola buildings are the architectural innovations that grew popular in the 17th and 18th centuries. In the beginning, *sikhara* temples were only erected in the vicinity of Buddhist monasteries and later also close to palaces (Gutschow 1986: 8). A spire-like crown above a square sanctuary and a rather small scale of the building are the characteristics of *sikhara* temples.

The Mahābauddha temple (“Temple of the Great Buddha”), in the vicinity of Ukubāhā in Patan, is an Indian-style *sikhara* temple of brick that was consecrated during the reign of King Mahendra Malla in 1601⁸⁴ (Slusser 2005: 595). It was built as a replica of the Mahābodhi Temple, a *sikhara* temple in Bodh Gaya (7th century) in India and may have been shaped after a miniature model⁸⁵ that was brought to Nepal by Abhāyarāj Shakya who returned from his pilgrimage to Bodh Gaya in the early 1560s. According to religious tradition, this temple was constructed at the site of the sacred Bodhi tree under

⁸⁴ Today, the temple is largely a restoration since the upper half of the tower was demolished in the earthquake of 1934.

⁸⁵ Pierre Pichard describes the tradition of replicating the Mahābodhi Temple of Bodh Gaya and their circulation in Asia, cf. Pichard (2005: 137).

which the Buddha Śakyamuni attained enlightenment. Even though the design of the Nepalese temple differs considerably from the original, it displays the distinctive features of the Mahābodhi Temple: A central pyramidal tower flanked by four smaller corner towers in the cardinal directions and rising above a square, massive ground floor which houses the main shrine; the towers and the ground floor façade are organised in tiers of niches and images.⁸⁶ Many modified versions of the Indian monument were built on Asian sites – each interpreted locally. In their former capital, Pagan, the Burmese built the first replica of the Indian Bodh Gaya temple in the first half of the 13th century. In the second half of the 15th century, three other replicas were erected, one more in Burma, the other two in Chiang Mai, Thailand and Beijing, China. In the first half of the 18th century, the Chinese copy became itself the prototype of two new replicas built in Beijing and Kökeqota, Inner Mongolia (Pichard 2005: 134ff.).

The following paragraphs present more recent foreign adoptions from India into Nepalese architecture that are significant precursors of the blending of European and Nepalese forms in the 19th and 20th centuries.

6.2 Inspirations from Mughal Architecture in Nepalese Religious Buildings

The dialogue with Mughal architecture taken up by the Nepalese is worth mentioning in the context of transcultural flows into the Kathmandu Valley. Like the neoclassical vocabulary, Mughal forms in Nepal were equally reinterpreted from Indian architecture. Niels Gutschow explores the creation of two building types in the beginning of the 18th century. He reveals architectural renewals in the design of the cullis and slab of Nepalese temples. The so-called “massive pagodas” are distinguished by the cantilever of their stepped roofs which protrude only about 40 cm and are constructed with a moulded brick cornice. Besides the pagodas, the first small domed buildings – their cupolas made of abutting brickwork – developed (Gutschow 1986: 10ff.). Their external shape varies. It is impossible to identify from the outside whether the externally bell-shaped or the bulb-like superstructure that derives from the Mughal domed structure is massive or if the inside is characterised by an abutting cupola.

⁸⁶ There is a Nepalese tradition of creating substitutes for renowned (Indian) sacred sites like this famous temple which are believed to incorporate the virtues of the original. “For example, the Four Abodes in the old royal centre of the Kathmandu Valley city of Bhaktapur provide substitutes for what Nepalese Hindus conceive as four of the most famous pilgrimage places in India: Jagannatha, Ramesvaram, Kedarnatha, and Badrinatha. Thus in a circuit of a few metres, the faithful may perform a pilgrimage that would otherwise take them across the length and breadth of India” (Slusser 2005: 596). In this sense, the Nepalese tradition may be compared with the replication of Christ’s cenotaph all over Europe.

According to Gutschow, another period of intensive introduction of foreign architectural forms began at the end of the 18th century with the erection of the Jagannāth temple built beyond the confines of historical Kathmandu. The then ruler, Ranabahādur Śāh, erected the monumental temple which is crowned by the largest dome ever constructed in Nepal (ibid: 11ff.).⁸⁷

On the one hand, Newar elements on the building cannot be denied, for example characteristic wooden door frames or the open gallery that leads around the sanctuary in the ground floor level and which is covered by a single-pitch roof similar to a pagoda. Seen from the exterior, on the other hand, the temple breaks with the, until then, existing Newar style while borrowing the dome from the Mughal tomb architecture found in India.

The difference between the design of the building and that of Indian domed structures from Mughal time is found not only in the construction technique of the dome but also in the function of the latter: Inside the sanctuary there is no visible cupola but the dome is built with a wooden frame and floor joists and is made of abutting bricks.⁸⁸ Striking new elements are found in the design of the Jagannāth temple, for example external walls that were embellished by plaster for the first time in the history of Newar architecture. Blind arches also underline the new décor.

Even though the Kathmandu Valley used to be a sequestered realm for many centuries – geographically and politically – this did not preclude the Nepalese rulers from travelling abroad. Around the middle of the 18th century, King Prithvi Narayan Shah went to Benares to collect war weapons, and to study the political and economic condition of the East India Company. Benares was a significant centre for commercial and business activities. According to Rana P. B. Singh (2005: 27f.), who presents the growth of the city during the British period, weapons and European luxuries circulated from Benares to Bundelkhand and from there to Gorakhpur and Nepal.

⁸⁷ This temple is not the Jagannāth temple in the vicinity of the Hanuman Dhoka Palace in Kathmandu mentioned by Oldfield as “a temple to Jagannath, built in 1852 by Jang Bahadur”, which, according to the author, was commenced by Bhimsen Thāpā. With the perception of an orientalist, Oldfield regrets that Jang Bahadur’s “good taste did not induce him to erect a building of durability and architectural merit, as Bhim Sen had intended to do, in the national style of the Niwars, instead of constructing a cheap brick-and-plaster imitation of one of the most common and least ornamental temples of Hindustan”, (Oldfield 1880: 109f.).

⁸⁸ Gutschow assumes that Newar masons were incapable of dealing with the construction of such a monumental cupola because it is built with a wooden frame and is made of abutting bricks. The author does not rule out the possibility that Ranabahādur Śāh did not prefer a vault inside the temple but solely aimed at the external impression. Maybe that is why the builder left the construction to local masons instead of consulting accomplished Indian workmen (Gutschow 1986: 13).

Other royal members were exiled to India and later returned. After Prithvi's death, his son Pratap Singh Shah ascended the throne in 1775. His brother Bahadur Shah hatched a conspiracy against Pratap that was detected. Bahadur was finally released and was allowed to go into exile in Bettiah in Bihar, India. At the news of the death of Pratap Singh Shah he came back to Kathmandu.

In the late 18th century, Nepal used to send an envoy not only to Calcutta but also to the court of the Nawāb⁸⁹ of Avadh in Lucknow. For this reason Gutschow considers that the design or at least the architectural inspiration for the Jagannāth temple may have come from Lucknow⁹⁰. However, this theory remains an assumption due to the lack of evidence (ibid: 13).

In the course of the 19th century under Shah rule, Mughal forms were used to remodel the façades of the Nepalese palaces. A far more radical break than the previous examples with the Newar architecture is demonstrated by the façade of Prime Minister Bhīmsen Thāpā's palace (1817) and the Bhīmbhakteśvara temple in Kathmandu erected by Bhīmsen Thāpā in 1822 (ibid: 20).

In its size, the Bhīmbhakteśvara temple is not comparable to the Jagannāth temple but like the latter it is covered by a bulbous dome. The plastered walls of its façade are structured by channelled pilasters, Islamic blind arches and other new elements: The lower parts of the pilasters, just like the capitals and cornices, are adorned by floral motives. They were precast and stuck onto the façade, for example the traditionally stylised lotus leaf and a characteristic foliated ornament, the so-called *desisvā* motif⁹¹, which will be presented in greater detail in chapter *The Acanthus and its Transformation from a Classical Motif into the "Foreign Flower" (desisvā) in Nepal*.

Plastered façades thus have found their way into the design of representational architecture of the then rulers in the Kathmandu Valley since the early 19th century. Concerning the décor, the technique of modelling the stucco was further developed. Whereas in Lucknow the plaster was moulded in three layers *in situ*, in Kathmandu several pieces made of red brick dust mortar are precast and stuck onto the plaster (Gutschow 1986: 24).

⁸⁹ A Nawāb's function in the time of the Mughal rule can be compared with the post of a provincial governor.

⁹⁰ In 1775 the Nawābs of Avadh (region in the Indian state Uttar Pradesh) relocated their residence from Faizabad to Lucknow (ibid: 24).

⁹¹ The term "*desi*", describes a product from a nearby country, mostly India. In this context it may be translated as the "foreign flower of India".

It is most likely that the plans for many of Bhīmsen Thāpā's buildings were inspired by the architecture of the new city of the Nawābs because he served as diplomatic delegate (*Wakil*) in Lucknow as a young man. Furthermore, building materials and forms that were found at his palace already existed early in Benares, India. Besides, Thāpā was building upon the sacred river banks of the Bagmati River in emulation of the ghats at the Ganges in Benares, a building activity which was later continued by Jang Bahadur Rana. The fact that in 1843 the Nepalese Maharaja Rajendra Vikram Shah and Prince Surendra Vikram Shah erected the Nepalese style Samrajeśvara Temple, a copy of the temple of Paśupatināth in Deopatan (Wiesner 1978: 1ff.), above Lalitā Ghāt in Benares in memory of Queen Rajalakṣmī and, that a *dharmasāla* was built to shelter Nepalese pilgrims, reflects the close connections between the cities of Kathmandu and Benares.

Gutschow (ibid: 17) considers the building of the Bhīmabhakteśvara temple as a valid architectural form and the details with their Mughal and Anglo-Indian provenance as exemplary for the design of several Rana palaces built between 1850 and 1950 in Kathmandu and Patan. As a domed structure the Nepalese temple is a rather rustic and unimposing version of Mughal architecture that grew highly popular within the 19th century.⁹² Differences are reflected in the construction of the different domes of the 19th century.⁹³

6.3 Mughal Forms in Nepalese Palace and Residential Buildings

Within a survey of extant Mughal-style palace buildings, Bhīmsen Thāpā's Silkhana ("storehouse for weapons") at Chauni in Kathmandu, built in the 1810s, must be mentioned. It now houses the National Museum. The rear and side elevations (west and north) retain their original façade composition with alternating timber openings and blind niches framed by shallow foliated arches and fine examples of timber cypress columns are also extant (fig. 86). Additional storeys and side wings have been added to the building. During a renovation under Bir or Chandra Shamsheer in the first half of the

⁹² 1842 Mathbar Singh Thāpā erected the Bhīmmuktesvara temple in Kathmandu. One year later the Ranamuktesvara temple was erected in honour of Rānabahādur Śāh, who was murdered. Thus, the first four large temples with domed structures were built and numerous smaller such buildings (*sivalayas*) were erected in the Valley, mostly at the riverbanks: On the bank of the Bāgmatī River are several donations of the Ranas which were often built in the vicinity of cremation grounds (ibid: 24-25).

⁹³ Gutschow gives the following description: „War für die großen Kuppelbauten der äußere Eindruck entscheidend, die Kuppel jedoch im Inneren jedem Einblick verborgen, so erscheint in den kleinen Kuppelbauten diese Gegensätzlichkeit umgekehrt. Die Kuppel ist nach außen hinter einer verputzten *gajurā* verborgen, im Inneren jedoch in höchster Präzision erlebbar“ (Gutschow 1986: 26).

20th century, the principal façade was rebuilt in a neoclassical style and neoclassical wings were added after the earthquake in 1934.

Bhīmsen Thāpā's "Garden Palace", the Bagh Darbār⁹⁴, has been completely demolished. Yet, several early photographs (fig. 87) show the building, probably built between 1805 and 1820 (south and east wings) and in the 1830s (northeast wing)⁹⁵ in the Indo-Saracenic style, similar in style to his palace in Chauni. Bagh Darbār was an entirely new complex of residential, religious and service buildings with garden architecture, ponds and agricultural land. The complex was related to two new urban landmarks, a folly – a freestanding tower on a nine-stepped platform – and a step-well at the common edge of the palace and Kathmandu. The novelty of this suburban palace complex was matched by the dazzling white of the lime plaster and the Mughal and European forms. Thāpā may have been inspired by the architecture of Lucknow and Benares, where he had lived occasionally. In Lucknow Thāpā saw the Nawab's dream – a great new Mughal city complex – and in Benares, too, the materials and forms of his new palace in Kathmandu would not have been unknown at the beginning of the 19th century.

The Paltanghar house (fig. 77-80), in the locality of Asan in Kathmandu, was built in the 1770s and renovated in 1833. An extant inscription provides evidence of the date of construction and the previous owner, General Ami Singh Basnyat. It is a unique surviving 18th century construction and reveals new forms on its façade. The house is one of the most important representatives for the intermingling of Newar, Mughal, and European elements (Theophile 1992: 7): a grand piano nobile level with glass windows, multifoil arches in carved timber and with fanlights (fig. 78, 79) common in British 18th century houses and also found in 19th and 20th century residential buildings all over India, and white plaster. The building is also known as "Soldier's House" due to the frieze of stucco soldiers (fig. 80) along the top of the ground floor. The soldiers are even mentioned in a courtyard inscription. According to Erich Theophile (unpublished paper) the early date of construction (1770s) is not completely verifiable but quite possible since in another building one kilometre south at Cikamugul the timber works are of similar high quality and an inscription in an adjacent courtyard dates this building to the 1780s.

⁹⁴ "Bagh" (Urdu), meaning "garden".

⁹⁵ The dates for the main portions of the palace are most likely circumscribed by Thāpā's rule 1806-1837 and logically would date to the early years. Thāpā returned with the king (after the latter's exile in Benares 1799-1804), making 1804 a likely terminus ante quem for the palace construction.

Furthermore, Mughal architecture is mirrored in many – extant and lost – palaces of the Ranas. A convincing example is the central wing of the Bhaktapur palace, Lal Baithak (1855), where plastered white-washed flamboyant, multifoil and ogee-shaped stucco arches intermingle with Newar and European window concepts (fig. 70), and the south wing structure of Lam Cok (ca. 1860) (fig. 66) connected to the throne hall Gaddi Baithak (1908) at Hanuman Dhokā in Kathmandu. Lal Baithak integrates Mughal façade motifs with a re-used, early 18th century Malla period arcade on the ground floor level. The upper storey collapsed in the earthquake in 1934 and was rebuilt.

Today, Jang Bahadur Rana's extensive Thapathali palace only survives in fragments. From photographs we know the round hall at Thapathali, Golo Baithak (around 1860). Golo Baithak was a three-storey structure with one round end whose repetitive plastered façade's grid epitomised the Mughal style. It may have been designed by the Indian engineer Ransūr Bisht (Whelpton 1983: 235).

In the houses built in the early 20th century in the cities of the Kathmandu Valley, Mughal forms such as ogee arches and multifoil arches were taken up in the design of gates (fig. 83), niches (which sometimes shelter gods and goddesses), blind windows and arches (fig. 81). They are embedded in archways where they intermingle with European keystones and are framed by pilasters with acanthus capitals (fig. 82). Furthermore they span upright French windows. Ornamental details such as some figurative embellishments, e.g. angel figures (see chapter *Angels, Kinnaris, Apsaras, Vidyādharis or Pāris? – Challenges in Iconographic Assigning*), or arabesques and other floral motifs scraped in stucco (fig. 218, 220) recall the motifs and plaster technique that was perfected in India and had its heyday in the Mughal period.

7. THE ART OF COPYING

7.1 Identity, Alterity and Mimesis

The adaptation and copying of Greek forms in art and architecture in Asian cultures dates back to the time of Alexander the Great, who reached India in his conquest of eastern territories. In early Gandharan Buddhist sculpture of Ancient India – in what is now northern Pakistan, Kashmir and eastern Afghanistan – for instance, Hellenistic influence is obvious. Cultural exchange has taken place in the course of trade, conquest and colonialism, long before the 18th and 19th centuries. These encounters sometimes involved processes of a differentiation vis-à-vis the others; identity and concepts of “ownness” were and still are often rendered in terms of absolutes over the notion of alterity considered to be foreign. In other cases a forced identification with alterity that is the integration of alterity in self becomes evident. In fact, architectural identities have often been an amalgamation of different flows intermingling in a certain culture at a certain point in time. The built environment may thus be queried for the analysis of processes of constitutions and constructions of identity and alterity. The inherent transculturality of built forms may mark buildings as “border-crossers”, provided that a border is not considered a line but a space. In this context the valence that is the qualification of a border through the particular notions of “self” and “other”, of identity and alterity is of most significance (Gehrke 1999: 16).

In colonial times cultural exchanges between Europe and Africa and Asia were characterised by an imbalance between the conqueror and the conquered. In 18th century Europe neoclassical architecture was associated with political and even religious purposes. The export of this architecture to the Indian colonies by British engineers served the same purpose. Architecture in colonised countries is thus indicative of the dimension of imperial power and the identity of the colonialists: the churches erected by British, German and French missionaries in the 19th century in almost all parts of Africa and India, the legacy of architects of the Victorian and Edwardian era in India, or the dramatic change in Chinese urban housing after the opening of coastal cities by British armed forces after the Opium War (1840-42), are only a few examples (Shouyi and Ying 2001).⁹⁶ Colonial architecture tightened the identity of the colonialists by forcing the differentiation of the Europeans vis-à-vis the others.

⁹⁶ In the Victorian age, named after the reign of Queen Victoria (1837-1901), a number of different architectural and ornamental styles were advocated and employed in Great Britain and its colonies. The

Indigenous responses in the vernacular architecture were yet given to trendsetting European building styles in many parts of the world. In many cases these responses, however, were reinterpretations of western models rather than true replicas. In his book *Mimesis and Alterity* (1993), Michael Taussig portrays the reciprocity of identity and mimesis, originality and copy, and of alterity and self-exposure. He formulates the essence of mimesis stating that “The wonder of mimesis lies in the copy drawing on the character and power of the original, to the point whereby the representation may even assume that character and that power” (Taussig 1993: xiii). As with foreign design ideas that were partly mimicked and incorporated into European art and architecture since the 18th century, imagination and fantasy are the characteristics of the “colonial vernacular”, the indigenisation of colonial architecture. This suggests that in consideration of alterity, the “blank space” seen in the other who is unknown or at least not well known to the self, may be filled with one’s own fantasy. If such an imagined and stereotyped fantasy-world is exploited for the purpose of identity construction it may at the same time become reality (Gehrke 1999: 21).

7.2 Copying and Designing a New Style

Vitruvius claimed in his *Ten Books on Architecture* (*De Architectura libri decem*) about 2000 years ago that what did not happen in the original (“reality”) had no valid reason in the imitation (*imitatio*), thus copying was a completely unbiased act. In the second chapter of his fourth book, the Roman mentions “false” principles in the context of a failure to copy accurately (Rowland 1999: 56, 4.2.5).

Donald Strong (1976: xix), a scholar of Roman art, stresses the fact, that the development in Rome was not dictated by creative artists in Rome. He rather assigns a major role to the patron, whether he was a private citizen, or an official of the imperial government. Classical Greek art was the standard of Roman patrons, adequate to express the political and religious needs. The Greek tradition was basically unchallenged even though specifically Roman features (depending on the Roman interpretation of Greek art and changing ideas and taste) can be detected in Roman art. These “Roman” elements originate in the Greek tradition and were developed logically

term Victorian architecture refers to a variety of styles, such as the British Arts-and-Crafts-movement, Gothic Revival, neo-Renaissance or neo-Baroque. The Edwardian era is the period covering the reign of King Edward VII (1901-1910). During this time, the Art Nouveau style became prominent and dominated design throughout much of Europe (e.g. France, Germany, Belgium, Spain, and Austria) and soon spread around the world.

from it. Others may be considered as inventions of Roman artists, but arising from the need expressed by a patron rather than being the results of the creative ability of the artist (ibid: xx).

Since Vitruvius' time, several notions on "copying" were expressed and had their effect on the development of the formal analysis in the history of art, during the 20th century in particular. Regarding artistic progresses of imitation, the Swiss art critic Heinrich Wölfflin (1915: 12ff.) underlines the significance of the analysis of the rendition of art. He states, that each artist finds certain temporal "optical" options to which the artist is bound. As per Wölfflin, here and there the perception of art underlies a different "optical" scheme that may entail the appearance of architecture and performing arts of a certain era. According to John Newenham Summerson (1980: 25), a leading 20th century architectural historian from England, the essential achievement of the Renaissance was not the "strict imitation of Roman buildings". Rather, he considers the design activities as the "re-establishment of the grammar of antiquity as a universal discipline" and provides us with a significant notion for the following discourse about classical architecture in India and Nepal. By accepting classical forms as a universal grammar one may act on the assumption that they can be copied countless times and are not bound to a certain place or time. Depending on the spatiotemporal context this "grammar of antiquity" underlies the particular optical schemes of the patrons, artists and craftsmen.

In the past decades, several scholars of colonial architecture have commented on "copying" neoclassical styles in India. George Michell (1980: 95), an architect and archaeologist who has written extensively on Indian architecture, outlines in his assessment of Bengali temples different kinds of copying associated with the arrival of European architecture in India and its interaction with local forms, the simplest being that of addition. He presents a framework of "imitation of European buildings, modification of traditional forms, and the recreation of new and highly original styles" that are neither wholly Indian nor truly European.

Giles Henry Rupert Tillotson, a scholar of the architecture of the Raj, deals with the *Tradition of Indian Architecture* (1989). In his chapter on the Indo-Saracenic style, Tillotson (1989: 51) calls the architectural forms of the Laxmi Vilas palace – designed by Major Charles Mant of the Bombay Engineers in the late 19th century for the Maharaja of Baroda in Gujarat – "a lexicon of Indian architecture" whose grammar in the eyes of the author is, however, western. Asking whether it is an authentic revival of "native" forms or a fusion of East and West, Tillotson (ibid: 54) tries to force a

categorisation on the so-called Indo-Saracenic architecture but fails. According to Tillotson, it is neither: The style differs fundamentally from the Indian design; on the other hand, any revival that preserves “traditional planning principles” cannot be a fusion of East and West because “there is no satisfactory synthesis between the two traditions”. Rather than accepting a “new architectural logic”, the author talks of a “medley” of forms. He judgementally describes (ibid: 55) the design phenomena in colonial India by calling them a “misunderstanding” and “misapplication”. For him Charles Mant’s designs are a “travesty” and “historical curiosities” and a copy “with no regard to its original significance or development”, similar to the architecture of Lucknow. The latter is described as an “example of amateurish and slightly incompetent classicism” (ibid: 9).

But there are also views on the architecture that refer to western design in Asia which differ from those of Tillotson. An antipode of Tillotson’s view is given by José Pereira (2000) who has studied the “Neo-Roman” religious architecture in India. Assessing the transmission of European styles (Renaissance, Mannerism, Baroque, Rococo and neoclassicism – subsumed by the author as Neo-Roman styles in India) – Pereira describes the process of Indianisation as “the modification of the European group of styles, through conditioning by the Indian Aesthetic [...], so that Indian Neo-Roman may be described as European in grammar and Indian in syntax, though later even the grammar was considerably modified” (Pereira 2000: 418). The author distinguishes between two main groups that represent European styles in India: “Neo-Roman styles implanted in India, and Neo-Roman styles developed in India itself”, (ibid: 134). Pereira continues, “Both groups have a common architectural idiom, that of the classical orders, but the former interprets this idiom in harmony with a European aesthetic; any divergencies are due to a partial incomprehension of this aesthetic, or to its partial accommodation to Indian conditions. The latter group moulds the common idiom, consciously or unconsciously, in conformity with the Indian aesthetic, an aesthetic that had been fully formed by the time of the Neo-Roman tradition’s arrival in India” (ibid: 134).

Rosie Llewellyn-Jones, who studied the city of Lucknow (1985), also holds a view that is far more sophisticated than that of Tillotson. She devotes a chapter to the curious patterns of design development in the city’s European and hybrid European architecture, which according to her, are of “involute nature” (Llewellyn-Jones 1985: 152). She distinguishes between the “mere copying of styles” and “reinterpretations” (ibid: 152) of European buildings by local builders. The former may come close to an “exact

replica” (ibid: 153) or “imitation”, whereas the latter represents interpretations that are “not quite so strict”, but where “the characteristics are clear” (ibid: 153) – “not slavish copies”, but “not so different” (ibid: 153) that they renounce an identification with the original. Within the scope of copying from existing buildings, Llewellyn-Jones significantly awards the reinterpreted architectural variations the nature of being different and at the same time “interesting and successful buildings in their own right” (ibid: 153).

Even though the listed statements are rather descriptive if not judgemental, rather than tracing the motives for copying neoclassical architecture in India, the discussion above can be transferred to the evidentiary corpus of neoclassical architecture in the Kathmandu Valley. The Rana rulers, just like some Indian Maharajas, forsook local patterns in favour of western models. Concerning the residences, the Newars themselves chose to copy European forms to embellish their façades, affected by the royal architecture. Neoclassical patterns served as the veneer for the vernacular architecture. With both western and local technologies, a new, neoclassical architecture in Nepal was created.

In her essay about the Rana palaces the German historic Kerrin Gräfin Schwerin regards the Nepalese structures as idiosyncratic adaptations with incongruities that are the results of incomprehension and misunderstanding of foreign architectural principles (Gräfin Schwerin 1993: 252). With her statement, however, she disregards the creativity of the local interpretations of neoclassical forms in Nepal. With her attitude she continues to assume the “West” and “non-West” as opposing and contradicting categories. By awarding universal validity to the European patterns she considers the Nepalese designs as incomplete and inadequate.

The Rana palaces and Newar houses can either be devaluated as bad imitations of European classic design or they may be regarded as the results of designer’s thoughts and notions and as the result of the unique and joyful blending of Newar and European design. The latter aspect prepares the ground for the analysis of the tense relation between alterity and mimesis that is the Nepalese identification with alterity which resulted in the integration of alterity in Nepalese identity. At this point Summerson’s thought about classical patterns as being subject to a “universal discipline” ought to be picked up: As Anthony G. Hopkins points out, universalism is the search for commonality and this implies exclusivity and the transformation of the local and the particular “into a higher, more advanced state, whether by persuasion, conversion, or

conquest” (Hopkins 2006: 8). In the Kathmandu Valley, where neoclassical palaces had been built and European forms were incorporated into the residential architecture by the Newars, they only recall European design, but in general are characterised by their own style. Newar designers chose what seemed to suit and please, mainly from the repertoire of local, neoclassical and Anglo-Indian architecture – reinterpretations, e.g., from the neo-Palladian style either “implanted” or developed in India itself. The architecture is not merely “a marriage of Western technology and Eastern iconography”, (Carswell 1977: 2) but testifies the striving for alterity and the acquirement of imagination of the Nepalese to put themselves in the worlds of others. The early 20th century architecture of the Kathmandu Valley reflects different kinds of copying associated with the arrival of European architecture in Nepal and its interaction with local forms. The architecture provides imitations of European buildings, modifications of indigenous forms, and at the same time even creations of new and highly original styles. In the end, this architecture converges into a style developed in Nepal itself. It moulds the idiom common to classicism – consciously or unconsciously – to conform to Nepalese aesthetics. The results are neither essentially Nepalese nor truly European, but buildings in their own right.

7.3 Europe’s Import of Foreign Design

Obviously, certain artistic flows between Asia and Europe countered each other in the 18th and 19th centuries while in each case a new notion of modern design was propagated. Whereas many representatives of the East such as the Nepalese welcomed classical western imagery, reformers of western art propagated new and even foreign design for their identity creating. The European view and awareness of art – until then based on the tradition of the Antiquity – underwent profound changes during the second half of the 18th century, in particular⁹⁷, due to industrialisation and influences by expeditions to and colonisation of Asia and Africa. The changes were widely initiated by the enhancement of knowledge about foreign art and architecture. Eclectic architecture was accepted as a new art principle.

Even before the beginning of the industrial revolution the “Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce” (RSA) supported the imitation

⁹⁷ *Entwurf Einer Historischen Architectur in Abbildung unterschiedener berühmten Gebäude des Alterthums und fremder Völcker* (Leipzig 1725) by Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach serves as an earlier example for the interest in the design of other cultures is exemplified in the book.

of favoured patterns within the applied arts: Since 1756 awards were given by the “Society of Arts” for manufacturers who designed their products on the basis of antique or foreign models (Tzeng 1994: 10). The intention was to strengthen the English economy by imitating foreign products instead of importing them (ibid: 34).

The contemporary observance of “exotic” building styles is exemplified by the work of the Scottish architect William Chambers (1723-1796). He had travelled to China several times before publishing his observations of Chinese architecture in *Designs of Chinese Buildings* (1757). Chambers viewed Chinese architecture solely as garden art. He designed a ten-storey Chinese Pagoda (1761-1762) for the botanical site of Kew Gardens in South London. It was never meant to be a true copy of an original but rather the result of a Rococo fantasy that demonstrated the incorporation of the “foreign”. In Chambers’ eyes the classical European tradition was still superior to such exotic architectural designs.⁹⁸ In other words, Chinese architecture served him to upgrade the identity of his own culture. This imagined “Chineseness” had little to do with the actual architecture in China but created new norms suggesting what Chinese architecture was considered to be like.

Etienne de Lavallée-Poussin’s *Nouvelle Collection d’Arabesques* (Paris, Strasbourg 1790), a collection of Arabesques, and *Recueil et parallèle des édifices de tout genre, anciens et modernes* (Paris 1801) by Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand are further examples of the observance of the “other” by French artists.

The Great Exhibition in London (1851) introduced the designs of non-European cultures extensively to the general public. The Great Exhibition and similar world- or colonial exhibitions that followed created tensions between identity and alterity. While on the one hand the exhibition of “alien” and “savage” peoples and cultures evoked the awareness of alterity, “exotic” artefacts on the other hand led to a deeper perception, examination and comprehension of other aesthetical concepts. With amazement art

⁹⁸ In “A Treatise on Civil Architecture” (1759), Chambers concentrated on the treatment of columns and garden architecture of the classical architectural language and demonstrated his architectural power of judgement that he derived from his own aesthetical experiences. Pursuant to the rational thinking in the era of Enlightenment the architecture should be explained to architects didactically from a traceable experience and a comprehensible representation. In his foreword, it becomes obvious that the “retracing” in Chambers’ eyes took the traveling and the direct encounter with other cultures for granted that, according to him, enhanced people’s fantasy. The mere uncritical imitation of models, even if they were antique structures, according to Chambers was not sufficient for the formation of real taste. The aesthetical experience, the imagination that empowered the architect to a spontaneous judgement, was added by Chambers to the traditional qualification of an architect, the scientific knowledge of mathematics, geometry, and perspective. It was not until the architect had established certain architectural proportions and at the same time knew about the aesthetical impact of the forms employed by him that he had chosen the right proportions. Architecture, in the eyes of Chambers, besides sensual impressions also brought meta-sensual ideas across to an enlightened public.

critics, among them the architectural theorist, draftsman, and representative of the neo-Gothic style, Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812-1852), discovered the beauty of two-dimensionality of ornaments of all products exhibited by the allegedly technologically underdeveloped, non-European countries. “‘It was but natural that we should be startled when we found that in consistency of design in industrial art, those we had been too apt to regard as almost savages were infinitely our superiors’”, states Matthew Digby Wyatt, a British architect and art historian (cited by Boe 1957: 256ff.)⁹⁹. The successful endeavours to reform the ornament, including the adaptation of foreign design, did not exclude discontentment and critique of the design of European exhibits at the Great Exhibition. As will be presented in the following paragraph, the critique that resulted in a discussion about design was preceded by a “battle of styles” that arose from the Gothic revival of the late 18th century, when the supremacy of classicism as the embodiment of taste was challenged.

Owen Jones (1809-1874) ranks among the most prominent designers in Victorian England. In his pattern book *The Grammar of Ornament* (1856), he analysed important design vocabulary of different cultures, among them ornaments from Asia including Indian (fig. 88), Hindu and Chinese forms (fig. 89): “Who, then, will dare say that there is nothing left for us but to copy the five or seven-lobed flowers of the thirteenth century; the Honeysuckle of the Greeks or the Acanthus of the Romans, - that this alone can produce art? Is Nature so tied? See how various the forms, and how unvarying the principles” (Jones 1972: 157). Together with the architect Jules Goury, Jones had already published *Plans, Elevations, Section and Details of the Alhambra*, (1842-45), a milestone in the promulgation of Moorish-style ornamentation. This opus exemplarily reflects the historic and archaeological interest that Europeans had developed since the era of Enlightenment.¹⁰⁰

Other examples of the promulgation of foreign patterns are Eugène-Victor Collinot's and Adalbert de Beaumont's *Recueil de Dessins pour l'Art et l'Industrie* (Paris 1859), which contain oriental and Moorish patterns; Victor Delaye's *Album Indo-Parisien* (Paris around 1860); or Friedrich Fischbach's *Balcanic Album für Stickerei* (Vienna around 1875).

⁹⁹ Cited from Wyatt, M. D.: An attempt to define the principles which should determine form in the decorative arts. Read before the Society of Arts, April 21. London 1852.

¹⁰⁰ Jones' *The Grammar of Ornament* did not have the function of a pattern book, but served as a mediating didactic collection of examples of the contemporary and taste-supporting fundamentals of design.

Several Westerners developed their dreams of Japan, expressed in extensive theories on Japanese art and people even though most of them had never been there. Christopher Dresser was a famous ornamentist in late 19th century England, who was among the first British artists integrating Japonism into his work. His patterns for woodwork, metal and ceramics attest to Japanese styles. James Jackson Jarves, an American art critic living in Florence, emphasised the Japanese affinity to nature that was considered far from Western affluence in his book *A Glimpse at the Art of Japan* (1876). This was a common perspective of many Westerners on the cultures of others based on the formula of opposing “civilised” versus “primitive”. The same tenor was kept in the discussion about architecture in the 20th century, for instance by the German architect Bruno Taut who promoted early modernism. In regard to architecture he was yearning for a unity of nature, other cultures, and rationalism and ideals of simplicity. Taut thus found in Japan what he was looking for and what matched his visions (Edlinger 2008: 66). Ernest Guillot’s *Les Insectes* (Paris around 1880) and Heinrich Dolmetsch’s *Japanische Vorbilder* (Stuttgart 1886) are both further examples of the adaptation of a Japanese style.

The 19th century brought about the formation of an international art market same as museums and an international artistic sensitivity. In 1886, the “Colonial and Indian Exhibition” was held in London. At the Exhibition the manufactured goods were arranged geographically in the Middle Court of the South Gallery of the “Royal Albert Hall”. The Middle Gallery was devoted to Indian art wares and was apportioned into sections so that it “became far easier to study the leading manufactures of each province and to note the different styles of art which prevail in various parts of the country” (Report of the Royal Commission for the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, London, 1886. London 1887: 103). “Nipal” is listed among the regions included in the “Bombay and Baroda” section (ibid: 104). Nepal was thus presented as a British-Indian province even though it was merely a British resident who lived in Kathmandu while Nepal never got colonised. On the “Commemorative Diploma” (fig. 90) that was forwarded together with medals through the Executive Commissioners to all Colonial and Indian Commissioners and exhibitors and to the Guarantors and Members of the Royal Commission (ibid: 155ff.), the allegory of “Britannia seated to the right, supported by Commerce and Industry, is receiving the Colonies, each of which is represented by a single female figure”.¹⁰¹ Surrounding the picture is a decorative border. At the top, on

¹⁰¹ “India holds a jar containing spices, Canada, with a red Indian head-dress and a fur-lined cloak, bears a calumet; Australia, on whose dress kangaroos are embroidered, carries a sword in allusion to the aid

either side of the Royal arms, the names of the chief provinces of India are listed – among them “Cashmere – Nepal”. The principal divisions of Canada are presented at the bottom, and on either side, the British Colonies are found (ibid: 155). Nepal provided 26 exhibits. In a telegram sent from the secretary of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition to the Viceroy in Simla, India, on July 15, 1886, it was reported that her majesty the Queen Empress visited the Indian Section on the morning of the same day and that she “carefully inspected the collections from Hyderabad, Coorg, Mysore, Madras, Burmah, Assam, the Central Provinces, Cashmere, Punjab, North-West Provinces and Oudh, Bengal and Nepal, Bombay and Baroda, Central India States and the Rajputana States” (ibid: 195ff.).

These examples mirror the curiosity with which Europeans of the late 18th and 19th centuries encountered and absorbed the culture of other countries and continents, including the arts. While “western” art involved “non-western” art the latter was, however, perceived through the western eye and mediated through western artistic values. In many cases, the unfamiliar visual culture of non-western art was subsumed and rationalised within western art (Newall and Pooke 2008: 195f.).

7.4 “It is by no means easy to copy; easy by no means is it to design” (Robert Scott Burn, 1871)

England became the leading industrial nation during the last third of the 18th century. Smaller manufacturers were replaced by great industrial factories. There was a sell-out of classical symbols through the increasing imitation and an excess of production of ornaments in the course of mechanisation. This development in the Victorian era culminated in a vivid discussion about ornamental design. The imitation of well-known patterns became a rising problem for ornamentists – artisans who specialized in ornamentation – architects and art critics who searched for originality.¹⁰²

which New South Wales so promptly rendered in the Soudan campaign; New Zealand bears a Maori paddle; the West Indies offers sugar-cane; the Cape holds ostrich feathers; Burma offers a bead necklace; Malta has a spear; Cyprus is typified as Venus; and the other Colonies are to be identified by typical produce or emblems”, (Report of the Royal Commission for the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, London, 1886. London 1887: 155ff.).

¹⁰² In Diderot’s *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers* (“Encyclopedia, or a systematic dictionary of the sciences, arts, and crafts”) (1751), a general encyclopedia the applied arts for the first time were attributed the same quality as the liberal arts. The resulting discussion about the significance of ornamental design and the importance of the crafts lasted until the 19th century. The debate resulted in the rising acceptance of the ornamentist not only as an artisan but even an artist.

In his *True Principles* (1841) Pugin adjudged the contemporary ornamental design. In his eyes the ornaments were overloaded and their illusionist three-dimensionality distracted the viewer from the form of an object. He asked for a constructive simplification of all architectural ornaments and propagated two-dimensionality in ornamental design that would underline the beauty of an object and not hide it. For such architecture, the historic model was no longer the European classic as in the 18th century, but Gothic architecture. With his demand for functionality and two-dimensionality, Pugin took a leading role in the reform movement of the Victorian Arts-and-Crafts (Tzeng 1994: 74ff.).¹⁰³

John Ruskin (1819-1900), an influential English social philosopher and art historian of the Victorian era, shared Pugin's favour for the Middle Ages driven by the Romantic cult of the 19th century. The grace and beauty of architecture, described by Ruskin in his account *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849), attached primary importance to ornamentation. He disapproved of machine-made ornaments (Pevsner 1972: 330ff.). Ruskin thus refuted the contemporary forms and the development of architecture in England and its colonies, e.g. buildings made of modern materials like iron and glass, such as "Crystal Palace", "Victoria Station", the Victorian "Palm House" in Kew Gardens in London or the contemporary fashion of cast-iron handrails, balustrades and other products that were transported to Indian cities such as Calcutta and further to Nepal. Instead he recommended a national uniform style. Only the Romanesque in Pisa, the Tuscan and English early Gothic (decorated style), and the Venetian Gothic were acceptable forms to Ruskin (Pevsner 1971: 276ff.). One of the main issues of the Romantic Movement was the rejection of the artistic rules of classicism. The imitation of classical ideals that repeatedly resulted in a canon in art and architecture fell into disgrace: True art required a creative designer and could not be something one could imitate. Ruskin's ideas led to the Anti-Restoration Movement that promoted a romantic condemnation of copies and denied modern artistic contributions to buildings.

In the context of the analysis of the self-evident imitation, the function of the pattern books was redefined: It was primarily due to the presumed originality of the ornamental design that the requirements in the fields of aesthetic and education had to be reconsidered (Tzeng 1994: 10).

After the Great Exhibition where industry, economy and art interacted, the role of the designer as the creator of the pattern books came to the fore. The pattern book lost its function as a presentation of models that should be imitated. Henceforth, it served as a source of suggestions for the designer intended to fire his imagination.

¹⁰³ In a later pattern book, *Floriated Ornament* (1849), Pugin regards the nature as the actual root of the Gothic ornament. His treatises on the main principles of the ornamental design affect Owen Jones' piece *Grammar of Ornament*. Later, the Arts-and-Crafts movement chose Pugin's demand for the utility and significance of the ornament as their leitmotif (Tzeng 1994: 80ff.).

In the run-up to the Great Exhibition in London (1851), the reform group of the magazine *Journal of Design and Manufactures* (1849-1852), strongly polemicised against the imitation of traditional or “classical” patterns in the field of design. At the Great Exhibition various cultures were represented with their arts. The result was not only the acceptance of foreign design but also the foundation of the “Arts-and-Crafts-Movement” that disapproved mass production. “The fatal facility of manufacturing ornament which the revived use of the acanthus leaf has given”, said Jones (1972: 155), “deadened the creative instinct in artists’ minds”. With these words Jones referred to the history of the acanthus ornament, first described by Vitruv in the legend of the exploration of the Corinthian capital by Callimachus (see chapter *The Corinthian Order*). The acanthus leaf had been reproduced repeatedly since Antiquity and was an ornament that was extremely popular throughout the centuries, particularly during neoclassicism. It enjoyed universal popularity by its exportation to the colonies via the British art schools and was even copied on non-colonised soil like Nepal where it was associated with European architecture and thus was a representative of modernity. Consequently, Jones regarded the acanthus leaf as the embodiment of despicable ornamental imitation.¹⁰⁴

During the 19th century the “design” assumed a bipolar meaning, imitation (“paraître”) versus originality (“être”) in the course of the discussion among art and architectural critics (Tzeng 1994: 10).¹⁰⁵ In 1871 the British Robert Scott Burn published his book about *Masonry Bricklaying and Plastering* (Burn 2001: 35). Therein he presents the architectural doctrine of the Victorian times that was highly influenced by the Great Exhibition in London. Without participating in the “battle of styles”, the conflict between supporters of the Gothic style and the Classical style in architecture, Burn agreed with other British architectural critics that the Grecian, Gothic or any other ancient style had been characteristic of the time and of the attitude towards life of the people who built it. Contemporary architecture, as Burn suggests (ibid: 220), should also represent the peculiarities of its builders and inhabitants instead of merely copying

¹⁰⁴ Instead, Jones praises the first of the ten tables of the last chapter that shows chestnut leaves: “The single example of the chestnut leaf, Plate XCI, contains the whole of the laws which are to be found in Nature; no art can rival the perfect grace of its form, the perfect proportional distribution of the areas, the radiation from the parent stem, the tangential curvatures of the lines, or the even distribution of the surface decoration. We may gather this from a single leaf”, (Jones 1972: 157). Even though Jones regards the forms of nature as the mandatory inspiration for the design of ornaments, he strictly refuses the imitation of nature.

¹⁰⁵ In the eyes of the publishers of the *Journal of Design* the nature, that is the principles of natural forms and colours, were the only model for ornamental design. They did, however, not merely aim to imitate nature. Naturalistic motifs were to be interpreted individually by the designer (Tzeng 1994: 90ff.).

the ideas of former architects. Rather, it should be a “stony record” that “would tell to future ages, as the ancient and medieval structures tell to ours, what were our ideas of what structures should be, and how they are or should be designed”. According to this assessment, the mere copyist ranks below a designer whose work must be created individually, for “It is by no means easy to copy; easy by no means is it to design” (ibid: 220). Thus, imitation can only be valued from its closeness to the original. “The more the necessity for exercising individual thought is insisted upon,” Burn (ibid: 221) concludes, “the more hope is there for the architecture of the future. And this honestly carried out would get rid at once of many of the difficulties connected with that other vexed question of the art, to which we have already alluded, ‘Which is the best style for us – Classic or Gothic?’”.

In the late 18th century and in the course of the 19th century, the relationship between the artist, architect and manufacturer that had been disrupted by the mechanisation of the industrial revolution was strengthened through the rising demand and appreciation of the individually created ornament. The ornamentist as artist was revived: “By the ornament of a building we can judge more truly of the creative power which the artist has brought to bear upon the work. The general proportions of the building may be good, the mouldings may be more or less accurately copied from the most approved models; but the very instant that ornament is attempted, we see how far the architect is at the same time the artist” (Jones 1972: 155). As in the preceding centuries, the architects of the 19th century were assigned a significant part as transmitters and innovators of ornaments who also reworked “foreign” forms thus incorporating them into what was considered as “self”.

A new notion of modern design was propagated in Europe and Asia: The reformers of western art broke with exhausted clichés of its own imagery they considered anti-modern and propagated new and even foreign design for their identity creating. The East, in turn, welcomed classical western iconography, European realism and new techniques that were the signum of modernity (see chapter *Builders of Early 20th Century Architecture in the Kathmandu Valley*). In this way, aesthetic ideas became universal, flowing into both directions. Different styles, e.g. those originating in Europe, such as Gothic, Baroque or neoclassical, but also the “Hindu style” of India or the “Japanese style” had not been bound to any geographic location, nation or any cultural community anymore, but anyone who had absorbed the “spirit” of a style could copy it.

7.5 British Art Schools in Colonial India (circa 1856 – 1900) and Their Impact on Nepal

Transcultural flows between Asia and Europe already had their impact on the art and architecture of each other that implicated the absorption of certain patterns in the 16th century. During the reign of the Mughal king and great builder Akbar and his successors in India from the middle of the 16th century onwards the Mughal painters enriched their corpus of signs and symbols as a result of their contact with Renaissance art. European symbols and motifs such as cupids, angels, orbs, or terrestrial globes were imitated in royal paintings. In the following I will, however, focus on the 19th century dogmatic western art principles into the Indian realm.

In 1854 an announcement by the East India Company formulated the policy to influence Indian subjects through British art schools and reflected the Victorian obsession to civilise and even dominate its colony under cultural aspects. The industrial revolution had brought prosperity to Great Britain. British military intervention had created a huge colonial empire. In the *Journal of Design* in the run-up to the Great Exhibition, Matthew Digby Wyatt ascribes to the English art industry a role superior to that of France. His optimism was based on Great Britain's economic and industrial supremacy that was exhibited at the Great Exhibition. The power of the British Empire was underlined by the depiction of the English colonial rule in India. Allegories such as that of the coronation of Britannia by Asia were presented in the *Official and Descriptive Illustrated Catalogue of the Great Exhibition 1851*.¹⁰⁶

Partha Mitter, an art historian focussing on the architectural history of colonial India, demonstrates how the whole concept of local arts in India was changed by the art schools of the British, especially because of “striking differences between the European and Indian artistic processes” (Mitter 1994²: 3). Three major art schools were opened in the cities of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras during the 1850s.¹⁰⁷ These schools became a major vehicle for disseminating British taste. In these art schools, the method of drawing, painting and modelling had been introduced. The result was art making that was “imitative” rather than “creative”. The British themselves had no common opinion

¹⁰⁶ An Afghan, an Indian colonial soldier and a Chinese civil servant in bonds are at the feet of Britanniae and Asiae who reside on an Indian pedestal, palm-lined and carried by an elephant. The figures personify the cities of Kabul, Calcutta and Kanton and symbolise Great Britain's triumph over China in the first Opium War and the treaty of Nanking (1842) that finally ensured the English the opening of the harbours of Kanton, Xiamen, Fuzhou, Ningbo and Shanghai for free trade.

¹⁰⁷ Although privately founded, these schools did not long remain in individual hands. They were taken control by the departments of public instruction, set up in the three presidencies Bombay, Calcutta and Madras in 1855.

about art teaching and design as the discussion after the Great Exhibition demonstrated. Opinions were divided over either the fine arts, imparted by the Royal Academy in London, or the applied arts taught at the Department of Science and Art at South Kensington. Some critics judged the European industrial design exhibited in London as devoid of any taste. They complimented the Indians for the flat design of their industrial art which applied flat décor. Therefore, these critics, among them Owen Jones, accused the ruling Raj, whose choices were provided by developments in Britain, of being responsible for the destruction of Indian industrial art by enforcing mass-produced goods from Britain. The government turned to them for advice on how to preserve Indian handicrafts. In the eyes of the Raj, European drawing would facilitate the Indian artisan's participation in the global market. The Raj wished the art schools in India to qualify artisans so that the country could compete with modern European industries. This belief strengthened the supremacy of Victorian technical art knowledge throughout the British Empire (Mitter 1994²: 5).

The art policy in these three early established British art schools in India was modelled on the doctrine of the British Central School of Industrial Art at South Kensington, founded in 1857. Its preoccupation with scientific drawing had extensive consequences for the colonial art in India. The Art School in Bombay was established in 1857 by the erstwhile Government of Bombay from the grants made by the philanthropist Sir Jamsethji Jijibhai in order to “improve” the Indian taste. Jijibhai was a Persian industrialist who had served on the selection committee for the Great Exhibition of 1851 in London. Under proper British guidance, “the people of India would attain a degree of proficiency in painting and sculpture which would lead to an extended taste for such objects... (and) would enable India once more to take up an advanced position among manufacturing countries of the world”, (Jijibhai cited by Mitter 1994²: 3). John Ruskin emphasised the European sentiment that Indians would not “draw a form of nature but an amalgamation of monstrous objects” (Ruskin cited by Mitter 1994²: 4ff.). The colonial concept that aimed at disseminating European taste in India is also reflected in the mind of the official, Sir Richard Temple (Governor of Bombay 1877 – 80). He admired the “imitative” faculty of Indian artists. Therefore, Temple was confident that in the Bombay Art School Indians should adapt the correct way of drawing and rectify “some of their mental faults... intensify their powers of observation, and to make them understand analytically those glories of nature which they love so well”, (Temple cited by Mitter 1994²: 4).

The Indian students were taught to copy ornaments accurately since the government had regulated that the schools primarily aimed at the training of artisans and not the creation of academic artists (ibid: 5). In order to encourage the enrolment of local artisans, on the one hand initially no fees were charged for the Bombay School of Art. On the other hand, the knowledge in elementary geometry and arithmetic was required (ibid: 7). Thus, instead of attracting the young working craftsmen and artisans, the Bombay School of Art paved the way for boys from elite families who had attended government schools, the new elite artists (ibid: 12). The programme sought to eliminate illusionist motifs altogether. Even though the fine arts should have been excluded from curriculum of the Bombay Art School by the government, they still were part of the training programme.

Joseph Crowe was chosen as the head of the Bombay School. Crowe was a painter who had been trained in Paris. He had a universal knowledge of academic art and the history of the Renaissance (ibid: 7). In his opinion, his students were “deficient in rudimentary techniques, taste and finish” and therefore he wished “to bring them face to face with nature, that would provide fresh ideas and prevent stagnation”. Crowe judged the “grotesque images” which he found in Indian sculpture as irredeemably bad. A school of design, he claimed, should owe its “accuracy, truth and natural beauty to European inspiration, but mould its material into purely Indian types” (Crowe cited by Mitter 1994²: 8). Hence, he articulated the seemingly incompatible idea of blending of arts, namely preserving the acquisition of Indian décor and its improvement with western naturalism (Mitter 1994²: 8). “The conflict between Classical taste and Hindu iconography, a perennial issue, received a fresh lease of life during the ‘imperial meridian’, when the notion of inherent differences between the ‘progressive’ West and the ‘unchanging’ Orient began to be woven into the imperial fabric”, (ibid: 11).¹⁰⁸

In 1865 John Lockwood Kipling and John Griffiths arrived from South Kensington to give lessons in decorative sculpture and painting. During their period at the Bombay

¹⁰⁸ During the 19th and 20th centuries, architectural design was discussed all over British-India. Towards the end of the 19th century, the architect T. Roger Smith considered the amalgamation of the European architectural language with eastern styles known as the Indo-Saracenic style, “un-British”. In his view the purpose of the Raj was to inaugurate British standards in all areas. The standard of the buildings, too, should be highly European (Tillotson 1994: 18). In Europe classical architecture was propagated with political and religious intentions, a purpose which was exported to the Indian colonies by the British architects and engineers. The *Imperium Romanum*, a state worthy of imitation, paradigm of the classical style, was claimed as predecessor of the British (ibid: 33). An eclectic design which incorporated the eastern roots of the architect, the ornamental heritage of India and the Islamic tradition did not suit the concept of using the architecture as a distinctive mark of the British presence and to impress the “natives”, a concept that had been the inspiration of several great government palaces or British Residences in India built in the classical style – the former in Calcutta and Madras, the latter in Lucknow and Hyderabad (ibid: 19).

School, European relief sculpture on public buildings became popular. During the following years the school copied its syllabus from the British Council of Education. By training the eye and the hands, students should “‘understand and represent with firmness and refinement, first abstract geometrical shapes, and then the varied hundred forms of nature, passing through the intermediate stage of architectural ornament’”, (British Council of Education cited by Mitter 1994²: 8). The school at Bombay initially was the only school for urban planning and was unique in putting architectural design on the curriculum. The school took a leading role in academic art in India and was the only art school that nurtured the art of stone carving. Stone carving was taught as architectural and ornamental design in order to meet the European demand for the colonial buildings. “It supplied floral design, medallions and decorative figures for new buildings in Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, and other cities” (Narzary 2001: 72). Before learning the European technique of stone carving, the artisans were taught in drawing and design and later in modelling and plaster casting (ibid: 72). Through the intervention of the two art teachers Kipling and Griffiths, students were offered commissions for architectural decoration by the Public Works Department. As a result, the Victoria Terminus in Bombay was decorated by some of Griffiths’ students. Furthermore, they furnished architectural details such as capitals, corbels, gargoyles for the Neo-Gothic High Court and the four colossal heads at the General Hospital (Goculdas Tejpal Hospital). The decoration of public buildings under Kipling refuted Crowe’s conclusion about Indian grotesque images. The students gave “‘play to the grotesque and the fanciful common to Indian and Medieval art’” (Kipling cited by Mitter 1994²: 14).¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁹ Giles Henry Rupert Tillotson devotes an article to the “Indo-Saracenic” style in colonial India with which some British architects forsook the standard western classical and medievalising Gothic forms of British architectural styles: The Muir College in Allahabad and the Madras Senate University House. In William Emerson’s Muir College, Venetian Gothic was combined with a Mughal dome, Persian decoration and a minaret “which appears to have been transported from Mamluk Egypt”, (Tillotson 1994: 17). The University Hall in Madras designed by Robert Fellowes Chisholm is a combination of ogee arches and round arches similar to those of Moorish Spain, Victorian brick towers and tiled Persian domes. The Indo-Saracenic style became a distinctive architectural movement. However, this eclecticism attracted critics and remained controversial.

Vincent Esch is another contributor to the Indo-Saracenic movement of the 20th century and designed great buildings like the High Court in Hyderabad. However, he mainly worked in Calcutta where he mostly designed in the Classic style. In the British capital, Esch was superintendent of the terminal construction of the Victoria Memorial Hall, an emphatically European building which had been designed by William Emerson. “It is defiantly Classical, and the central dome transports one to the other capital of the Empire with its strong echo of Wren’s St. Paul’s”, (ibid: 29).

With the introduction of a highly eclectic architectural language by some British architects, buildings obtained a different explanatory power than those built in the classical style. The Indo-Saracenic style and movement was accepted by some Indian maharajas as a compromise, characterised by Tillotson: “In an era when many Indian rulers were forsaking traditional practices in favour of Western models, the Indo-Saracenic offered a compromise: at once an Eastern architecture developed by the British, and a Western architecture under an Oriental veneer, it allowed the maharajas to align themselves with British cultural

Mitter concludes, that the “obsession with the ‘accuracy’ of imitation to the neglect of imagination was a limitation of colonial art teaching” (Mitter 1994¹: 45f.) and it was not until the 1930s when English teachers became convinced of the superiority of the originality that lay in creative work.

British art schools were never established in Nepal. However, it was especially in the field of painting and photography that Newar artists, Citrakār, were educated by British Residents (see chapter *Early Contacts with European Paintings and Photography*). Despite the lacking art schools European – that is, British colonial style – ornamentation was imitated in the Nepalese palace and residential architecture. The European academic or Victorian realism was taught to Indian students who should work within the ideals of the European academic style. Interpretations of this European academic style – mainly through Newar artisans¹¹⁰ – are found in the palace architecture of the Ranas. Instead of working with marble or sandstone, as did Indian sculptors under British training, the Newars modelled the architectural ornaments in stucco. This technique originated in Mughal India where stucco ornamentation is present everywhere. Furthermore, there are no colonial style marble statues found in the Kathmandu Valley and hardly any portrait statues, except for some bronzes of Rana rulers (fig. 92), lions (fig. 93, 94) or fountains (fig. 95). It is classical figures, allegories mainly, that embellish some palaces and their gardens such as the one annexed to

values without fully abandoning their own” (ibid: 21). The author continues that “More dispassionately one might say that, by creating an Indian imagery for the official institutions of the Raj, the movement was one instrument by which the British sought to present themselves as Indian rulers, as natural successors to the Mughals and therefore as a legitimate power” (ibid: 33).

Copying architectural styles from the past had been an overall concept in Europe. A British architect of the 19th and early 20th century in India might have seen the examination of the colonial country’s past architecture as part of a general European practice.

In general, there was only very restricted participation of Indians in this architectural style. Tillotson claims that “Some of the Indo-Saracenic architects acknowledged their considerable dependence on Indian craftsmen and praised their abilities, but they also made it clear that the Indians’ role was restricted to skilfully carrying out the British architect’s instructions. Craftsmanship was sustained at the price of a colonial redefinition of its role. So here too, the movement’s claim to an authentic Indian identity is questionable” (ibid: 30).

A small alternative movement is worthy of being mentioned for the extensive participation of Indians. The architects Frederic Salmon Growse and Samuel Swinton Jacob, for instance, were engaging Indian craftsman as equal co-partners. At a panel next to the entrance of Albert Hall (Central Museum) (1876-1887) in Jaipur/India the Indian supervisor, draughtsmen and *mistris* are listed besides the Superintendent Jacob: “This building was constructed under the superintendence of Colonel S. S. Jabob, C.I.E. Assisted by Mir Tujumul Hoosein, Supervisor, Lala Rambux, Shunkurlal, Chotelal, draughtsmen Chander and Tara, mistries [...]”. In his pattern book *The Jeypore Portfolio* (1890), Jacob also published the names of his draftsmen. In these cases, local craftsmen were not only employed in the construction and as executors of the design of others, but also as designers themselves.

¹¹⁰ Many Newars of the Buddhist caste of Śākya and Vajrācāryas were sculptors and plasterers working at Singha Darbār in Kathmandu, Nārayanhiti and other Rana palaces.

Kaisher Mahal that today is called “Garden of Dreams”¹¹¹, Ananda Niketan or Śital Nivās.

At Ananda Niketan (1892) (fig. 113) two winged female figures are depicted Nike-like in a Greek style and in victorious pose (fig. 116) and resemble the marble image of “Nike of Samothrace” (ca. 200 BC) in the Louvre in Paris. At Śital Nivās (1923) (fig. 167) there are ten relief panels with classical female figures (fig. 173, 175, 176, 178). They represent muses and allegories (see chapter *Chandra Shamsher*).

On the one hand, as will be exemplified in chapter *Visualisation of Transculture in Nepal*, the spirit of the 19th century European “objective realism” had inspired the Newar sculptors in their decoration of the residential architecture: In the majestic Rana palaces and houses of Nepalese people, the Newars gave a specific local response to European cultural features, particularly well expressed in the sophisticated and delicate stucco work on many houses. But, on the other hand, the images at Nepalese edifices of the late 19th and early 20th centuries are not truly modelled in the manner of academic realism. In general, the images derived from European iconography are rustic or indigenous variants rather than exact imitations of their models.

7.6 British Colonial Architecture as the Model for Nepalese Neoclassicism

Johannes Grueber, an Austrian Jesuit who travelled to Nepal as a missionary around 1660, is regarded to be one of the first western visitors to Nepal; his published letters are considered to be the first accounts written on Nepal by a European. According to an unverified legend, there was a church that was built near Indra Cok in Kathmandu under King Pratāp Malla during his reign (1641-74) for the Christian missionaries (Theophile 1992: 6). In the 18th century, western Capuchin monks arrived in Nepal (Landon 1928, II: 231ff.). At the present state of knowledge, neither these early cultural contacts between Europe and Nepal that happened on Nepalese soil nor the early years of the colonisation of India had any major impact on the Nepalese history of art.¹¹² It was not

¹¹¹ In Kaisher Rana’s garden (1920s), we find a Nepalese interpretation of Nike, the Greek goddess of victory, who was remodelled in plaster as Lakṣmī, the Hindu goddess of wealth (fig. 91). This explains the rather unusual depiction of both Nike and Lakṣmī. While the styling, dress and triumphant posture tend to be characteristics of Nike, the lotus she holds in her right hand and the coins spilling from her other hand are symbols of Lakṣmī’s purity and fortune-bringing kindness.

¹¹² India was even affected by European flows in art and architecture before colonisation by the Europeans. In 1572, years before the arrival of the Jesuits in 1580, the Mughal emperor Akbar had his first encounters with Europeans in India (Beach 1992: 52f.). In 1580, Akbar in India was brought the *Royal Polyglott Bible*, at his wish by the first Jesuits at his court. It had been printed between 1568 and

until the last half of the 18th century, around 1780, that European cultural influence can be discerned in the Kathmandu Valley.

It is difficult to present conclusive evidence for the thesis, that the first European style inventions in Nepalese architecture were based predominantly on the inspiration of Indian colonial architecture. Regarding the models of foreign design in Nepal, several aspects seem to be relevant, indirectly and directly.

Neoclassical architecture was imported to India as colonial architecture since the 18th century. The British colonial architecture was built with the help of Indian engineers and workmen. European forms which had been introduced by British engineers were also copied and interpreted by Indians in Anglo-Indian design. In India itself, Anglo-Indian or indigenised colonial architecture thus is an indirect use of a neoclassical vocabulary. The latter also served as the inspiration for the Nepalese palace and residential architecture. The palace architecture of Bhīmsen Thāpā who occasionally lived in Benares and Lucknow responded to the architecture of the Nawābs, even before the first travel of a Nepalese, namely Jang Bahadur Rana, to Europe in the middle of the 19th century.

Even though it remains unclear to what extent and how architectural designs of Lucknow trickled to Nepal, there are valid reasons to investigate the role of the neoclassical architecture built in Lucknow in the late 18th and early 19th centuries while looking for possible models for the neoclassical architecture in the Kathmandu Valley.

The Nawābs built a great palace (“La Martinière”) for the French General Claude Martin in 1790 and also erected significant buildings, principally for the British, such as the British Residency (ca. 1800)¹¹³ and the Banqueting Hall¹¹⁴. In contrast to Tillotson, who considers those buildings as examples of classical architecture of minor value (1989: 8ff.), they are described as hybrid constructions by Sten Nilsson (1968: 111ff. and 130ff.): Even though featuring Indian elements such as Indian construction techniques or the silhouette of “La Martinière”, the architecture is mainly characterised by European classical forms, for example the Tuscan and Composite columns – buildings with European features whose construction was interpreted by Indian workmen.

1572 by Christophe Plantin in Antwerp. The illustrated volume strongly affected principally Mughal painting (Koch 2001: 1ff.).

¹¹³ Beginning of the construction in 1790; completion a decade later.

¹¹⁴ Built in early 19th century, destroyed in 1857, the year of the “Sepoy-Mutiny“, the first Indian war of independence against the British, lost by the Indians. Until then, the Nawābs held the local political power.

There are still major questions concerning the neoclassical style and building activities in Nepal in this early period of the dissemination of neoclassical patterns: Are we dealing with replicas of colonial architecture interpreted by Indian workmen in Nepal as suggested by Erich Theophile (1992: 2) or rather with an architectural paraphrase by Nepalese craftsmen¹¹⁵? As discussed in chapter *Inspirations from Mughal Architecture in Nepalese Religious Buildings*, scholars assume that some architectural ante-types and the new plastering technique from Lucknow gave inspiration to Nepalese builders. Because of the innovative and perfected stucco technique revealed in the façade design of the Bhīmmukteśvara temple in Kathmandu that inherits Mughal and Anglo-Indian forms, Gutschow (1986) assumes that Indian craftsmen worked in Nepal in the early 19th century to provide the façades of the buildings with architectural novelties.

Neither do Theophile and Gutschow prove their assumption that there were palpable relations between early Nepalese buildings with Mughal or neoclassical features and the colonial architecture of Lucknow, nor does other literature support this thesis. However, there is no explanation more plausible than that the neoclassical colonial style was imported from India – including Lucknow – to Nepal. This import may be considered a milestone for the further development of neoclassical forms of the architecture in the Kathmandu Valley (Theophile 1992: 7).

Jang Bahadur Rana directly saw European architecture in its original context when he travelled to England and France (1850-51). In fact, Golo Baithak at Jang Bahadur's Thapatali palace compound may have been designed by the Indian engineer Ransūr Bisht. He presented a wax model in 1860 (Whelpton 1983: 235), decades before the most famous former engineers of the Kathmandu Valley, the brothers Kumar (1865-1932) and Kishwor Narsingh Rana (1870-1941), took up their employment with the building of the palaces. The question about the transmitters of European vocabulary in Nepal can only be truly answered in parts. In chapter *Transmitters of Transcultural Flows* I turn my attention to the Nepalese engineers and craftsmen.

Bir Shamsheer went to school at Doveton College (formerly Parental Academy) in Calcutta where he had later served the Nepalese government as a *Wakil*, a diplomatic representative (Sever 1993: 196). In Calcutta he saw the splendid architecture of the British Raj. The colonial architecture of the British in India should be studied not only against the background of the economic and social upheaval in Europe, but also against

¹¹⁵ We know for sure that in the beginning of the 20th century, at the latest, Nepalese engineers were studying in India.

the background of architectural changes. Similar to the Renaissance the era of neoclassicism in 18th century Europe was the result of the fascination with Antiquity and a new and historic view about the ancient world. The renaissance of the Antiquity was closely related to striking archaeological excavations such as the Roman cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii. Furthermore, the spirit of Enlightenment and rationalism superseded the late Baroque period and the Rococo. During the era of neoclassicism, mainly English architects were also inspired by important architects of the Italian Renaissance, e.g. John Nash (1752-1835) by Andrea Palladio (1508-1580).

In India it was particularly 19th century Calcutta, where the architectural scenery reflected the contemporary taste for classical design (Fermor-Hesketh 1986: 123ff).¹¹⁶ The classic building style, especially the Palladian design, was suitable to embody the imperial demands of the British in India, who were guided by the notion of the Roman Empire. Nilsson (1968: 93ff.) observes differences in the classic architectural vocabulary of colonial India: Whereas architects from Great Britain such as Thomas Cowper and William Nairn Forbes took on the building style of the Greek Antiquity for their buildings such as the Town Hall in Mumbai and the Mint in Calcutta, John Garstin, who designed the Town Hall, and Charles Wyatt¹¹⁷, who designed the Government House in Calcutta (1803) (fig. 102) followed Palladian models in the 19th century.¹¹⁸

At the beginning of the 20th century, Perceval Landon (1928, II: 79) called the residence of Prime Minister Bir Shamsheer at Nārāyanhiti “a fine building based upon Government House in Calcutta”. There is a rich construction history to the Nārāyanhiti palace (fig. 96-99): The South wing of Nārāyanhiti Darbār, a classical portico built around 1888 (now lost), in fact resembled the one of the Government House, the “Raj Bhawan”, in Calcutta.

Erich Theophile¹¹⁹ compares three historical views of the palace from 1890 to 1920 that each show major remodelling and addition: The first stage appears to be the remodelling of two rather simple astylar buildings at both sides of a monumental portico

¹¹⁶ According to Sten Nilsson (1968: 93ff.) Baroque forms had been given up in the colonial architecture of India around 1780.

¹¹⁷ Charles Wyatt (1758 – 1813) was an English architect, nephew to the architects James Wyatt and Samuel Wyatt. He joined the Bengal Engineers, eventually being promoted to Captain in 1800 and Commander of Police. In June 1803 he was installed as Superintendent of the Public Works.

¹¹⁸ The Town Hall in Mumbai, now the Central Library, is generally attributed to Cowper, who is assumed to be the engineer. Its construction, however, is also claimed by the Goan architect André Constâncio Augusto (ca. 1788-1847) on his epitaph in the church of Our Lady of Glory in Mumbai (Pereira 2000: 133).

¹¹⁹ Unpublished paper in the Archive of the Kathmandu Valley Preservation Trust, Patan.

lacking any pilasters or columns by adding a colossal, colonnaded porch which links them (fig. 97). It is crowned by a rectangular tower. This porch was the focus of a three-storey gallery. The screen included medievalising features such as the round arches. They were characteristic for many of the Rana palaces and related to current Calcuttan Victorian architecture of the late 19th century. The connected buildings are covered by hipped roofs with three gable windows each.

The essential design idea of the renovations – the linking of different blocks by connecting the galleries – is more or less the essence of the Government House in Calcutta. Comparing it to its antecedent, the Kedleston Hall in England – designed by the Scottish architect Robert Adam – the basic theme of a central block and auxiliary miniatures with connecting arms becomes more obvious. A major element in both Kedleston Hall and Government House is the semi-circular conception of the connecting gallery: At Kedleston it remained a frontal conception, whereas at Government House semi-circular galleries were used at all four corners.

In another round of construction work, probably sometime between 1890 and 1910, towers were added on either side of the two wings of Nārayanhiti (fig. 98).

Lastly, a view of the 1920s or 1930s shows that the towers were removed and the original two buildings were covered by a continuous ridged roof (fig. 99). A semi-circular gallery based on the Calcuttan design was also added to Nārayanhiti, but only at one corner of the building. A split, double staircase that is also found at Kedleston Hall was another addition to the building.

These remodellings of Nārayanhiti exemplify the enthusiasm with which the Rana rulers replied to contemporary building activities in Europe and British-India. The Rana palaces were inspired by the British neoclassical buildings but cannot be considered true copies.

7.7 Patterns

A question of universal significance concerns the origin of forms and ornaments and their dissemination. It is the perception of the designed environment, be it the public or private space, local or foreign, that leads to the distribution and acceptance of forms. The oral and written transmission of the visual may distribute design. The employment in the building, or any other artistic sector, intensifies the knowledge of certain

ornaments. The realisation of ornaments requires models, for instance three-dimensional models, drafts or layouts, prints or photographs.

No reports on buildings and construction designs are known for the period of the early 20th century in Nepal, neither British nor Nepalese. Why are there no construction plans and design patterns, for instance no sketchbooks similar to those of the Newar painters, Citrakār?¹²⁰ After the end of Rana rule in the middle of the 20th century, the heritage of the Ranas still connoted usurpation and oligarchy and is still today condemned by many Nepalese people. This may be a reason why drafts were not archived and the origin of the neoclassical patterns and construction plans in Nepal remains unidentified until today and can only be speculated upon. At Roorkee College, India, where engineers like the Nepalese brothers Kumar and Kishwor Narsingh Rana were educated (see chapter *Engineers*), pattern books were allocated to the students, containing elevation and ground plans, images of column orders and ornaments as well as the instructions how to build. Kaisher Shamsher Rana allegedly collected European pattern books and books about the history of the Italian Renaissance since 1905 in Kathmandu (Gräfin Schwerin 1993: 256).¹²¹ Certain books about town planning¹²² or design¹²³ and numerous books on garden design with classic titles such as *Wall and Water Gardens* (1910)¹²⁴ by Gertrude Jekyll are still found in the Kaisher Library.

The western architectural forms in the Kathmandu Valley, indeed, suggest European 18th century pattern books such as Johann Rudolph Fäsch's *Grund-mäßige Anweisung Zu den verzierungen der Fenster* (1720), Johann Indau's *Wienerisches Architectur-Kunst- und Säulenbuch* (1722), Jean Le Pautre's *Oeuvres D'Architecture* (1751), or Giovanni Battista Piranesi's *Della Magnificenza Ed Architettura De' Romani, De Romanorum Magnificentia Et Architectura* (1761). Fäsch provides Baroque patterns for windows and cartouches he created himself (fig. 446, 448, 450, 452) similar to certain patterns in the Kathmandu Valley (fig. 447, 449, 451, 453). Indau presents his own ornamental inventions to the five classical orders according to the Viennese style, for example Composite capitals with putti (fig. 286), a motif that is found on numerous

¹²⁰ Niels Gutschow presents 19th century handbooks of the caste of painters, Chitrakar, in which some architectural elements like the hybrid "egg and dart" or *palesvā* are also shown (Gutschow 2006: 30).

¹²¹ A Newar *nāyaḥ* would not have been able to read those books due to the lack of knowledge of the English language. He rather got his inspiration by the pictures and drafts

¹²² Abercrombie, Patrick: *Town and Country Planning*. London 1933 and Strange, William Lumisden: *Notes on irrigation, roads, and buildings and on the water supply of towns*. London 1920.

¹²³ Bottomley, M.E.: *The design of small properties*. New York 1934; Whittick, Arnold: *Symbols for Designers*. London 1935 or Fergusson, James: *History of the Modern Styles of Architecture* (III. Edition), London 1902.

¹²⁴ Also, i.e. *The Modern Garden* (London 1936), by G. C. Taylor, and *Gardens, Their Form and Design* (London 1919), by Viscountess Wolseley.

façades in Nepal (fig. 287-292). Le Pautre and Piranesi exhibit substitutes of Baroque and antique décor from Rome, such as putti (fig. 323, 324), caryatides (fig. 341, 342, 344), mascarons (fig. 354) and dolphins (fig. 221). In the first half of the 20th century, similar idioms – putti (fig. 327, 330), caryatides (fig. 343, 351), mascarons (fig. 355, 356, 364) and aquatic creatures (fig. 222-224, 383, 567) were modelled by the plasterers of the Kathmandu Valley.

From India, a few pattern books are known that were published in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. As the Indian architects Jon Lang and Madhavi and Miki Desai demonstrate, they particularly addressed the Indian designers, builders and contractors of residential buildings (Lang et al. 1997: 177). They dealt with ancient building traditions of the country, as did the handbooks of Colonel Samuel Swinton Jacob – publisher of the *Jeypore Portfolio* (1890) (fig. 219) – and of the British architect Claude Batley¹²⁵. In 1914 Claude Batley became a visiting professor in the J. J. School of Arts in Bombay. From 1923 on he kept the position of the principal of the school for over 20 years. He published his book *The Design Development of Indian Architecture* in 1934 for the first time.¹²⁶ Focussing on the decorative details in the book, close parallels to patterns in Nepalese early 20th century architecture can be demonstrated, such as the design of acanthus capitals (fig. 244-246), and floral and arabesque ornaments (fig. 48-54) – a fact that supports the assumption that similar pattern books circulated in Nepal.

Another British architect, A.V. Thiagaraja Iyer, illustrated in his pattern book, *The Indian Architecture* (1926), how colonial building design and ornamentation could be adapted to an Indian vocabulary. According to Lang, Desai and Desai, Iyer's book served V.C. Mehta as a source for his didactic book, *Grihvidhan* (1937), which was first written in Gujarati and later translated into Hindi (Lang et al. 1997: 177). Written in vernacular, it shows to the Indian layman the complete making of a “modern” house in great detail. “Between its publication and the late 1940s, it had a great impact on the design and building of houses in Bhavnagar, Jamnagar, and also Ahmedabad”, Gujarat (ibid: 177).

Due to striking similarities between depictions in European and Indian pattern books and the iconography of early 20th century houses of the Newars, there seems little doubt

¹²⁵ Claude Batley (born in 1879 in Ipswich, died in 1956 in Bombay) left for India in 1913 and started a successful practice in 1917 with Gregson and King. Among his works are the Bombay Gymkhana (1917), Wakaner House (1933), which now houses the American Consulate, Bombay Central Station (1930), Jinnah House (1935), Round Building (1937), Cusrow Baug (1937-59) and its Agiary (1938), the Bombay Club (1939), which is now the Nataraj Hotel, Lalbhai House (1942) and Breach Candy Hospital (1950). He also was the president of the “Bombay Architectural Association” (now merged into The Indian Institute of Architects) from 1925 to 1926.

¹²⁶ Each plate is commented on in the chapter *Descriptive Notes*.

that Indians working in Nepal or Nepalese craftsmen knew about European neoclassical and Mughal design from pattern books. Therein the local designers found the models for some ornaments of the Newar houses, though idioms were copied and interpreted.

8. TRANSMITTERS OF transcultural FLOWS

8.1 Builders of Early 20th Century Architecture in the Kathmandu Valley

Almost nothing is known about the former builders and the construction process of the Rana palaces or houses of the Newars, even though it is a part of recent Nepalese architectural history.¹²⁷ In the beginning of the 20th century a small number of Nepalese engineering students studied in India. They designed and constructed the Rana palaces, interpreting the neoclassical Indian architecture built in the classical and colonial style. Newar construction workers and craftsmen were employed at the building sites of the palaces. They transmitted the European idioms to the Newar towns where they designed a hybrid vernacular style. In the early 1930s, the Swiss journalist and publisher of the *Atlantis* magazine, Martin Hürlimann, negated the employment of European architects in the construction of “European-Indian” neoclassical buildings, which according to him, were built by Nepalese and Indian construction workers (1931: 275).¹²⁸

In India, neoclassical palaces were in some cases erected by European engineers or architects because the Maharajas wanted to be sure that they were constructed in detail according to the European standard (Raori 2001: 24). The palace in Cooch Behar was, for instance, constructed in 1887 by Maharaja Nripendra Narayan, who engaged F. Barkli as the chief engineer to construct the palace as a replica of Buckingham Palace. The French architect M. Marcel was hired to model Maharaja Jagatjit’s palace (1900-1908) of Kapurthala and its gardens on Versailles and Fontainebleau. The interior decoration of the palace was carried out by expert European and Indian workmen and the palace boasts imported European masterpieces. The neoclassical Ujjayanta Palace (1901) in Tripura was designed by Sir Alexander Martin of the famous Messrs Martin & Co (see chapter *Supplier of Cast Iron: Martin & Co Calcutta*). In 1930 a young German architect, Eckart Muthesius (1904-1989), son of the famous architect Hermann

¹²⁷ Similar circumstances are found in Indian cities. Rosie Llewellyn-Jones (1985: 159) regrets the lack of engineer’s reports before 1840 and calls the missing information about the work and influence of (British) engineers in the Indian city of Lucknow “the most serious gap that exists in the history of Lucknow’s architecture”.

¹²⁸ In 1925 Major Northey, who served with the Nepalese Contingent and was a former British Recruiting Officer for Gurkhas, notes that “the country of Nepal is closed to Europeans, and none but the British Envoy, the Legation surgeon, and one or two other persons, such as the British officer [...], an occasional engineer in the employ of the Nepal Government, and their friends, are permitted to reside in the country, and even they are confined to the limits of the valley of Nepal” (Bruce and Northey 1925: 292). Northey and Hürlimann thus contradict the view that French architects were said to be the designers of some palaces (Chetwode 1935: 328) – a rumour that was still spread in the first half of the 20th century.

Muthesius (1861-1927), built and furnished the Manik Bagh Palace of Indore in the Art Déco style for the Maharaja of Indore, Yeshwant Rao Holkar Bahadur.

But since foreigners were widely disallowed to enter Nepal and only a restricted number of British engineers working for the East India Company in India were given entry, changes and novelties in architectural design are attributed to the Nepalese themselves. Perceval Landon (1928, II, Appendix XXIV: 298f.) published a “List of Europeans who have visited Nepal, 1881-1925” given to him by the Nepal Government, which contains the names of some of the British engineers who worked in Nepal (see *Appendix: List of European Engineers who have visited Nepal, 1881-1925*). However, they only came to inspect the Residency buildings of the British Resident who lived in Kathmandu. Furthermore their visits were in connection with waterworks, or to erect the electrical plant in Pharping.¹²⁹

8.1.1 Engineers

In Nepal, as in India in general, no “architects” were found engaged in the erection of buildings, bridges or road construction, but there is evidence of “engineers” who built domestic buildings and palaces (Llewellyn-Jones 1985: 162 and Tandan 2008: 384f.).¹³⁰

¹²⁹ Names of the engineers who came to inspect the Residency buildings: Mr. Mills and John Claude White in 1881 (according to the Swiss architect Kurt Meyer and the journalist Pamela Deuel Meyer, who lived in Nepal for a decade and recently devoted a book to White and his photographic works (2005: 21, 25 and 32), White spent one year in Nepal from 1883-84. He was the son of the army surgeon John White (1820-1871) who went to India in 1847. He was admitted to the Royal Indian Engineering College at Cooper’s Hill, England, in 1874 (<https://clearingatkins.org/about/history/archives/india/white/jcwhite>, August 2008). This college of civil engineering had been established on the pattern of the Thomason College in Roorkee to train Englishmen for the Public Works Department (PWD) in India (Mital 2001: 987). “The basic curriculum consisted of pure and applied mathematics, construction, architectural design, surveying, mechanical drawing, geometry [...]”, (Farrington 1976: 137). White graduated in 1876 and joined the Bengal PWD in Calcutta as assistant engineer. White initially worked as engineer in Bengal, Nepal and Darjeeling and finally was appointed political officer of Sikkim in 1889, a position he held until his retirement in 1908 (<https://clearingatkins.org/about/history/archives/india/white/jcwhite>, August 2008. Also cf. Meyer and Deuel Meyer (2005: 25)); Superintendent Engineer Mr. B. R. Fainimore in 1889; Major P. A. Weir in 1893; Mr. Searight in 1908 (Searight is mentioned elsewhere (<http://www.oscov.asn.au/articles2/paph3.htm>, August 2007) in the context of trading in orchids from India to the nurseryman Frederick Sander in England in 1904); R. C. Wodgson in 1910; H. H. Stevens in 1913; F. A. Betterton in 1915, 1916 and 1923; H. Wardle in 1917; A. E. Marshall in 1920; Capt. G. F. Hall, M.C. (the former chief engineer of Bihar/India) in 1921 and 1922; The Hon. L. M. St. Clair was on duty with the Nepal Government “in connection with waterworks project” in 1889 and Mr. B. Pontet, electrical engineer, came “for service under Nepal Government”, in 1909; T. E. Lynch erected the electric plant at Pharping in March 1910.

¹³⁰ Many engineers had no specific training, as the Indian architect V. P. Raori observes in his chapter on the colonial architecture of the British in India, that “most constructions in British India were anonymous, usually done by amateurs, by soldiers who had learnt building trade perfunctorily during their military education in England or in the later years by the employees of the Public Works Department established

In the 18th and 19th centuries there was no distinction between the education of an “engineer” and “architect” (ibid: 165).¹³¹ Under the title “architect” the first Nepalese practitioners appeared in the early 1960s. A “Society of Nepalese Architects” was established in 1990.

The main concern of the British engineers working for the East India Company was military buildings, forts, and cantonments, bridges and roads rather than residential buildings (Llewellyn-Jones 1985: 160). The Thomason College of Engineering in Roorkee – founded by the British in 1847 – is a famous example of a colonial engineering college in India. At Roorkee College¹³², the students were educated in western design and construction techniques pertaining to irrigation, construction of roads, bridges, and railways and in overseeing. The engineer class was mainly attended by European military officers as well as English and Indian civilians (Mital 2001: 981ff.). The most famous former engineers of the Kathmandu Valley, the Nepalese brothers Kumar (1865-1932 CE) and Kishwor Narsingh Rana (1870-1941 CE)¹³³, studied in Roorkee at the turn of the century and Dilli Jang Thapa graduated from Roorkee in 1904 (Theophile 1992: 8).¹³⁴ The Rana brothers were both civil engineers (C.E.) at Roorkee in 1895 (Journal of Nepal Engineer’s Association 1978: 118, liii) and in 1896, a clock for the dome of the Thomason College was presented by Bir Shamsher Rana demonstrating the close connection between the Nepalese Court and the College.¹³⁵ The two Rana brothers were the first trained engineers in Nepal. Since a great number of Rana buildings – some of them were even erected before Kumar and Kishwor Narsingh Rana graduated from Roorkee – are attributed to these two engineers, it may be doubted that they were actually involved in the building of all the palaces listed by the Nepal Engineer’s Association (NEA) (Journal of Nepal Engineer’s Association 1978: 109-118). Concerning the attribution of Rana buildings to their possible engineer, sometimes varied information is given: Kishwor Narsingh Rana was

in 1854” (Raori 2001: 15). According to Raori, these engineers often relied upon pattern books that were popular in the 18th and 19th centuries.

¹³¹ V. P. Raori assumes that buildings like the “Constantia” and the British Residency in Lucknow were constructed under European direction but by native construction workers. The latter thus may have been educated in classical design (2001:20).

¹³² In 1854 the Roorkee College was named Thomason College of Civil Engineering in honour of its founder, James Thomason.

¹³³ Colonel *Manyabara-Nepal-Tara* Kumar Narsingh Rana (c), *educ.* Indian Engineering Coll., Rookee. Consulting Engineer to the Govt. of Nepal. *Rcvd:* the Order of the Star of Nepal 3rd class, and Colonel Kishore Narsingh Rana (c), *educ.* Indian Engineering Coll., Rookee. Chief Exec. Eng. Nepalese Public Works Department.

¹³⁴ Gräfin Schwerin (1993: 256) also mentions Jogendra Babu from Calcutta as another well-known engineer in the Kathmandu Valley, however, no buildings are attributed to him.

¹³⁵ www.iitr.ernet.in/common/about/mile_stone.htm, July 2007.

allegedly involved in the construction of Seto Darbār in Kathmandu (1885-93) (Journal of Nepal Engineer's Association 1978: 109-118). However, the Nepalese engineer Joglal Sthapit, who also modelled a building on Belvedere estate in Calcutta, is mentioned elsewhere as the master builder of Seto Darbār (Rana et al. 2003: 152). Dilli Jang Thapa built the palace called Lakśmi Nivās in 1925 according to his younger brother Surya Jang Thapa (Theophile 1992: 8). However, Kishwor and Kumar Narsingh Rana are mentioned elsewhere as the engineers of Lakśmi Nivās (Rana et al. 2003: 155). The reader finds a list of the Rana buildings and the names of their possible engineers in the appendix of this work. Kishwor has furthermore been associated with the hydro-electricity system, transport, irrigation and drinking water supply¹³⁶ and the sewage disposal in the Kathmandu Valley whereas Kumar Narsingh Rana also constructed several bridges¹³⁷.

Kishwor Narsingh Rana had been in government service for more than 36 years and his fame extends beyond Nepal. He was a member of the Institution of Mechanical Engineers (London)¹³⁸, associate member of the Institution of Engineers (London), associate of the Imperial College of Engineering (London) and member of the Institution of Engineers India (Calcutta). His "ideas got great recognition in the construction of New Delhi" (Journal of Nepal Engineer's Association 1978: 118)¹³⁹.

8.1.2 Construction Workers and Craftsmen

In many parts of India during the early 20th century, local foremen (Skt. *mistris*) – for example the *sompuras* of western India and the *sthapatis* of eastern and southern India – were in charge of building edifices. Similarly, most buildings in Nepal were not built by professional architects or engineers. Newar carpenters and masons were employed at the building of temples and Rana palaces and their masters (Nep. *naike*, or New. *nāyah*) designed the residential buildings in the Kathmandu Valley.

In India and Nepal, buildings were traditionally based on the rules of *Shilpa-Śāstras* and *Vastu-Śāstras* that advocated general building principles and the resulting design

¹³⁶ Perceval Landon (1928, I: 196) mentions that the two brothers created the water supply for Patan, completed in 1905.

¹³⁷ Chovar Bridge, Tadi Bridge (on the way to Trishuli), Bagmati Bridge, Bishnumati Bridge, Samri Bridge and Karra Bridge and others (Journal of Nepal Engineer's Association 1978: liii).

¹³⁸ The Institution of Mechanical Engineers and the Thomason College of Engineering in Roorkee were both established in 1847.

¹³⁹ Unofficial translation of the obituary published in the Gorkhapatra, Bhadra 17, 1998 V. S. In: Journal of Nepal Engineer's Association. August 1978, 1/1: 118.

was regarded as auspicious by those who inhabited the houses (Lang et al. 1997: 29). George Michell (1977: 78) underlines that the “lack of technical information in the Shastras reveals their true function as a collection of rules which attempt to facilitate the translation of theological concepts into architectural forms”.¹⁴⁰

Considering the construction of residential buildings in the Kathmandu Valley, there are several groups of craftsmen (New. *kaḥmi*) affiliated with certain caste subgroups (see also scheme in chapter *The Social Organisation of the Newars*): stonemasons and wood carvers, New. “*lvahākaḥmi*” (Skt. Silakar); carpenters, New. “*sikaḥmi*” – Śilpakār in Bhaktapur, and Bārāhi or Kāṣṭhakār in Patan; bricklayers, New. “*dakaḥmi*” (Skt. Āvāle); coppersmiths (Tāmrākar/ Tamah); blacksmiths, New. “*nakaḥmi*” (Skt. Kau); and plasterers, New. “*bajrakaḥmi*” (Skt. Śākya, Vajrācārya). These Newar workers had been highly-skilled artisans. Each group of skilled people chose its supervisor (New. *nāyah*) due to his technical qualities. The craftsmen used to provide the design of the house and at the same time were responsible for the construction. In India and Nepal, the rules in design and construction principles were orally passed down from father to son over centuries and the status of the supervisor was often hereditary.

The possibility that Indian *mistris* were also engaged in the building of Rana palaces, however, cannot be ruled out (Theophile 1992: 2, 8). They might have come from one of the major colonised cities, where they had been trained by British engineers in the construction methods and design of neoclassical edifices as is mentioned, i.e., by Ernest Binfield Havell (1861-1934) in his book *Indian Architecture* (1913). Havell promoted the Bengal School of Art, an influential style of art that flourished in India during the British Raj in the early 20th century and redefined Indian art education that opposed the academic art styles of the British schools. It was associated with Indian nationalism, but was also promoted and supported by many British arts administrators. Havell attempted to reform the teaching methods at the Calcutta School of Art by encouraging students to imitate Mughal miniatures. Being in favour of revivals of native Indian styles of art, in particular the Mughal miniature tradition, he favoured the “varied local types” (Havell 1913: 219) of indigenous building tradition and regretted the “tutorship of the European dilettante” (ibid: 216):

¹⁴⁰ Raimund O. A. Becker-Ritterspach (1982: 41ff.) extensively addresses Hindu and Newar planning principles, profane and religious, and gives a few examples of building instructions and ritual acts through the persons listed above.

For though a 'progressive' Prince may assume the architectural fashions of Stratford atte Bowe when he builds a new palace, so that his master-craftsmen are employed for the time being in copying the paper patterns prepared by the European 'designer' or by the Indian engineer who has learnt the regulation designs by heart at a technical college or perhaps in a London architect's office (ibid: 219).

In India, the adoption of European building techniques and patterns involved difficulties for the Indian craftsmen as exemplified by Havell (ibid: 224f.) for the Renaissance-style building of the new Military Secretariat offices in Calcutta:

After a certain amount of revision and elaboration under Lord Curzon's personal direction, the usual working drawings were prepared in the official architect's office, and Indian craftsmen of the Public Works type were called in to construct the building accordingly. A difficulty, however, arose with regard to the sculptured ornamentation of the façade. The Renaissance 'design' provided for a number of nondescript classical heads connected with Renaissance ribbons and festoons. The official architect wanted to give the sculpture a symbolical touch by repeating the heads of Mars and Venus alternately throughout the length of the façade, but unfortunately the Indian masons, who could carve finely the Hindu war-god and goddess – Kârttikeya and Durgâ – did not know what Mars and Venus were like. The difficulty was solved by intending on the School of Art for two antique plaster casts as models. Mars was out of stock, so Juno took his place, and eventually a long row of the Graeco-Roman militant goddesses, carved by Indian masons, adorned the façade of the Military Secretariat offices. But the cost of the building was greatly augmented by the 'style' adopted. An Indian mason can carve Durgâ and Kârttikeya well for fourpence [sic!] a day without European supervision [footnote: Fourpence [sic!] a day are the average earnings of modern architectural sculptors in Orissa [...]]; for copying Juno or Venus badly he must be paid eight times that sum and must be carefully watched by European expert 'designers' paid much more highly.

When people moved from the old inner cities to suburban areas between 1920 and 1940, as a result of the increasing population and wealth, the *mistris* were for the most part engaged in the building of houses in what has been called "colonial vernacular" (Lang et al. 1997: 176). In case Indian engineers were really employed at the building sites of

the Ranas, they would have promoted the colonial vernacular style in the Kathmandu Valley. Thus, Newar craftsmen who were engaged in the construction of the Rana palaces may have been trained in western design by Indian craftsmen besides seeing certain European patterns in books or on pictures. The Newar craftsmen – some of them may even have learned their trade in India – transferred the knowledge they gained at the building sites of the palaces to their vernacular architecture. Many of the classical and neoclassical patterns, for example the half-columns, angels and putti, lion masks or mascarons, were incorporated in the local houses.

8.1.3 In Remembrance of the *Nāyaḥs* of Patan

In the course of this work I tracked down the names of several *nāyaḥs* who lived and worked in Patan and other Newar cities such as Bhaktapur (fig. 378- 383) in the first half of the 20th century by talking to their successors: The interviews with owners of neoclassical residences in Patan point out that in many cases they assure a former relation of their fathers or grandfathers to the Rana Court – many of them having worked as plasterers (*bajrakahmi*). In this paragraph a few of them are presented.

- Āśāram Shakya, the original owner of a Shakya house (fig. 582-586) built before 1934 in Guitaṭol, Patan, worked at Singha Darbār, used to work for Kṛṣṇa Shamsheer and was the *nāyaḥ* of Śītal Nivās (1923). He earned 12 Rupies a month – a high salary in those days – and due to his occupational status he enjoyed some luxuries.¹⁴¹
- The original owner of a house (fig. 259-264) at Bhīchēbāhā was Ashamaru Vajracharya, a tailor and descendent of the legendary Tantric priest of Bhīchēbāhā, Lakhe Guruju. Āśāmaru Vajracharya had a sizable income due to his enterprise, the production of military uniforms. He built the present house after his old house had collapsed in 1934. The *nāyaḥ* of his house was a local, maybe Lakshmidhana Vajracharya, Chakubui Nayo or Dati Nayo.¹⁴²

¹⁴¹ Interview with Āśāram Shakya's son, Bekhāratna Shakya, on 10 October 2004. According to Bekhāratna Shakya, three manas of milk were delivered each day to the house in the name of Kṛṣṇa Shamsheer, son of Śrī Maharaja Prime Minister Chandra Shamsheer, and the *nāyaḥ* was given a bicycle. Āśāram Shakya (1874-1955) fought as hobby wrestler for the Ranas in the Terai. After the earthquake, the house was provided with electricity under the agreement of the Ranas.

¹⁴² Interview with the present owner, Ram Maharajan, and with Chinikaji Vajracharya on 5 October 2004: With the allowance of the Mahārājas the house was provided with electricity, a privilege in those days. Āśāmaru Vajracharya had no male descendants and his daughters sold the house in 1971 for 12.000 Rupies to Ram Maharajan.

- The delicate stucco work at the Vajrācārya house (fig. 567-570) at Chāyabāhā Nr. 487 in Nakabahī Ṭol was carried out in 1934 by two generations of Vajrācāryas, the original owner and his father, who were employed at Singha Darbār where they fabricated the plaster lion heads.¹⁴³
- Hansa Bahadur Shakya was a plasterer who also worked for the Ranas and decorated his own house, erected ca. 1935, at the main road of Patan, in the locality of Saugaḥ (fig. 325-328).¹⁴⁴
- Bagaḥ Guruju and Jusin Sundhara worked in Jawalakhel Palace of Juddha Shamsheer and in Manbhavan and also did the stucco work of the superb Pradhān house (fig. 455), built around 1936 in the locality of Haka in Patan. The original owner of this house, Sānulāl Pradhān, used to be one of the secretaries of Juddha Shamsheer Rana.¹⁴⁵
- The house of Gaṇeś Man Amatya who was a chief caretaker of Juddha Shamsheer's properties, a miniature palace (fig. 180-183, 243) built after 1934 at the main road in Naṭol, Patan, was erected under the supervision of the *nāyāḥ* Tuyu Gubhaju of Śrībāhā – “Gubhaju” being a synonym for Vajracharya – and under the order of Rana Shankar Shamsheer. The house reportedly evoked the admiration of Queen Elizabeth on her visit to Nepal.¹⁴⁶ Next to the Amatya house an urban villa (fig. 350-353) is located, built under a Jyāpu who acted as key advisor (*sardar*) to King Tribhuvan, (Theophile 1992: 15).
- Siddhi Bajra Vajracharya erected his house (fig. 553) at Kvaḥāhā after 1934. He and his son, Ciri Kul Bajra Vajracharya, used to be plasterers at the Rana palaces. Siddhi Bajra Vajracharya is said to have been a plasterer at Singha

¹⁴³ Interview with the original owner's daughter-in-law on 17 November 2006: Her father-in-law and his father stated that they produced the plaster lion heads which decorate Singha Darbār in Kathmandu. Both of them used to be plasterers at the Royal Court of the Ranas.

¹⁴⁴ Interview with the son of Hansa Bahadur Shakya, Mohan Raji Shakya, on 8 November 2006.

¹⁴⁵ Interview with Śyāmlāl Pradhan on 23 November 2006: Śyāmlāl's father, Sānulāl Pradhan, used to be secretary of Juddha Shamsheer Rana. The name of the grandfather was Kājilāl Pradhan.

¹⁴⁶ Interview with Dr. Ramchaya Man Amatya, the brother of the present owner, Dr. Tārāmān Amatya, on 24 September 2004: The Amatya house is at present owned by the third generation. Lieutenant General Shankar Shamsheer was the seventh son of Chandra Shamsheer. Chandra Shamsheer's younger brother, Śrī III. Mahārāja, and Prime Minister Juddha Shamsheer wanted to expel Shankar Shamsheer from the Kathmandu Valley to Palpa, an eastern district of Nepal. Gaṇeś Man Amatya, who served Juddha Shamsheer, supported Shankar Shamsheer. Gaṇeś Man Amatya, together with the first Newar judge at the Rana court, Ananga Man Singh, reached a settlement among the Ranas. Shankar Shamsheer reciprocated and built the house for Gaṇeś Man Amatya. In the same year the mini palace was built, his son Pashupati Man Amatya became a father himself. His son was called Nhuchē Man Amatya. The Newari word “nhuchē” means “new house”, but the son - discontent with this name - later adopted the name Ramchaya Man Amatya.

Darbār and Nārayanhiti, whereas Ciri Kul Bajra worked in Ratnamandir of Phewātāl.¹⁴⁷

- The construction of a house (fig. 297) in Thapahiti once owned by Krishnabir Khadgi, a merchant from the caste of butchers, was supervised by a *nāyāḥ* from the Vajrācārya caste from the locality of Svatha. The triangular addition with the full-portrait angel sculptures (fig. 298) was built after the earthquake by Sanukancha Khadgi, who may have employed a plasterer from the caste of Vajrācāryas (ibid: 16).
- Bekhāratna Dhākvā of Jhatapvaḥ, who was engaged in trade with Tibet, was the original owner of the Amatya house (fig. 462-466) at Dhalāycā, built after 1934. He had no connection to the Ranas, but a Vajrācārya from Gābāhā is assumed to have been a *nāyāḥ* of the house.¹⁴⁸
- Hem Narsing Amatya, who built his majestic house (fig. 401-410) at Darbār Square in Patan in 1945, was a supplier of spices to the Rana Court. His *nāyāḥ* was Lakshmi Jyoti Gubhaju of Nabāhā.¹⁴⁹

Gutschow, Kölver and Shresthacarya (1987: 189) assume that the traditional caste of masons (New. *Āvāle*) adapted the new plastering technique when it was introduced as a novelty in Nepal in the late 18th century. The names listed above demonstrate that mainly members of the Śākya and Vajrācārya (Gubhāju) caste worked as plasterers in the Kathmandu Valley in the beginning of the 20th century.

David N. Gellner (1993: 264) presents data¹⁵⁰ on occupations of Śākyas and Vajrācāryas in Patan, according to which most members of both castes used to work as artisans. Even though Vajrācāryas identify themselves primarily as Tantric priests, only a few of them could live from their priesthood alone and had to follow other occupations. Like Śākyas, most Vajrācāryas in Patan were therefore artisans, including tailors (Gellner 1993: 263f.). Gellner observes that “Vajrācāryas are far more likely to be tailors or plasterers, while Śākyas predominate in the making of curios and gods” (ibid: 264). The author assumes that even in former times, Vajrācāryas had to follow occupations differing from full-time priesthood (ibid: 263). As the above-listed

¹⁴⁷ Interview with Tirtharatna Vajracharya on 17 November 2006. The grandfather of Tirtharatna Vajracharya, Siddhi Bajra Vajracharya, built the house.

¹⁴⁸ Interview with Ravindra Joshi, the brother of the present owner Nutan Govinda Joshi, on 2 November 2004. Date of construction: after 1934.

¹⁴⁹ Interview with the son of Hem Narsing Amatya, Prakash Narsing Amatya, on 14 October 2004.

¹⁵⁰ Collected by Gellner in 1984. Gellner compares the occupations between Śākyas and Vajrācāryas in Kathmandu and Patan.

examples show, others were employed at the Royal Court in various fields, thus having direct connections to the Ranas.

8.2 Nepalese Craftsmen in India and Europe

Although this work deals with the artistic transcultural flows which were adapted in Nepalese architecture and art, it is worth mentioning that there has been a constant outflow of artistic goods into other countries, for instance Tibet, since the 7th century.¹⁵¹ This brief paragraph, however, concentrates on a few examples for the activities of Newar craftsmen working abroad in the 19th and 20th century.

There is clear evidence of Nepalese workmanship in Benares, India, where the Samrajeśvara temple (1843) above Lalitā Ghāt was erected. The building appears in Nepalese style and technique, employing carved, wooden wall panels and brackets and characteristically presenting a double-tiered sloping roof (Michell 2005: 90 and Wiesner 1978). Furthermore, religious networks connected pilgrims from Nepal with Benares' built environment. "It seems likely that travellers sought out shelters they knew from 'home' – often, one must suspect, those built up by immigrants and sponsors from areas they travelled from" (Freitag 2005: 37). This is most obvious in the cluster of Nepalese sponsored buildings – dharmaśālas built to shelter travellers – related to the Mahayama temple and Samrajeśvara temple (ibid: 37).

At the "Colonial and Indian Exhibition" held in 1886 in London, Nepal provided 26 exhibits, among those three pieces of fine arts, three of decorative arts, two musical instruments, one piece of jewellery, four art manufactures in metal and four in wood, four textiles, three embroideries and two objects of leather or furs (Report of the Royal Commission for the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, London, 1886. London 1887: 136). Relatively few articles were thus exhibited from Nepal, compared to parts of India such as Punjab, the northwestern Provinces, Bengal or Bombay and Baroda.¹⁵²

During the 1950s, a new type of patronage promoted a renaissance of Newar metal statuary.¹⁵³ This development was due to the fact that Tibet fell to China in 1959, Nepal

¹⁵¹ Scholars such as André Alexander (2005), Mary Slusser (2005: 119-130), Erberto Lo Bue (1985), Ulrich von Schroeder (1981), Alexander W. Macdonald and Anne Vergati Stahl (1979: 31ff.), David L. Snellgrove (1978), John Lowry (1973), Thubten J. Norbu and Colin M. Turnbull (1972) and Guisepppe Tucci (1949, 1952) deal with the cultural exchange between Nepal and Tibet since the 7th century.

¹⁵² They are illustrated in the "Special Catalogue of Exhibits by the Government of India".

¹⁵³ Kesar Lall translated some travel accounts, written by Newar merchants in the 20th century, into English. They are published in his account *The Newar Merchants in Lhasa* (2001) and give a vivid picture of Newar trade to India and Tibet.

opened to tourism and the road linking Kathmandu to India was completed. Images were commissioned by Tibetan refugees for their newly founded monasteries in Nepal and India. Since then, tourists and art dealers, especially from the West and India, have been buying contemporary artefacts. In the second half of the 20th century, Nepalese tiered temples, so-called pagodas, were exhibited in great European exhibitions like the International Garden Exhibition (IGA) in Munich (1983), the EXPO in Hannover (2000) and at Hagenbeck's Zoo in Hamburg (2005).

9. THE NEOCLASSICAL PALACES OF THE RANAS IN NEPAL

9.1 New Scenes of Life and Landscape – The Rana Palaces

Jang Bahadur, the first Rana Prime Minister from 1846 to 1856 and again from 1857 to 1877, was the first Nepalese to sail to Europe, in order to tighten the political relations with the powerful British colonial neighbour. He travelled to Great Britain and France in the company of two brothers, Jagat Shamsher and Dhir Shamsher. On his trip Jang Bahadur got to know Indian cities such as Calcutta and Madras, made a stop at Ceylon, and proceeded to Cairo via Aden¹⁵⁴ and Suez. In Calcutta, the Prime Minister was already welcomed by British ministers. Their speech is published in the biography of Jang Bahadur Rana, written by his son Padma Jung Bahadur Rana (Rana 1909: 117), who in turn received his information from his father's diary (ibid: 120):

‘It is greatly to the credit of Your Excellency’s wisdom that you have determined to pay a visit to Europe, which no native prince has yet done. This voyage will amply repay your trouble, for it will afford you opportunities of observing the manners and customs, the political, social and industrial organizations of the great nations of the West. We assure Your Excellency a cordial reception in England and the heartiest welcome from her Majesty the Queen, who will be delighted to see for the first time the type of a brave Nepalese prince in the person of Your Excellency. New scenes of life and landscape will meet your eyes wherever you pass through; and above all, the ties of friendship between the two countries of Nepal and England will be stronger than they have hitherto been.’

After Jang Bahadur’s one-year-long journey (1850-51), a radical change from the hitherto existing architectural style characterised the Nepalese palace buildings in the Kathmandu Valley: The palaces built after the middle of the 19th century resembled European classical architecture. Jang Bahadur and the Ranas, who followed in the succession of the throne for the next one hundred years, literally implanted the “new scenes of life and landscape” into the setting of the Kathmandu Valley. European design principles had been influencing the palace architecture strongly since this direct contact

¹⁵⁴ When steam navigation was introduced in the first decades of the 19th century, the British were in need of a coaling station on the Red Sea route to India. Aden, captured by the British in 1839, was chosen as the most suitable location and later became used as a coal-bunkering facility.

with Europe – doubtlessly inspired by the architectural scenes in London and Paris (ibid: 144). The Versailles Castle in France and the English Buckingham Palace, according to Nepalese oral tradition, were the models for many Rana palaces. Yet Erich Theophile (1992: 2) rightly notes the metaphorical rather than architectural relations between the European palaces and those of the Ranas. The notion of creating European-style sites in Nepal resonates in these associations. The interior decoration of the Palladio-style buildings and the lifestyle of their inhabitants fit their new surroundings: European paintings, Victorian décor, and furnishings imported from Europe were in vogue at the Rana court. The material overflow in European consumer goods and architecture was a significant moment in identity-building for the Nepalese aristocracy. Certain features trickled down to the building and living habits of the Newars for whom the architectural style of their rulers turned out to be capable of representing their own identity, but who “dreamt” of those luxuries rather than enjoying a life similar to that of the Ranas.

During the 19th century each of the major rulers of the Kathmandu Valley provided the already-existing architectural repertoire with their own stylish mark. In the first two decades of the 19th century, Bagh Darbār (fig. 87) and Silkhana (fig. 86) were built as palaces for Bhimsen Thapa with Mughal features, predating the Rana period. Compared to these early structures that also set themselves apart from the palaces built in the Late Malla period, the Rana palaces boasted a neoclassical repertoire.

There is a dominant feature that most of the whitewashed palaces found in the Kathmandu Valley have in common: It is the portico in its classical order and with freestanding columns. They are of colossal size, carry a grand pediment and remind one of ancient peristyles or monumental Palladian porticos. Often the wings are presented in each storey as colonnade-loggie while the central projection appears as a temple front. We thus find a European façade pattern which from Raffael and Bramante to the end of the Ancien Régime was reserved almost exclusively for royal architecture (Hesse 1998: 237). Long, repetitive window rows appear as another characteristic of the Nepalese palace architecture. In most cases the upright window – rectangular or with round bows and fanlights – is a room-high French balcony, provided with window glass. Outside may hang Venetian blinds, often painted green. The round arches are particularly related to current neo-Palladian Calcuttan architecture of the late 19th century. The stucco ornamentation of these palaces, floral and figurative decoration, was scraped from

plaster (*bajra*) by Newar plasterers and testifies to an improving workmanship within only few years (Gutschow et al. 1987: 189).

Three major building phases during the Rana rule may be accredited to the Prime Ministers Jang Bahadur Rana, Bir Shamsheer Rana and Chandra Shamsheer Rana.¹⁵⁵ The list of palace structures below does not present all Rana buildings or the complex range of forms that characterised in each case the façades of the 19th and 20th century palaces in Nepal. Today, many of the 41 Rana palaces in the Kathmandu Valley have been razed and their elaborate European and Japanese gardens paved (Rana et al. 2003: 149).¹⁵⁶ Only a few are being kept alive as heritage hotels or government buildings (see *Epilogue*).

9.1.1 Jang Bahadur Rana

With Jang Bahadur's visit to Europe "modernity" had its breakthrough in Nepal. Thāpāthali, Jang Bahadur's personal palace city, was erected around the middle of the 19th century and was among the first Rana palaces as was Nārāyanhiti Darbār (fig. 96), originally constructed in 1847 under Jang Bahadur Rana for his brother Rana Uddip Singh. The Mughal forms of both buildings were based on the innovations of Bhimsen Thapa, but at the same time neoclassical elements were interwoven: Mughal arches were combined with delicate Doric pilasters. The Thapathali palace was decorated with stucco façades in the grand neoclassical style that had appealed to Jang Bahadur during his travels to Great Britain, France and Anglo-Indian cities like Calcutta. This building complex that survives only in fragments was the trendsetter in evoking the semblance of a completely new lifestyle at the Rana's court, which would be kept alive for the following hundred years of Rana rule in Nepal. Between 1885 and 1925 the major Rana palaces were erected.

9.1.2 Bir Shamsheer Rana

A new outstanding construction phase began in 1885 when Bir Shamsheer Rana became Prime Minister. He held the post until 1901. In Nepalese history, the Hanuman Dhokā at

¹⁵⁵ During the time Juddha Shamsheer Rana reigned over Nepal as Prime Minister (1932-45), he built further palaces for his 17 sons. Most of them were situated on the periphery of Patan, such as the Śanta Bavan (1936), Kalimati Darbār (1940) and Nārāyan Bavan (1938).

¹⁵⁶ In the 1990s, there were still around 30 Rana palaces preserved (Gräfin Schwerin 1993: 261).

the Darbār Square in Kathmandu was the traditional seat of the kings, at least since the 15th century. It was not before the late 1870s under the rule of King Prithvi Bir Bikram Shah that the location of the royal palace was shifted to Nārāyanhiti, northeast of the historical core. The Prime Minister Bir Shamsheer Rana resided in the majestic mansion, presented in chapter *British Colonial Architecture as the Model for Nepalese Neoclassicism*.

In the early 1890s Lal Darbār (“red palace”) was constructed. In 1892 Ānanda Niketan and in 1893 Seto Darbār (“white palace”) were erected. Lal Darbār (fig. 104-110) was built for Rudra Shamsheer, the oldest son of Maharaja Bir Shamsheer, right next to Seto Darbār, flanking it on its right side. It was provided with central hot-water heating, the first of its kind in Nepal, and received its name due to the red colour of its walls. After the Shamsheer Rana brothers had wrested power from the Jang Ranas, Rudra Shamsheer enlarged the Lal Darbār and erected a three-storey palace building of exposed brick, which still suggests the façade pattern of the British Collectorate in Calcutta (around 1900) (fig. 103) even though Lal Darbār was partially remodelled in the end of the 20th century. The brick-lined façade with its bay system surpasses all other Rana palaces in its execution and quality. White plaster work at Lal Darbār imitates rustication and contrasts with the ochre-toned brick façade. Here, the interpretation of a *serliana*, itself a copy of antique triumphal arches, is found: a tripartite window consisting of a central opening with a semicircular arch that springs from the entablature-like capitals of two columns flanking narrower openings on either side. It alludes to Palladio’s 16th century veneer for the Basilica in Vicenza and other Renaissance structures. The *serliana* is a recurrent theme in neo-Palladianism and Historicism and reveals a connection between European 19th century structures such as the façade design of the Palazzo di Giustizia in Rome by Guglielmo Calderini, built between 1888 and 1910, Calcuttan architecture such as the Writer’s Building, and many Nepalese palaces such as Lal Darbār. Besides the classical orders, the *serliana* is a convincing example for the mimesis of classical patterns that were incorporated in different times into varied realms and are rightly so considered universal.

In the 1970s Lal Darbār was partially restored. A former palace wing today is part of the hotel “Yak and Yeti”. In 1996 the second storey was remodelled: The gallery that was once open, as in the case of the Collectorate in Calcutta, was closed and the attic storey was partially reconstructed by Erich Theophile. The reconstruction of the attic storey as we see it today is a modified version of the original and conforms to the

“Western” standard. This becomes obvious in the six pinnacles – one pair originally crowning each of the three bays of the building’s central part (fig. 104) – that were abandoned in order to present only four of them crowning the two outer bays (fig. 106).

The main entrance of this central part of the palace wing is presented with a canopy that is borne by a cast-iron frame (fig. 109). It was made by Macfarlane & Co, Glasgow and the frieze rail with its grotesque pattern with foliated scrolls and bird motif (fig. 110) and the spandrels are found in the firm’s *Examples Book* (1876), Plate XXII (fig. 111, 112). The same enterprise provided the lamp pillars located in front of the palace, as well as in some Newar courtyards such as Nāgbāhā in Patan (see chapter *Supplier of Cast Iron: Macfarlane & Co, Glasgow*). The panels in the round arches of the windows at Lal Darbār exhibit a star pattern. It resembles the geometrical formations of *girih* tiles used in the creation of tiling patterns for decoration of buildings in the architecture of the Mughals and other Islamic architecture. Caryatides (fig. 107) and atlantes (fig. 108) made of multipart stone intend to repeat Art Nouveau design and bear the canopy above the ground-floor window of the surviving tower-like projection and the two balconies in the first floor.

Seto Darbār, the “White Palace” (fig. 101), is no longer preserved. It was an immense building that was flanked by protruding porticos on two sides and built by Bir Shamsheer as a residence outside Kathmandu. Just like Nārayanhiti, Seto Darbār was supposed to be partially modelled after the Government House in Calcutta where Bir Shamsheer had represented the Nepalese government as *Wakil* and seen the splendid architecture of the British Raj. Its monumental marble steps that led to the central portico with its monumental colonnades resemble the entrance of the Government House: a revolution of European forms regarding the previous Nepalese palace architecture. Seto Darbār boasted a Great Assembly Hall, “Thulo Baithak”, equipped with Victorian extravagance. It was located on the territory where the modern boulevard of Darbār Marg today leads to the present area of the former palace. Above the Thulo Baithak, the central building had neo-Gothic windows with tracery. *Serlianas* on the first and second floors of the wings on either side of the central edifice interrupt the steady flow of round arches. Until 1933, when the central part of Seto Darbār was destroyed by fire, it had been preserved by successive Rana Prime Ministers. Some constructions – the colonnaded eastern and western wings – survived the fire. Still today they survive as truncated wings.

Some former Rana palaces, like Lal Darbār, today have been turned into hotels that pay homage to the bygone glory. The former neoclassical palace Agni Bhawan (1894) (fig. 117-122) was already converted into the high-class Hotel Shanker in 1964. The façade is widely kept intact while the interior was redesigned to provide travellers modern comfort. Rana ambience is demonstrated in the “Kailash Restaurant” and the “Durbar Hall” (fig. 120-122), formerly a ballroom, with its neoclassical and Mughal interior design and antique chandeliers.

The bell tower called Ghantaghar at Rani Pokhari in Kathmandu was built for Bir Shamsheer in 1894, the bell being imported from England.¹⁵⁷ The clock tower in the heart of Kathmandu resembles a *campanile* – a free-standing bell tower, adjacent to a church or cathedral in Italy and also found in all British-Indian cities of the 19th and early 20th centuries. In its original form the Ghantaghar evoked Victorian architecture, neither purely neo-Gothic nor a true Renaissance revival (fig. 123). The four-storey tower was domed tempietto-like. After the tower of Ghantaghar collapsed in the great earthquake in 1934 it was rebuilt, but given a completely new shape. In its present state the building has three tall rectangular windows on three sides (fig. 124). The dome that is borne by six pillars forming a hexagonal base resembles Mughal architecture and this theme was also recurrently evoked in the designs of the House of Parliament in New Delhi designed by Edwin Lutyens and Herbert Baker. The foliar frieze below the viewing balcony recalls the tomb architecture of the Mughals in India.

The original tower strongly contrasted with Bhimsen Thapa’s Dharara (fig. 125), a folly erected in 1832. The Dharara tower may be seen as a counterpart to the “Ochterlony Monument” or “Shaheed Minar” erected in Calcutta in 1828. It was built to commemorate the British East India Company’s victory in the Nepal Campaign of 1814-1816 under the command of Sir David Ochterlony. Designed by the British architect J. P. Parker, this monument is of mixed architectural style having a Syrian column, an Egyptian plinth slightly tapering towards the top, and a Turkish cupola. The Dharara, however, is an accessible tower that is erected on a circular ninefold platform.

The Phora, or “Fountain Palace” (fig. 100), was erected for Bir Shamsheer in 1895. It was unique in its design for it was based on an ancient, circular Greek temple. It was surrounded by a moat and accessible by a bridge. Inside the main chamber were

¹⁵⁷ Its original bell was manufactured by the world famous bell makers Gillet and Johnston from Croydon, England. It is dated 1895 and today is found next to the Uma Maheshvara temple in the Newar town of Kirtipur. After the tower had collapsed in 1934 Juddha Shamsheer, Prime Minister during that period, offered the bell at the request of the local administrative chief (*dvare*) of Kirtipur, Jagat Bahadur Pradhān (compare chapter *Bell Founders: Gillet and Johnston, Croydon*).

fountains and a raised marble platform for the maharaja's guests. In the early 1960s the U.S. government bought Phora Darbār to build an embassy on its grounds. The old construction was razed, but in the end a new building was never erected. Instead an American recreation compound was established, including a baseball field on, the grounds of the previous palace.

9.1.3 Chandra Shamsher

The introduction of social reforms, modern technologies and infrastructure is attributed to the era of Chandra Shamsher who acted as Prime Minister from 1901 to 1929. He abolished slavery and the Sati ritual of immolation of widows in the funeral fire of their deceased husbands. He introduced electricity in the Kathmandu Valley and the first railway system in Nepal. Chandra had attended courses at the University of Calcutta. In an effort to get the British Crown to recognize Nepal's independent status, Prime Minister Chandra Shamsher together with his nephew Rudra Shamsher and a large entourage undertook a trip to Europe in 1908. Under Prime Minister Chandra Shamsher Rana, several imposing palaces were built: Singha Darbār, the "Lion Palace" (1903)¹⁵⁸ that housed most of the governmental offices, the throne hall called Gaddi Baithak (1908) at Hanumān Dhoka (see chapter *The Ionic Order*), Śītal Nivās (1923) and Lakśmi Nivās (1925).

Of all the palaces built under the Ranas, none surpassed the Singha Darbar, the Prime Minister's residence and "nerve-centre of the Rana Regime" (Rana 1986: 90) in size and grandeur (fig. 159). Standing on fifty hectares of land, boasting one thousand rooms, seven courtyards, a theatre hall, an English reception room ("Belaiti Baithak") and a huge gallery hall¹⁵⁹, it was said to be the largest palace in Asia. It was accessible through a neoclassical gate (fig. 156-158). Its magnificent four-storey façade, a veneer of arcades on the ground-floor level and colonnades that soar over the first and second floor – in each case set in front of the windows – gives an exquisite sense of space. The protruding central portico is carried by double Corinthian colonnades with twisted column shafts (fig. 160). Its interior decoration exhibited Italian Carrara-marble, European furniture reflecting Victorian taste, European chandeliers, Venetian mirrors

¹⁵⁸ Different dates for the construction of this palace are given. Gräfin Schwerin dates the end of construction to 1903 and Chandra Shamsher's reign to 1902-1929 (Gräfin Schwerin 1993: 260).

¹⁵⁹ The gallery hall today houses the Rastriya Panchayat (National Assembly).

and an elevator imported from Scotland. In 1973 this testimony of former Rana glory was almost completely destroyed by fire and not fully renovated.

Maharaja Chandra Shamsher also obtained a palace, Kaisher Mahal (the building now houses the Ministry of Education) (fig. 126-147). It was built in 1895 for Jit Shamsher, nephew of Jang Bahadur Rana, by order of Bir Shamsher. Chandra Shamsher bought the building and gifted it to his son Kaisher. The palace façade is outstanding for its figurative décor such as mascarons (fig. 128, 129, 136), lion masks (fig. 138), winged putti (fig. 132), and female busts (fig. 135, 139), scrollwork (fig. 130, 134, 137) and vases (fig. 133) – all of which are important topics at those houses of the Newars which were to be restored after the earthquake in 1934.

Field Marshall Kaisher Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana had the “Garden of Dreams” (“Swapna Bagaicha”) (fig. 148, 149) built in Kathmandu in the 1920s adjacent to his palace as a private preserve. Kaisher Shamsher, a statesman¹⁶⁰ and connoisseur of horticulture, art and literature, created a unique neoclassical garden. In its design and literary allusions¹⁶¹, the garden is strongly linked to the collections of books about gardening, architecture, and literature in his impressive library, the Kaisher Library (fig. 141-147). Within the garden, a sophisticated ensemble of neoclassical pavilions, fountains, decorative garden furniture, pergolas, balustrades, urns (fig. 151) and busts (fig. 150, 152) – all based on European models – is found. There are some classical patterns, such as the caduceus (fig. 155) – the “Wand of Hermes” – that are taken out of their original context and serve as pure décor: The caduceus is typically depicted as a short herald’s staff surmounted by wings and entwined by two serpents in the form of a double helix (fig. 154).¹⁶² In Roman iconography it was the attribute of the Greek god Mercury (the Roman god Hermes), the messenger of the gods, guide of the dead and protector of merchants, gamblers, liars and thieves. Being connoted with death it is found on neoclassical tomb architecture and like the urn is a recurrent motif found on

¹⁶⁰ During his lifetime Kaisher Shamsher held the following positions in military and civil administration: In 1901 he was appointed major general and became a lieutenant general in 1920. In 1922-30 he served as the chairman of the Kathmandu municipality and became the southern commanding general in 1945-47. He also worked as director general of the Royal Museum (1928-39), the Archaeology Department (1931-39), and the Department of Foreign Affairs (1932-37). He attended the coronation ceremony of George VI on 12 May 1937 at Westminster Abbey in London. In 1947-48 Kaisher was appointed as Nepal’s ambassador to Britain and also was commander-in-chief, served as minister of defence (1951-55) and minister of finance and administration (1952-53). In 1956 he was promoted to field marshal.

¹⁶¹ Viscountess Wolseley mentions a “garden of dreams” in her book *Gardens, Their Form and Design* (London 1919). This book is part of the inventory of the Kaisher Library in Kathmandu.

¹⁶² An emblem, similar in shape to the caduceus, was known in early Hinduism where a serpent-trident was the emblem of Śiva in his form as Lokeśvara, the “Lord of the Worlds”. This emblem was adopted into Mahayana Buddhism as a symbol of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara in his form as *simhanada*, the “Lion’s Roar” (Beer 2003:134).

cemeteries even in the formerly British colonies like India, for example the historical Park Street Cemetery in Calcutta. In the context of Nepalese neoclassicism one may speculate about its original meaning (fig. 362).

Originally, there were six European-style pavilions, one for each of Nepal's six seasons: spring (*vasanta*), summer (*grīṣma*), monsoon (*varṣā*), early autumn (*śarad*), fall (*hemanta*) and winter (*śiśira*). Each pavilion had its own color scheme of flowering plants that bloomed during its designated season.

The red façade of Śītal Nivās (fig. 167-171), the former palace of Krishna Shamsheer that today houses the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, testifies to a change in design compared to the preceding whitewashed structures. It is the embodiment of eclecticism, a *mélange* of different European epochs blended with an explicit concession to Newar design. The dominating element is the central projection with its portico and the annexed side wings that end in projections (fig. 167). Two oversized vases are placed next to the steps that lead to the entrance. The stucco Corinthian capitals of the colonnade are of elaborate design (fig. 169) and replicate the motif according to the European prototype. The gable of the portico has a simple lattice window in diamond form.

There is a niche in the walls on both sides of the portico where a pediment in the shape of an obelisk presents a relief of the coat of arms in use before 30 December, 2006 (fig. 170).¹⁶³ It consists of a cow, a green pheasant (Himalayan Monal), two Gurkha soldiers, one carrying a Gurkha knife (*kukri*) and a bow, and the other a rifle. In the background are peaks of the Himalayas, two crossed Nepalese flags and *kukris*, the footprints of Gorakshanātha (the guardian deity of the Gurkhas and personal deity (*iṣṭadevatā*) of the former Shah dynasty) and the royal headdress.

In their vaults the niches are decorated by coffers. The niches' round arches are adorned by plasterwork presenting a "halo-face" (*kīrttimukha*) (see chapter *Lions*) – a fierce face with horns (fig. 171) and a motif thousands of years old. The demon grasps two serpents in its human-shaped hands and it devours the serpent's heads in its maw. On both sides of the *kīrttimukha* are aquatic monsters (*makara*), the tails ending in foliated scrolls.

Beneath the blind interlacing equilateral arches – their panels are filled with small mosaic stones – that camber to form a projecting roof, there are five white relief panels on either side of the portico. They depict classical female figures, muses and allegories

¹⁶³ After the end of the civil war in Nepal, this coat of arms was exchanged with the Emblem of Nepal.

that may be copied from Cesare Ripa's famous emblem book "Iconologia"¹⁶⁴, first published in 1593, which was extremely influential in the 17th and 18th centuries and edited numerous times, i.e. by Pierce Tempest (1709) (fig. 172, 174, 177, 179). Among these are identifiable: Terpsichore, muse of the dance holding a Lyra; Kalliope, muse of epical poetry, rhetoric and philosophy with a harp (fig. 173); Klio, muse of history with her attributes pell and book who may also be identified as the allegory of Rhetoric (fig. 175) – holding up her right hand and a book in her left hand; the virtue Humility¹⁶⁵ (fig. 176) and the allegory of Tuition (fig. 178).

On this façade we do not find rows of colonnades set in front of the windows that gave a repetitive air to former Rana palaces. Instead, Newar door and window alignments are suggested at the side wings where three doors, three vertical windows with crossbars and outside hanging shutters, the central window being aediculated, evoke the tripartite Newar *sājhyāḥ* on the first floor flanked by oblong octagonal windows. A neoclassical frieze with the running-dog motif extends between the ground floor and first floor. On the second floor a row of five windows – the external openings being only half as wide as the others – is located, thus resembling a Newar window with five openings.

Whereas a décor depicting the Egyptian winged sun¹⁶⁶ (fig. 168) adorns the wall above the five windows – testifying that the Egyptian Revival style had reached Nepal – a neoclassical cartouche presents Krishna's initials above the windows on the second floor of the external projections. The entrances of the outer projections are flanked by a pair of vases formed by a composition of the eight auspicious signs (*aṣṭamaṅgala*) (see chapter *The Vase*).

Regarding the partial return to patterns found in the local building tradition of Nepal, the Ranas seemingly demonstrated a shift in direction concerning their national consciousness. By combining with ostentation European or even universal patterns and Nepalese motifs, the Rana rulers came up to a cosmopolitan approach, referring to architectural languages that interacted with different localities while at the same time respecting their differences. From this point of view the façade of Śītal Nivās reveals the dynamic between mimesis and alterity.

¹⁶⁴ C. Ripa published his work under the title "Iconologia overo Descrittione Dell'imagini Universali cavate dall'Antichità et da altri luoghi", Rome 1593.

¹⁶⁵ Also reminiscent of "Patience" who is not depicted in Tempest's version.

¹⁶⁶ The winged sun is a symbol of Khepri, who gradually came to be considered as an embodiment of the sun itself, and therefore was a solar deity.

9.2 Rana Architecture as Subject of Early European Criticism

Until recently, the Rana palaces have not attracted the attention of scholars of art history – neither “western”, nor Nepalese. Since only a restricted number of Europeans were given access to Nepal until the 1950s, there are only few records of foreign contemporary witnesses. A survey of the reactions of the visitors in Nepal to the local architecture, ancient and modern, with which they were confronted, provides us with an Orientalist’s view characteristic for the 19th and early 20th centuries. The reports are rather short, due to the lack of interest in the indigenous architectural copies of European and colonial buildings.

H. Ambrose Oldfield, who stayed in Nepal as Residency Surgeon for the British Residency from 1850 to 1863, mentions in the middle of the 19th century the “mixture of the most discordant styles” of the palace architecture in Patan. “Modern wings”, as he continues, “have been added also during the present century, which are built after the European fashion, with plain glass windows and green Venetian blinds, and in which stucco is used instead of stone, and gaudy colours but imperfectly conceal the absence of costly carving” (Oldfield 1880: 104f.).

The British engineer John Claude White initially worked in Bengal and Darjeeling. When he came to Nepal in 1881 for one year he was inspecting the Residency buildings and preparing estimates. “The modern palaces”, states White, “although containing valuable collections of various objects of art, are of very little interest externally, with no architectural features of note” (White 1920: 254). His opinion seems to conform to most of the statements about the modern building style in the Kathmandu Valley (see chapter *Early 20th Century Houses in Western Travelogues*). White regrets “that they should have been so built amid the surrounding wealth of picturesque buildings” (ibid: 254).

The British Lt. Col. G. H. D. Gimlette (1928, I: 186f.), Residency Surgeon in Kathmandu from 1883 to 1887, describes Thapathali, originally the palace of Jang Bahadur Rana, as

a huge pile of whitewashed, barrack-like buildings, four or five stories high, arranged in squares, with glass windows and Venetian shutters painted green. All these modern Gorkhali edifices are in the same style, surpassing the old Newar buildings in size but far inferior in beauty; the architecture being of no particular style but a mixture [sic!] of many, the result being staring ugliness. One invariable

feature is a long narrow durbar or reception room, furnished and decorated in gaudy European style, and ornamented with impossible pictures [sic!], chandeliers and mirrors, often with an absurd collection of European articles of dress or for domestic use, arranged as great curiosities on tables along the wall. The rest of the interior is occupied by small rooms, long and narrow in shape, with intricate staircases and passages connecting [sic!] the various stories and apartments.

The French archeologist Gustave Le Bon also is one of the few westerners who had been allowed to visit Nepal. In 1886 Le Bon gave a disparaging depiction of the new Nepalese palace architecture in Kathmandu, which he considered minor to the ancient palaces in Patan and Bhaktapur, but most of all to the “European model”: “Le palais de l’empereur notamment est totalement dépourvu d’intérêt. C’est le fameux ministre Yang Bahadur qui l’a fait bâtir dans un style vaguement italien. Les diverses parties de ce monument, en pierre, en briques ou en bois, font l’effet le plus disparate”¹⁶⁷ (Le Bon 1886: 230). Le Bon alludes to the Rana palace architecture that resembled the neo-Palladian style.

Perceval Landon (1928, I: 186f.) concedes his admiration for the Rana palace architecture even though his account is not detached from a Eurocentric point of view:

Katmandu is a picturesque city in which a primitive beauty of construction contrasts with the significant efficiency of the parade grounds and with that military smartness which we have learned to associate with the word ‘Gurkha’. Nor are the spaciousness and splendour and luxury of the many outlying modern palaces of Katmandu less remarkable after the narrow and congested streets of the capital.

Nothing is more arresting than the first sight of the home of the Prime Minister, or the long white façade of the King’s palace. The royal palace [Nārayanhiti; K.W.] is of great magnificence. It lies to the right, at the end of the walled lane running towards the Legation from the Rani Pokhri, and is surrounded not only with fine grounds but with water gardens, due to the passage through the grounds of the little stream Tukhucha.

The former palace [Singha Darbār; K.W.] is the centre, not merely of the government, but of the life of Nepal, and through the generosity of the present Maharaja it will, in future, become the permanent official home of all succeeding

¹⁶⁷ Jang Bahadur Rana erected his palace in “vague-Italian” that is “pseudo-Palladian” style not worth mentioning in the eyes of Le Bon.

Prime Ministers. Under a great white gateway of French design [(fig. 157); K.W.] the visitor passes through elaborately wrought iron gates, and skirts a long artificial pool, on either side of which trees of considerable size rise from well-kept lawns. The palace itself presents a vast façade, flanked by a colonnade masking an inner garden. The dominating feature of this front is the huge entrance of three well-proportioned archways, between which rise double Corinthian columns. From a purely artistic point of view it is to be regretted that some effort had not been made to retain some, at least, of the characteristics of Nepalese architecture, but the necessity for enormous reception halls and suites of rooms devoted to ceremony made it difficult, no doubt, to adopt for this purpose a style which, though the most picturesque in Asia, has always hitherto been applied to very much smaller buildings.¹⁶⁸

Romanticising views on the architecture of the Newars cling to these descriptions. The statements refer to the contemporary modern changes. They describe the clash of “modernity” and “tradition” in an environment whose visual culture they wish to remain static, thus denying development and change. They regret the loss of the “picturesque” Newar building style, the appealing “other”. However, around the middle of the 20th century, Alexandra David-Neel (1953: 74ff.), a Belgian-French author who travelled to India and Tibet and is best known for her numerous travelogues and texts about Buddhism, gives a description of Singha Darbār, in which she assumes an ethnocentric view that differs from the older accounts of Europeans. She subjectively argues for the beauty of the modern edifice in contrast to the inside of old Nepalese buildings. In the eyes of David-Neel, the palace is, on the one hand, a “bromidic imitation” of many European palaces that does not fit into the scenery of “classic” Newar buildings. On the other hand, the author prefers the spacious character of the neoclassical palace to the undeniably artistic, but dark and “fusty” inside of the local houses.

Rethinking these statements from the present point of view, one major question comes to the fore: Why did the Europeans never compare the Nepalese affection for “exotic” European styles with the western love for Asian forms since the Baroque and Palladian style appealed to the Ranas and Newars in Nepal in a similar manner as *chinoiserie* and

¹⁶⁸ Landon also gives a detailed report of the palace’s “European” inside: “One wonders how all these enormous mirrors, these statues, these chandeliers of branching crystal were brought over the mountain passes of Sisagarhi and Chandragiri” (1928, I: 189); see also Wright 1877: 9.

Indian Gothic exerted over the West? Llewellyn-Jones (1985: 237) notes that Nash's Royal Pavillion in Brighton (1815-23), built in the so-called Indian Gothic or Indo-Saracenic style, lacks any resemblance to an Indian building just as does Westminster Abbey. In this sense, the Chinese Pagoda (1761-62) designed by the Scottish architect William Chambers (1723-1796) for the botanical site of Kew Gardens in South London, can also rather be described as a result of a Rococo-fantasy than as a true copy of Chinese architecture.

Those developments in and views about art and architecture represent the cultural flows into both directions and at the same time reveal the asymmetrical notions of mimesis between the East and West. In fact, "exotic" styles, if they appeared in a European context, were "meant to arouse in the spectator an impression of something strange and wonderful" (Llewellyn-Jones 1985: 237) rather than claiming to be true copies of a certain model. The architectural styles of the "others" yet remained "exotic" – as curios they were tributary if not even inferior to the styles found in Europe. In contrast, by copying European patterns in the Nepalese context, the Ranas aimed at soaring up to become part of the world class, an approach that required a representational architecture they considered adequate.

9.3 Representational Architecture

"French design", "vaguement italien", "European fashion" – the overall European view noticeably points out that the design of the Rana palaces in the Kathmandu Valley between the middle of the 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries resembled neoclassical buildings in Europe. Hürlimann (1931: 273) even compares the Singha Darbār with Buckingham Palace, a rather metaphoric comparison.

The Rana palaces in Nepal reflect the ambition to achieve a conventional European repertoire of forms. A radical break with the hitherto characteristic local building style took place. What was the *primum mobile*, the major reason why the Ranas chose to import a "universal" architectural style that concentrated on the neoclassical language for their representational buildings? The answer should not only be found in the oligarchs' taste for the new architecture. It also ought to be regarded in the political context of the absolute rule of the Ranas because palaces principally incorporate a manorial requirement. It is well worth probing the underlying intentions of those who had been responsible for western-influenced architecture in Nepal, namely the Ranas,

and discover the means by which the building style was carried out. The question about the intents of neoclassical palace architecture and western lifestyle of the Ranas requires the exploration of the architecture as a means in the construction of identity.

Since the end of the 19th century, the different Rana families had been building their palaces and gardens outside the cities. Thus, the modern Rana upper class broke with tradition concerning living standards, house design and with the urban settling of the Newars, mainly in Kathmandu and Patan. The neoclassical architecture – sharply contrasting with the indigenous architecture of Nepal – was also meant to create a social distance to the governed people¹⁶⁹ and symbolised a model for trendsetting development. As an anti-urban trend, the Rana palaces in Nepal were, in general, located away from the old city center. In this regard for a Newar the meaning of “inside” and “outside” contrasted with the understanding of the Ranas on first glance. The Newar citizens had a clear concept of the cosmic city area that follows ancient boundaries. “Inside” (*dune*) the city differs from the “outside” (*pine*). In Newar culture and Malla times, the proximity to the central Darbār had been most significant: the location of the palace suggested the high status citizens clustering around it. Similar to modern city planning in Europe, the Rana palaces as new centres of growth mushroomed outside the traditional city limits of the Newars. Greta Rana (1986: 90), a British-Nepalese writer and Rana offspring herself gives an impression of what it was like to live in a Rana palace:

Every big palace was described as *bhitra* [inside; K.W.] by its servants, client families, even by the families of sons who had married and moved into establishments of their own. *Bhitra* means inside and in a feudal context it is much more than a physical expression of place. It carried with it a connotation of security, authority and protection. The maidservants who lived ‘inside’ did not wander abroad without permission, neither did any of the other women, be they wives, daughters or mistresses. Rarely were men servants lodged ‘inside’ but were rather quartered in the barracks along the palace walls, or over the stables.

On closer inspection, the notion of the enclosed Newar city was thus transferred to the microcosm of a Rana palace compound, a realm separated from the outside space.

¹⁶⁹ Rishikesh Shaha considers the exploitation of the Nepalese people by the Ranas as the worst in the history of Nepal (1990, II: 241f.).

To build their numerous palaces, the Ranas confiscated a considerable amount of agricultural land that had hitherto been owned and farmed by Newar farmers (Jyāpus), funeral associations (*siguthī*), the Newar aristocracy and non-Newars such as Gorkhalis (Locke 1985: 15). The people and the trusts were often impoverished. As John K. Locke illustrates (*ibid*: 15), hardly any compensation was paid by the Ranas to either individual land owners or private *siguthīs* such as the *bāhās*. He describes the story of a man from the small royal Ṭhakurī caste who had to cede his property to Juddha Shamsheer Rana when he was building a palace for one of his sons in Sanepa near Patan. When the Rana palace called Kaishar Mahal was constructed in Kathmandu, the Ranas expropriated a big amount of land that belonged to the community of Thambahī in Thamel, Kathmandu.

What did the neoclassical palaces of the Ranas symbolise with regard to foreign affairs? Gräfin Schwerin discusses this question in her essay about the Rana palaces (1993). She postulates an interrelation between the erection of the Rana palaces and the Prime Minister's external efforts to imitate and support the British colonial power in India in many ways. The mimesis included acting officially as loyal ally, speaking English, travelling and being educated by Europeans and in European matters. In this logic, Nepalese rulers also built their palaces in the neoclassical style (Gräfin Schwerin 1993: 246).¹⁷⁰ In the case of Rana palaces, the architecture was used by the rulers in order to converge to British cultural values as were important for the maharajas in India. Therefore, the palace architecture recreated the West as the source of political centralisation and to a certain extent modernisation.

Step by step, Jang Bahadur assured the sovereignty of his clan through legislation and administrative measures. The size of the army – a loyal support for the Ranas – was increased enormously and the most significant posts in the administration and the army were filled with family members. An unusual legal succession was demonstrated in the autocratic reign of the Ranas that was passed from brother to brother and then to their sons. Under the Rana ministers that followed Jang Bahadur, the revenues were spent as if they were the Ranas' personal property. The luxury gained by equating state revenue to private property was also reflected in the building of neoclassical palaces and rich European interior decoration. The large number of these white palaces alone stands for the consistent representation of political power. By regarding neoclassical architecture

¹⁷⁰ Another example of the effort to adopt an ideal code of behaviour is reflected in the delegation of representatives to Rajasthan, in order to study the conventions of the Rajput (Höfer 1979: 41).

as a valid signum of western culture, the Ranas judged the West itself: Europe was equated with consistency, classicism and noblesse, the Europe-quotation symbolised the achievement of a materially defined world-class. Those practices of mimesis may be described as imitations of certain signs of British rule that implicate assimilation but are not meant to be a camouflage. Nepal, regarded by the British and other Europeans as a “periphery”, required and promoted Western standards to become generally accepted as a “centre” in the regard of the others. With opulent palaces, columns, neoclassical porticos, cast-iron balustrades from the great British steel industries, Rococo-public rooms, Italian Carrara-marble, ornate furniture from Harrods in London reflecting Victorian taste and in the style of Louis Seize (Rana 1986: 90), European and Oriental bric-a-brac (reflecting the contemporary fashion in Europe at that time), Venetian mirrors, pianos, carpets from Wilton and Axminster and cooks for European food, tennis courts and billiard halls (ibid: 90) and, last but not least cars, the Rana rulers at all times hunted for the connection with the glamorous world. The portraits of Jang Bahadur next to the ones of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert in many halls of Thapathali (Wright 1877: 9) illustrate the craving to be part of the modern present.

The Ranas bought glass luxuries from F. & C. Osler – England’s premier seller of glass in India from the 1850s to the 1920s. F. & C. Osler (also mentioned in chapter *Prestigious Glass*) was an enterprise from London and Birmingham, also based in Calcutta.¹⁷¹ The branch in Calcutta supplied many Indian palaces such as the Great Imambara built by Asf-ud-daula in 1784 in Lucknow (Llewellyn-Jones 1985: 264, note 18) or the palace of the Nizam of Hyderabad with large and colourful chandeliers, fountains, tables, chairs, beds, and other pieces of furniture. Until today, Osler wares are found all over India and many museums last but not least boast the precious glass. Jane Shadel-Spillman, the curator of American Glass in the Corning Museum of Glass in New York, documents Osler’s extensive market and the increasing demand of the company in Asia (Shadel-Spillman 2006: 50-93). The interior decorations of Bir Shamsheer Rana’s palaces Lal Darbār and Seto Darbār were supplied by F. & C. Osler and the cabinet makers C. Lazarus & Co of Calcutta.

Osler’s status changed from a commendable exponent of the British decorative arts (fig. 161, 162) to a producer of sensational products for the colonies. Design historian Deepika Ahlawat (2008) seeks to politically analyse the consumption habits of the

¹⁷¹ The designs of many objects are recorded in the company's pattern books, which are now housed in the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, England.

Maharajas in India during the late Victorian and Edwardian eras. The author assumes that the discourse of empire became a primary giver of meaning to material culture during the Raj. She exemplifies her thesis with the history of the firm of F. & C. Osler in order to link material culture and design history to the study of political identity in a post-colonial context. Ahlawat supposes that the firm's considerable fall on the European market, among other reasons, took place because of the

dominance of a narrative of taste based on creating a 'native' identity for the consumer in India of this fallen product, in opposition to 'good' (read 'non-native') taste. This allowed, in the system of Orientalist discourse, for the mutual transference of flaws between the product and the 'other' consumer, thereby aiding in the creation of a subservient colonial identity, in effect, a doctrine of Empire. Osler goods thereby became more and more associated with a fabulous otherness, providing material reification of orientalist imagery, (Ahlawat 2008: 156).

The goods rather became "fitted for the throne-room of some magnificent Eastern despot than for anything else", (Royal Society of Arts 1879: 126). The firm supported this doctrine of British Empire and the identity creation for the "other" through its business practices. Coloured glass goods were designed in ruby, emerald, blue and amber specifically to appeal to the "eastern" sensibility.

Though such goods made for the Indian market were described as 'native taste' (both in Osler correspondence and pattern books), similarly elaborate and over-decorated goods were not unknown at the time in the British home market, and Osler had famously created an entire service in ruby glass with elaborate gilding for Queen Victoria in 1856, (Ahlawat 2008: 157).

Ahlawat observes that during 1850 and 1870 the two kinds of goods – for the European and Asian market – are indistinguishable in the pattern books that are preserved at the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery. "By the 1870s, however, when the considerable Indian orders were executed, the concept of 'native taste' had become a designation deeply embroiled with the perception of the Indian customer, rather than just a physically identifiable design accommodation made for the Indian market" (ibid: 157).

Initially, the Osler objects with western forms and functions alien to eastern use such as chairs and tables, or chandeliers may have been improper for the Indian market. However, with the advent of the western-style palaces in India and Nepal towards the end of the 19th century, they became increasingly assimilated into the material culture of these new palaces.¹⁷² “The political identity of the Maharaja was closely tied with his material surroundings – the Maharaja as a loyal subject of the empire was best seen in exaggeratedly anglicized interiors. The adoption of the wares of such firms therefore changed from being a matter of taste and choice to one almost of inevitability”, summarises Ahlawat (ibid: 161). Henry Oldfield’s account that will be cited in chapter *Early 20th century Houses in Western Travelogues* provides a detailed description of the material must-have of the Rana and Gurkha aristocracy who sought European luxuries that were intrinsically tied to the nobles’ identity.

From the Indian and Nepalese perspective, western luxuries in the 19th century remained tied to their identity as representatives of Britain. In the case of colonial India, western goods were given as state presents by the British government in dealings with the Indian princes. This occurred particularly during state occasions called “Darbārs”, or courts – assemblages held by the British government to perpetuate its legitimacy. They were also used to bestow political status and favour on the princely states in the Raj. Ahlawat suggests that “the adoption of British material culture was in itself a signal of political allegiance, literally transcribed here as presents from the British government to the princes” (2008: 162), who had supported the British during and after India’s First War of Independence, the uprising of 1857. This fact leads the author to a broad generalisation:

those princely states that were the most amenable to accepting Western luxury goods and material culture also enjoyed the most favourable political relations with the British. The corollary is also probably true – that the assimilation of material culture meant, at some level, a recognition of some ideological similarity with the British, and hence a reduced resistance to their paramount position (ibid: 162).

¹⁷² As India became the predominant market for glass goods, the objects themselves were also assimilated – in style as well as in function. Ahlawat (2008: 159) proposes that “the Indian market redefined the form and scope of the cut-glass medium, and in fact modified it so much that it became unsuited to the British market, in terms of both taste and function”. The author lists products such as *hookahs* (hubble-bubbles), *punkah* poles (fans, in the form of stiff cloths suspended from the ceiling) and decanters in the shape of *surahis* (long-necked spouted decanters), or flywhisks that were available in the Osler showroom by the 1870s. The goods were available through printed catalogues in English that carried all prices in Rupees.

Particular identities are not created by material culture alone. Yet, material culture may help to reveal notions of identity creation as well as to track the interpretation of identities, particularly by realising that these identities exist only in certain cultural contexts rather than existing as objective entities (ibid: 168). In contrast to India, we find different political premises in the Nepalese case. A British protectorate since 1816, Nepal was never completely under British colonial rule and the Rana's relation to the British in their Residency in Kathmandu, but also to the colonialists in British India, was ambivalent. While the British residents in Nepal only enjoyed a very restricted mobility and liberty of action, the Ranas tried to act as equal political partners. The Nepalese palaces that were inspired by neoclassical buildings in Europe and India, and their western interiors in principal, reflected the effort to meet the powerful neighbour eye to eye: Landon expresses his propaganda for the era of Chandra Shamsher as a process of "assimilating the organization, drill, manufactures, mechanical development, and, above all, the higher standards of justice and humanity which prevailed in Europe" (Landon 1928, I: 118), glorifying the Prime Minister's reign. Hürliman (1931: 274) identifies the political changes under the Ranas that also entailed significant changes in the design of Nepalese palaces as a voluntary demonstration that yet derived from the ambition to be in no way inferior to the outside world.¹⁷³ The West as the source of political modernisation was in fact imitated through the palace architecture.

¹⁷³ Cf. Hürlimann (1931: 274): "freilich handelt es sich dort [in Indien; K.W.] auch darum, dem britischen Oberherrn seine Fähigkeiten zu beweisen, während es hier [in Nepal; K.W.] eine freiwillige, völlig unabhängige Demonstration ist, bei der allerdings der Ehrgeiz, auch vor der Außenwelt in keiner Weise nachzustehen, mitspielt".

10. NEWAR NEOCLASSICAL HOUSES: LOCAL AND GLOBAL IDENTITIES

10.1 Building Modern Cities after the Earthquake

In Nepal, the rise of modernity should not be equated with the end of the Rana oligarchy in 1951, when political change brought about socio-economic changes and constant direct contact with other cultures. In regard to architecture, modern building materials like plaster, cement, iron, glass and corrugated-iron sheets, as well as western design, were integrated into Newar building practice even since the 19th century, but particularly after the earthquake in 1934.

The Kathmandu Valley is frequented by earthquakes. Major ones occur almost every century. The recent zero hour in the Kathmandu Valley dates back to Māgh, 2nd, 1990 Vikrama Samvat (V.S.): On 15th January, 1934, a devastating earthquake destroyed a vast number of buildings. In Patan alone some 10,000 buildings, including 5,000 residential houses, were completely destroyed.¹⁷⁴ More than two-thirds of the houses in Bhakatpur are said to have collapsed. Only a few months after the great disaster, rebuilding proceeded briskly under Prime Minister Juddha Shamsheer Rana. He gave permission to cut trees in protected government forests. Timber from government stocks was sold at subsidised prices. Loans were given to earthquake victims mortgaging their land or new houses (Sever 1993: 315ff.). Houses with European features had already been erected in the first three decades of the 20th century, some even earlier.¹⁷⁵ The great rebuilding after the earthquake, however, was the opportunity for many Newars to jump on the bandwagon of modernity. Juddha Shamsheer was the builder of the post-earthquake “New Road” in Kathmandu, an elegant, broad boulevard with eclectic neoclassical architecture for the “newly styled city”¹⁷⁶. Impressive houses of noblemen with plastered façades and aspiring columns lined this road and many other streets in the cores of the cities of the Kathmandu Valley. They gave a new air to the formerly old

¹⁷⁴ Source: The Gorkhapatra, 27 Caitra 1990 V.S.

¹⁷⁵ In the Kathmandu Valley few houses that are provided with the date of construction remain today, the earliest known from 1911, a fragment of a house in Pharping. From the comments of Europeans (see chapter *Early 20th Century Houses in Western Travelogues*), we know that towards the end of the 19th century the new style advanced into Kathmandu. Landon visited Nepal twice – in 1908 and 1924. In 1928, one year after his death, his account was published which contains several photographic illustrations. It remains unclear on which trip each photo was taken. Even if the motifs are mostly popular temples, Nepalese architecture and Rana palaces, some pictures represent residential buildings in the early Newar neoclassical style one decade before the earthquake in 1934. Compare illustrations in Landon 1928, I: 27 (The Holy Way of Swayambunath), 124 (Kot Quadrangle, Kathmandu), 128 (Hanuman Dhoka, Kathmandu), 193 (The Black Figure of Kala-Bhairava at Kathmandu), 202 (Boddhnath), 211 (Temple of Machendra, Patan).

¹⁷⁶ Source: The Gorkhapatra 22 Phalgun 1990 V.S.

and narrow centres. The Newar craftsmen primarily received their inspiration from the palace architecture of the Ranas. The process of incorporating a material presence of certain universal urban claims into the residential buildings of the Newars may be described as an indigenous translation of “ideals into realities” (Hopkins 2006: 12).

The most striking aspect concerning the residential buildings is the fact that modernisation was confined to the surface, the façade. The ready-made faux-plasterwork for the ceiling (fig. 143-145) frequently found in early 20th century palaces and some houses of the Newars are exceptions. The rest of the house was arranged as it had been for generations due to the functional organization and symbolic order of the Newar tradition. “Modernity” for the Newars was not only geared to contemporary European design. Local forms were still preserved and renewed; there is an inevitable “Newariness” about the façades owing to the builder’s cultural, social and religious background.

10.2 The Multiple Identities of Early 20th Century Façades

A fundamental change on the façades of the newly built residences of the Newars occurred in the first decades of the 20th century when Mughal forms from India and European patterns were selectively appropriated in the architecture of the Kathmandu Valley. The façade of an early 20th century house may thus be regarded as a contact zone, a point of intersection of different symbols, languages and collective processes of consciousness. Introduced into the realms of Newar cities, these become a unique sense of place of a transcultural dialogue. The houses reflect the multiple identities of their Newar builders and inhabitants that combined both indigenous values and an imported and reworked modernity. European forms were borrowed but frequently subordinated according to a preconceived order. Whereas many idioms originated from a western building style, the functional orders of the floors were still based on Newar tradition. If early 20th century buildings are analysed two-dimensionally, they usually reveal a common view of world order conceived by the Newars: The façades often reflect the traditional spatial arrangement of the Newar house, but also contain copied and transformed western patterns. Fanciful Renaissance and Baroque forms decorated the majority of buildings of the early 20th century settlements in the Kathmandu Valley. The Newar sculptors found the models for their design repertoire in the neoclassical Rana architecture and at least some of them must have taken their inspiration from European

pattern books. The development of modern houses shows different trends in the cities of Kathmandu and Patan and in Bhaktapur. In Kathmandu and Patan, people favoured fully or partially plastered façades. Stucco décor testifies to sophisticated workmanship. In Bhaktapur the houses basically remained unrendered; rustic interpretations of neoclassical forms were expressed in brick. Everywhere in the Kathmandu Valley moulded, but worked bricks for cornices, pilasters and gables come to the surface where decay has destroyed the plaster embellishments.

Concerning the houses' heights, the number of three to four floors and the construction techniques characterised the cities. Proportions, formats and positions of the windows, however were changed. The vertical window opening was generally accepted replacing the more horizontal character of the Newar lattice window. While in the 18th century long, unbroken lines of window-ranges were avoided, the western neoclassical doctrine to position them on a straight line and accurately one upon another was now widely accepted. The windows were aligned in a grid-system with the effect that the façade markedly opened up. What resembles cast-iron balustrades at the residential façades at first glance, on closer inspection emerges as woodcarvings perfectly imitating European patterns. Inherently European forms were admitted as novelties in the Nepalese architecture. Although the decorations are designed individually from house to house, identical key elements are found: pilasters framing the façades, segment gables, and balustrades. Certain neoclassical stucco ornaments present great similarities. They will be introduced in greater detail in chapter *Visualisation of Transculture in Nepal*.

10.3 Early 20th Century Houses in Western Travelogues

The few Europeans given entry to Nepal since the middle of the 19th century had perceived Nepal as the exotic “other” and represented it as the antithesis of what they considered “modern”: A sequestered mountain valley, a picturesque landscape with former little kingdoms, ruins of shrines and ancient temples with golden roofs, the houses toned in the earthen colours of the bricks and their inhabitants being mysterious savages who practiced alien rituals.

In the 1850s, Oldfield draws a vivid picture of the architectural innovations on some of Kathmandu's noble residential buildings, published after his death in his *Sketches*

from *Nipal* (1880) that contain his illustrations of religious monuments, architecture, and scenery:

Several of the sardars¹⁷⁷ have during the last few years built large houses in different parts of the city. The sites on which they stand having been well selected, the ground levelled, and the surrounding buildings cleared away, give to them rather an imposing appearance, and make them contrast very strongly with the humble and dirty, but still very picturesque exteriors of the mass of the old Niwar dwellings in their neighbourhood.

Their exteriors are in the pseudo-classic, or carpenter's Gothic style of architecture, profusely covered with paint and plaster, instead of with rich carvings and fancifully cut wooden reliefs.

In their interiors the private apartments retain the low ceilings and doorways, step-ladders, and trap-doors, which are characteristic of most native houses; but they have one or more large public reception rooms, built in the English fashion, with lofty ceilings and glass windows, the walls of which are ornamented with mirrors and pictures, and the floors covered with Brussels carpets. These rooms are filled with the most curious medley of useful and ornamental articles of English and French furniture. Steel fire-places, with marble mantelpieces; sofas, couches, easy chairs, billiard tables, and four-posted beds; candelabras, pianos, organs, glassware, vases, &c., are crowded together in the most curious confusion, and in a manner which shows that though their present owners may value them as curiosities, they are utterly ignorant of or incapable of appreciating their real use. Still the presence of these European luxuries and ornamental furniture has introduced an appearance at least of elegance and comfort into the interior of the houses of the Gorkha sardars, which was never dreamt of, even by royalty, at the time when the Niwar dynasty was on the throne, (Oldfield 1880: 106f.).

Oldfield's account provides the information that in the dawn of Newar neoclassical building style, the use of elements of European styles was a matter of status and wealth.

¹⁷⁷ Sardar has the meaning of "commander". Literally *sar* means "head" while *dar* means "holder". The word is often associated with military authority: In Marathi and Hindi languages an army chieftain is called a *Sardar*. In the colonial era, the title Sirdar or Sardar applied to indigenous nobles in British India. In this context, Oldfield refers to the Rana and Gurkha aristocracy.

Gustave Le Bon observes in 1886 in Kathmandu, that the interiors of ancient buildings with Newar façades of some rich people are also provided with European furniture:

Quelques intérieurs riches sont meublés à l'européenne; mais les meubles, amenés à grands frais de l'Inde anglaise, y sont disposés dans les désordres le plus étrange. La plupart du temps les propriétaires en ignorent la véritable destination: on a vu, dit-on, des Népalais se coucher sur des pianos, qu'ils prenaient pour des canapés munis de boîtes à musique" (ibid: 230f.).¹⁷⁸

The Nepalese are presented as savage people who do not appreciate the "real" use of their European furniture. A contrasting picture is drawn by Le Bon who writes highly enthusiastically about the architecture in Patan: "Cette grande ville est certainement une des plus curieuses de l'Asie. Je doute qu'un mangeur d'opium ait jamais entrevu dans ses rêves une architecture plus fantastique que celle de cette étrange cité. [...] Certes les détails d'architecture sont quelquefois barbares, mais l'ensemble est éblouissant" (Le Bon 1886: 246).

In the sense of the Greek root of "*barbare*", "*barbaros*" ("foreign"), Le Bon was obviously fascinated by the strangeness of the old Nepalese brick buildings. In the context of 19th century theory of history that used the term to characterise a stage in the human development regarded as linear, however, it is also possible that Le Bon described the art of a people he considered to be the preliminary stage of civilised. Anyway, he is enthralled by the "other", the "alien" style of Newar architecture, rather than disparagingly referring to hybrid buildings that emerged as the result of modernity in Nepal. In late 19th century, according to Le Bon, Patan was not yet shaped by the architectural features, whom the author denounced as "*disparate*" (ibid: 230) in the neoclassical palace of Jang Bahadur in Kathmandu. Le Bon extols Patan's Newar building style, characterised by brick and woodcraft.

The vocabulary of Le Bon and Oldfield points out the western perspective on the rising of indigenous modernity. Oldfield uses terms such as the "curious confusion" of European luxuries and declaring their Nepalese proprietors as "utterly ignorant of or incapable of appreciating their real use". At the same time he accredits the western-

¹⁷⁸ The rich interiors of old buildings are furnished in the European style but in Le Bon's opinion the furniture that was brought from British-India at great expense is misplaced in the Nepalese context, a strange and chaotic composition. The Nepalese reportedly sleep on top of their pianos which they are said to consider as sofas that are provided with musical boxes.

based material culture of the Nepalese “an appearance at least of elegance and comfort”. In this regard Jyoti Hosagrahar states that “Once those in power had declared themselves the only legitimate moderns, those ‘others’ they labelled ‘traditional’ could only aspire, seek, adopt, or mimic modern forms in the dominant mould” (Hosagrahar 2005: 5), regardless of their status. “However, they never complete the transition to become ‘modern’ like the original” (ibid: 5). Oldfield is aware of the multiple identities of Nepalese houses describing the characteristic “native” interior. In his logic, these houses could only be provided with “pseudo-classic” façades thus devaluing the modern requirements of the Nepalese.

10.3.1 The “Bastard Modern Style” – Reflections of a Colonial Discourse

Sir Richard Temple, an administrator, civilian and lieutenant governor of Bengal (1874-1877) in British India came to Nepal in May 1876. While listing important monuments in Kathmandu he describes “several imposing noblemen’s houses in a bastard modern style; – all in the neighbourhood of the Darbár” (Temple 1887, II.: 235f.). The German voyager Kurt Boeck, who went on several expeditions to Asia during the last decade of the 19th century and visited Kathmandu in December 1898, uses the term “halb-europäischer Bastardstil”, to characterise the newest modern buildings erected by the “Gorkhas” in Kathmandu in his travelogue towards the end of the 19th century (Boeck 1903: 266). This style may not have yet reached Patan, where no trace of European influence could be felt according to Boeck.

Kien Nghi Ha (2005), a German political scientist, deals with the cultural history of “hybridity” by reconstructing the term’s historical levels of meaning from its creation in Antiquity up to its exclusively negative connotation and use during colonialism. He also explores the fundamental change of meaning in postmodernism and regards the revaluation of hybridity as a late capitalistic good.

Whereas within the cultural history of colonial hybridity, in the Antiquity “hybris” and “hybrida” were parts of a divine order, in the course of a rising secularisation and rationalisation of the world this order was transformed into a natural, that is, biological order. Since the late 15th century and particularly during the following centuries of colonisation, Europeans regarded themselves as superior to the colonised who, in the eyes of the colonists, were underdogs.

In this context Ha discusses the “bastard” term. Since the Middle Ages, the term “bastard” had been described as interpersonal frontier crossing and had a clearly racist connotation. For a long period the term superseded the notion of “hybris” and “hybridity” (ibid: 20).¹⁷⁹

The bastard term played a major role in the colonial discourse about biological and sociocultural amalgamation that formed the image of a racial “bastard” (ibid: 15): The biological intermixture of human “races” was considered as a regressive process of crossing. The half breed – his or her “impure” hybridity – that is on the verge of eluding the imperative of racial borders became the allegory of evil. Ha argues that the bastard took the role of an adversary who was not the physical opponent to the colonialist and his culture: Paradoxically it was not the otherness but the cultural and physical similarity of the hybrid that led to his pathology in the colonial discourse. This may implicate the fear of a decomposition of colonial cultural practices, and European insignia of power by local indigenous elements. Following this logic, the fears may have been based on the convention that the power of the European culture and the “white race” was dependent on its purity (ibid: 25ff.).

I refer to these developments because they can be applied to architecture as well. Instead of talking about a highly “eclectic” Newar architecture – a term that may also be connoted negatively – Sir Temple and Boeck described a “bastard” style of architecture. The comments of critics of late 19th and early 20th centuries such as Temple and Boeck implicate the idea of inflexible and homogenous cultures. Talking about “bastard” architecture, Temple and Boeck devaluated the building style of the Newars, thus following the binary logic of either-or – or neither European nor Newar – instead of accepting a hybrid principle of as-well-as, an understanding that culture may be heterogeneous.

Neoclassical architecture, chosen as colonial architecture, was understood to constitute the continuance of European cultural heritage on the one hand and the superiority over colonised countries. The non-European cultures that copied these forms, on the other hand, were regarded as inferior.

¹⁷⁹ The “hybridity” term is rooted in Antiquity and experienced a revival in the late 19th century in the course of the evolutionary biology and racist anthropology. “Hybrid” is etymologically related to the Greek word “hybris”. In Antiquity, “hybris” stood for outrageous impudence over the gods. In the Middle Ages, and still today, the term is equivalent to pride and impudence. Since hybris is a frontier crossing – a transgression of rules that transcends the existing order – half-divinities and half breeds were called “hybrids”, derived from the Latin word “hybrida” (Ha 2005: 14ff.).

A blending of European and Newar styles led to a physical similarity of the hybrid architecture and the European models. The European's comments may reveal the fear of a decomposition of their own cultural practices. They clearly rejected a dissolving of European insignia of power with local indigenous elements.

In the eyes of Homi K. Bhaba (1994: 159ff.), a renowned postcolonial theorist in the field of cultural studies, the discriminatory effects of the colonial discourse are expressed by “a discrimination between the mother culture and its bastards, the self and its doubles, where the trace of what is disavowed is not repressed but repeated as something *different* – a mutation, a hybrid” (ibid: 159). The blendings are not identical with the colonial power but very similar: Hybridity is the by-product or result of the productivity of colonial power. The similarity between the “original” and the “hybrid” is created by decentralisation, the strategic reversal, or a different use of dominant symbols by the marginalised actors who “impurify”, reinterpret, and hybridise hegemonic representatives (ibid: 159). This may also include the indigenisation of colonial symbols in architecture that are “abstracted” from European culture. In this sense the Rana palaces and Newar early 20th century architecture in a non-colonised country such as Nepal are interpretations of European patterns and Indian colonial vernacular.

10.3.2 Visions of Exotic Otherness and Modern Self

In the statements about Newar architecture, it becomes obvious that Europeans claimed the right to define what was “humble and dirty, but still very picturesque” such as the exotic Newar houses, and modern (“European”). They also claimed to judge (“half-European”, “bastard modern style”) and assert modern forms. The British Residency Surgeon from 1883-1887, Colonel Gimlette, states about the new houses in Kathmandu that “there are several large modern ones in the city, built by the Gorkhali Sirdars – ugly and uninteresting” (Gimlette 1993: 9). Interestingly, Temple and Gimlette seem to be the first westerners who formulated the notion of “modernity” in conjunction with Nepalese architecture.

The observations of Perceval Landon are affected by romantic-historicist visions. In the early 1920s, he writes:

There is now a tendency to imitate the uninteresting stucco style which India has adopted from ourselves, and no doubt the time will come when, as elsewhere in the East, Nepal will come to rely less and less upon carved walls and shutters and exquisite tilted eaves and more and more upon prosaic brick and plaster and corrugated iron for her shelter from the wind and rain; there are signs already that such a fate is not long to be postponed, (Landon 1928, I: 184).

Landon's description highly reflects the European point of view. He differentiates between the "exquisite other" and, like Gimlette, the "uninteresting" and "prosaic" imitation of "European" forms. Regretting the urban changes in the Valley, Perceval Landon rejects the cultural upheavals that step by step superseded the historic patterns.

To Europeans, the local responses to western forms may have occurred as a paradox. They were regarded as "mere" copies of European models – "uninteresting and ugly". In Nepal this architecture had not been directly dictated by colonial rule or sense of mission of European culture in contrast to the situation in British India. For the Rana rulers European style buildings presented modernity, and the practices of mimesis expressed the effort to create a visual poise vis-à-vis the British. With their whitewashed, majestic, neoclassical palaces the Ranas initially set themselves apart from the Newars and their brick-lined houses. Like the British colonialists in India the Rana rulers introduced the neoclassical architecture as a visual articulation of political power. The Newar architecture is then, a local answer to the new building style of the Rana oligarchs who, in turn, imitated the colonial style of the British.

10.3.3 Redefining "Hybridity": Alternative Versions of Modernity

Bhabha does not consider hybridisation a harmonious form of cultural blending (1994: 159f.). In his eyes hybridisation describes a possibility for the colonised to exploit the realm of culture against hegemonic powers. The colonial limits are thereby transcended and new associations and meanings are created. They transform clearness into ambiguity. "If the effect of colonial power is seen to be the production of hybridization rather than the noisy command of colonialist authority or the silent repression of native traditions, then an important change of perspective occurs", he claims (ibid: 160).

The Ranas feared and at the same time admired the colonialists in India and rejected the colonisation of Nepal by the British. Following Bhabha's logic it can be taken into

consideration that the Rana palaces articulated resistance to the British colonialists in India by adapting and imitating their architecture. According to this interpretation, the early 20th century architecture of the Newars that partially adapted the neoclassical language of the palaces and transformed it into new concepts of vernacular architecture, in turn, may be regarded as a demonstration of self-confidence to the Ranas. Their building style and representation of political power may to some extent have been unsettled by the similarity of architectural forms on the façades of Newar houses.

Cultural hybridity – as described by Bhabha (1996: 58) – may be a mode of political articulation. In this sense, on the one hand, the similarity of the neoclassical articulation of the Ranas and Newars to the European model may be considered as indirect signs of colonial power but also of autochthonal self-empowerment.

On the other hand, these theories neglect aesthetic reasons from the adaptation of European design in Nepal. In my opinion there are other answers to the question why the Nepalese adopted foreign design. The Nepalese palaces and their interiors that were inspired by neoclassical buildings and 19th century fashions in Europe and India in principal reflected the effort to meet the powerful neighbour, the British in India, on the same level. Particularly the Newar responses to the neoclassical edifices of the Ranas may appear as fashionable innovations in the vernacular architecture rather than a conscious rebellion against the rulers. The buildings reflect the Newar's awareness of the latest developments, realised in a process of emulation and borrowing, as “modernity”.

The early comments of Europeans presented reveal their rejection of the translation of dominant European concepts into local spatial practices, and implicate the idealisation of the architectural practice in Europe. The use and meaning of the emerging new forms, which were considered “pseudo-classic” and described as a “bastard modern style” and “uninteresting stucco style”, were not identical to those idealised by Europeans. They were, nevertheless, beautiful and fancy innovations from the perspective of the people of Nepal, who were closely engaged with their production.¹⁸⁰

Why were only those buildings in Nepal featuring European forms the aim of such dispraise? The statements in the western travelogues show that the critics praised the architecture of the Newars that was free of European design. The “other” and originally

¹⁸⁰ However, as discussed for the term “traditional” in the chapter *Newar Houses and the Postcolonial Discourse*, the Newar inhabitants of the Kathmandu Valley considered neither themselves nor their architecture as “traditional” or even “picturesque”, it was plainly their way of living and constructing houses.

strange style had its own quality that was “picturesque” and of high quality alone because it was experienced as “alien” and fitting to its environment. Obviously it requires a “brand recognition”, that is familiar forms, to entice Europeans to condemn the Nepalese buildings. As Rosie Llewellyn-Jones (1985: 236) concludes, “It is much easier for a European to condemn a structure because its Corinthian columns are too attenuated, its cornices too shallow or too deep, or its statues inappropriate, than for the same European to criticise a Hindu or Muslim building.”

In fact, what Jyoti Hosagrahar (2005: 5) calls “alternative versions of modernity”, established in specific places and cultures, must necessarily be the results of different trajectories and demonstrate different outcomes in the built environment. In the present state of the art of historiography, the latter should strive for a profound understanding of modernity and accept its abundance of forms, depending on the time, place and culture from where they emerge, to legitimise built forms and spatial experiences that are often excluded from the western models of modernity (ibid: 6). The focus on originality misses the opportunity for rich dialogues and insights into the cultural interactions in the past which a building is able to suggest.

Ethnographic studies and accounts of western travellers of the 19th and 20th centuries in general tended to distort the picture of “exotic” places. Based on his fieldwork in Bhaktapur, Gregory Price Grieve (2006: 65) states, that

There is a long strain of such orientalist discourse that negatively compares the pure origins of Hinduism – whether posited as Vedic society or medieval kingdoms – to the polluted present. A sense of anxious nostalgia clings to such descriptions, which stems from a projected disjoint between an ideal ‘map’ (what should be there) and the city’s actual ‘territory’. [...] While ethnographers may have once unproblematically maintained a link between identity and place, there is now a growing recognition of the hybrid nature of ‘place’ and of the arduous cultural labor required to maintain the ‘local’.

There has always been a common combination of different codes of different cultural origin, a “cultural logic of hybridity” (Reckwitz 2006: 19). Since the concept of hybridity in principle allows unlimited combinations in various areas of life, it is an open approach that denies any exclusion, transcends limits and knows no “exterior” versus an “interior”. In contrast to the concept of purity being superior and promoting progress, the concept of hybridity or universal blending attributes progress to the

interaction of cultural differences. The term hybridity can be applied to any visible signs of culture that may mirror people's collective identities such as art and architecture. The migration of forms conflicts with some people's desire for an established set of social and cultural norms and ethical values.¹⁸¹ Such understanding provides new perspectives in the field of art history and leads to the appreciation of the hybrid character of Newar architecture. With regard to their early 20th century buildings, the Newars unconsciously deconstructed the (European) notion of a singular identity which was tied to a certain place and with their architectural "collages" created an understanding of old and new, local and foreign, eastern and western – a contribution to the history of transcultural flows.

10.4 The Brick-And-Plaster Style in Patan

Patan owes its *genius loci* to the large number of early 20th century houses whose brick façades were decorated with plaster and stucco embellishments. Out of a total of around 660 of the houses with neoclassical features located in October and November 2006 (fig. 8), 340 had brick-and-plaster façades. Today, the urban fabric is increasingly changing in Nepal as old houses are being replaced by new multi-storey residences. The continuous demolishing of early 20th century houses leaves us only snatches of the former urban fabric. The great rebuilding during the decade after the earthquake in 1934, however, brought about a comprehensive building style that combined Newar and European forms in plaster.

Just as in Kathmandu, fanciful forms based on the European classical style decorate the majority of buildings of the early 20th century in Patan. Most of the houses were built after 1934. Certain ornaments, like symmetrical Renaissance-style cartouches and plaques with floral decoration, ribbons and inscriptions as well as festoons, plastered, and moulded cornices, classical meander and metope-triglyph-friezes or egg-and-dart friezes testify to the striving for a European vocabulary. This is similarly evident with fantastic keystones, pilasters with Ionic, Doric and Corinthian or particularly Composite capitals with acanthus décor as well as with female angel's busts or simply female busts and male mascarons. Lion masks are often added as keystones above the central windows and stucco saurian creatures with two or four legs appear creeping on pilasters.

¹⁸¹ In the 19th century, the formation of national states depended highly on cultural means of identification, particularly on common language and common history.

Only 180 houses of those studied in Patan were completely covered with lime plaster; 140 houses surveyed in Patan belonged to the group with brick-lined façades.

10.5 The Brick-Style in Bhaktapur

The conquering of the Valley by the Shahs in the second half of the 18th century shifted power from the three kingdoms to the single capital of Kathmandu, where subsequently, all the Thapas and Ranas took up residence and started to realise their neoclassical dream. In contrast, the city of Bhaktapur became hinterland. The plastered style reached Bhaktapur only in a few structures – several civic constructions, including the remodelling of three city gates. The palace under the rule of Jang Bahadur Rana was the place of a vice-regent, his brother Dhir Shamher. It was renovated and plastered and its main façade decorated with fancy Mughal stucco multifoil arches in 1855. The only Rana family living in Bhaktapur built their plastered villa and garden at Nāg Pokharī (Stürzbecher 1981: 209). Furthermore, a few plastered residential houses in the Newar neoclassical style are found in Bhaktapur. Unlike Kathmandu and Patan, Bhaktapur remained a place dominated by the red colour of bricks.

In the beginning of the 20th century, the Singha Darbār palace was under construction and thousands of craftsmen in Kathmandu and Patan were building European details *ad infinitum*. At the time the Newar brickmakers (*āvāḥ*) in Bhaktapur were experimenting by transforming European façade vocabulary into their vernacular architecture, thus developing a provincial style. The façade details of the Rana palaces not only constituted the models for the stucco décor but also for innumerable variations in brick, some rather rustic versions, others more elaborate. In Bhaktapur a great corpus of brick-lined buildings is found in the city core including only a few ante-earthquake temples and houses. The majority, however, are post-earthquake buildings. In the first half of the 20th century, houses in Bhaktapur presented a variety of different styles¹⁸² with neoclassical features. More than 600 residences altogether survive and are witness to a hybrid architectural language (fig. 10).

¹⁸² There are still a few houses with brick-lined façades (*dātiapā*) and elaborately carved upright wooden windows with apron planks. These buildings are the link between the Newar house with traditional windows and the western vertical window opening that was finally developed around the turn of the 19th century. Although the iconographic programme is variable, the idioms are repetitive and exhibit traditional themes such as five peacocks in a row seen from the front, two birds picking from a flower, the mythic dragon, lion and the figurative depiction of the sun god Sūrya with its chariot and six horses. Popular motifs are, furthermore, divine celestial garland-bearing figures, *apsaras* or *kinnaris*. The members of this group of houses, in general, are neither adorned by pilasters nor are their floor levels optically subdivided by cornices. But sometimes the beam ends are visible.

The biggest group of houses has a brick-lined façade with trimmed brick ornamentation, resembling neoclassical forms, and vertical window openings. Around 460 unrendered buildings, most of them dating back between 1934 and the 1950s, were located during October and November 2006.

In the Kathmandu Valley, ornaments such as gables, columns, pilasters, Ionic and Doric capitals, consoles, blind niches, and friezes, such as the running-dog-frieze (fig. 282-284) and the peacock (fig. 420, 422), were all shaped with a variety of moulded or carved bricks. This group of unrendered houses in Bhaktapur demonstrates the translation of European idioms into local building conventions in masonry.

Another group with almost 80 members consists of the houses with brick-and-plaster façades, on which the pilasters and cornices are covered by plaster and the décor such as angels and winged half-divinities or lions were modelled in stucco. Around 70 houses form the third group and present fronts completely fettled with lime plaster (fig. 423-429).

11. TOWARDS A NEW MATERIALITY

11.1 General Remarks

The drastic change in the façade design of the Newar houses – the negotiation processes between Newar and European cultural traditions of visual representation – emanated from the architectural revolution of the Rana palaces and is closely connected with the urban modernisations in the Kathmandu Valley.

In the first half of the 20th century a small upper-class of rich Newar merchants, land owners and military officers could afford luxuries imported from Calcutta or Europe, such as brocade, paintings, and musical instruments (Sen 1977: 113), and also building materials.¹⁸³ Window glass and cast iron are popular examples of imported building material and décor from Europe or British India. Last but not least, the introduction of stucco plaster enabled the Nepalese people to articulate a new language of ornaments. As the following examples will demonstrate, Nepal queued in the globally modernising movement long before the term “globalisation” expressed, among other things, the idea of a universal material culture. Foreign goods initially reserved for the consumerism of the Ranas were partially incorporated into the daily life of the common Newars.

11.2 Prestigious Glass

In the 19th century, glass was imported to Nepal from Europe via India. Till the early 18th century, window glass had been a rarity in India. By the end of the 18th century, however, window glass was sold all over India from Calcutta, the trading centre of British India (Nilsson 1968: 169f.).

The interior decorations of Bir Shamsheer Rana’s palaces Lal Darbār and Seto Darbār were furnished by the cabinet makers C. Lazarus & Co of Calcutta and England’s premier seller of glass products in India, F. & C. Osler, who had a branch in Calcutta.¹⁸⁴ Between 1870 and 1890, Indian operations of Osler were headed by Henry Pratt,

¹⁸³ Many rich people in Nepal, particularly Newar business men and high-ranking military and civil officers, also sent their sons to western-style schools and colleges in India (Amatya 2004: 49).

¹⁸⁴ According to the “Report of the Royal Commission for the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, London 1886” (London 1887), “a Guarantee Fund formed the financial basis upon which the Royal Commission was enabled to carry on the work of organisation and to protect itself from possible pecuniary loss at the close of the Exhibition. F. & C. Osler is mentioned in the list of Guarantors (Appendix IX.); the company gave 1000 £ (Ibid: 110). At the event, Nepal exhibited 26 exhibits (Ibid: 136).

assisted by the British engineer Henry Elworthy.¹⁸⁵ Henry Elworthy wrote an account¹⁸⁶ on *A Trip to Nepal in November 1890* on 12 December 1890 after he returned from Kathmandu to Calcutta.¹⁸⁷ He describes his arrival in Kathmandu: “As it was the evening of the Dewali Festival, the time when Hindus illuminate their houses, the Palaces at Kathmandu were ablaze with lamps and small earthen lights. The Maharajah’s new Palace was a mass of lights” (Elworthy 1890). Nepal was not supplied with electricity until 1911, thus installing electric light at either Lal Darbār or Seto Darbār may not have been the purpose of his visits. However, he may have furnished the interior with crystal candelabra and chandeliers. We know from the English Art-Union magazine that a 20-foot fixture was ordered from Osler for Jang Bahadur Rana’s palace in 1849 (Shadel-Spillman 2006: 52). It was far bigger than the pair of eight-foot candelabra exhibited in the Crystal Palace in London at the Great Exhibition of 1851 (fig. 161) that was purchased by Prince Albert for Queen Victoria in 1848. Glass ware from Osler was also found in later Rana structures such as Singha Darbār (fig. 163).

For the common Newar people precious glass products and window glass remained a rarity. At the end of 19th century, Daniel Wright (1877: 6) and Gustave Le Bon (1886: 236f.) observe that in Nepal window glass was used only in the windows of the palace of Jang Bahadur Rana. They highlight that latticework was common in the window openings of Newar houses that appeared as strangeness to the Europeans. In the early 20th century, window glass on modernised Newar houses thus represented the wealth and status of their inhabitants. In rare cases, glass products offered new scopes for design, for example at the few houses in the Valley where stucco figures such as lions, mascarons and angels were “enlivened” by eyes of glass.

During the Second World War, when Nepal was affected by the shortage of consumer goods, glass manufactories were finally established in the Kathmandu Valley. Till then, the major supplier of such goods was British India, which had imposed restrictions on the export to Nepal due to the shortages locally and in England (Amatya 2004: 117). For that reason the Rana Government made efforts in the production of some consumer

¹⁸⁵ Mr. Persey permanently worked for the firm as an independent agent and assisted Pratt. A native Indian on Osler's staff during this period, referred to as Sudoo, is also worthy of note. According to Deepika Ahlawat (2008: 170, n. 27), Elworthy and Sudoo were the primary intermediaries between the Indian palace of Mewar and Osler, and contributed much to the Mewar collection of crystal.

¹⁸⁶ In 2005 the text was published in the *Journal of the Britain Nepal Society*, London.

¹⁸⁷ He was born in Kentisbeare about 1848 and is assumed to be a member of a farming family in Devon. By the second half of the 19th century, Elworthy went to India where he was employed by F. & C. Osler – a glass enterprise from London and Birmingham, also based in Calcutta – as their agent in Rajputana.

goods in Nepal itself. “For the first time it encouraged Nepalese entrepreneurs to establish mills and factories in the country to manufacture jute products, paper, matches, glass, and a number of other industrial goods” (ibid: 117ff.).

11.3 The Modernisation of the Kathmandu Valley with British Iron and Steel

In the second half of the 18th century, the European-Indian trade with bar iron and half-finished and finished iron products began to flourish. In the course of the 19th century, the wrought-iron and cast-iron products that had grown popular in England were finally exported to India. Balustrades – mass products in England adorning the façades of British houses around the year 1850 (Bergdoll 2000: 207) – became important decorative elements of the colonial architecture and of houses of wealthy Indians, for example in the cities of Calcutta, Lucknow and Serampore (Nilsson 1968: 169). Bridges constructed with technical steel and iron mushroomed in the colony. While during the 19th century, iron was exported as pig iron and iron spates from Nepal to India, the Ranas also purchased cast-iron products from Europe via India (Sen 1977: 103). During his stay in Europe, Jang Bahadur Rana was the first Nepalese to visit the iron manufacturers in Birmingham (Rana 1909: 140).

11.3.1 Balustrades and Columns

An exhibition in the Victoria Memorial Hall in Calcutta dedicates one corner to some life-size replicas of the city’s historic buildings. The focus is on an early 20th century Anglo-Indian urban villa: The balcony on the first floor seems to be borne by plaster imitations of cast-iron columns with acanthus décor that were either imported from England and Scotland to Calcutta or even fabricated in Calcutta itself. Even today they provide a special urban and, at the same time, European character to many of the houses throughout the city. Scottish columns with similar patterns as those in Calcutta are located at prestigious places in Kathmandu and Patan.

The imitated cast-iron balustrade of the balcony of the model exhibited in the Victoria Memorial Hall presents a typical pattern found in Calcutta and Nepal: A stroll through the historic northern part of Calcutta, Chitpur, where wealthy Indian merchants settled and built their neoclassical urban villas during the early 20th century, suggests the pre-

cast models for the range of balustrades replicated in timber in the Kathmandu Valley (fig. 184-188, 193-196). The decorative cast-iron gates and window railings of the Rana palaces and of the houses of rich Nepalese traders encouraged the Newars to give local responses. The balustrades carved in wood and found in most windows of Newar houses (fig. 189-192) are not less decorative than their European models (see also chapter *The Changing Faces of Newar Façades*). A great part of the balustrades with similar patterns, i.e. a bud-like floral element with calyx, or a certain arabesque motif (fig. 186-188) turn out to be local peculiarities of Patan.

11.3.2 Supplier of Cast Iron: Macfarlane & Co, Glasgow

Different “provost” lamp pillars from “Macfarlane and Co, Glasgow” (Scotland) are situated not only in prestigious places like Rana palaces, as in front of Lal Darbār in Kathmandu (fig. 204), but also in the spacious courtyards of Nāgbāhā (fig. 206) and Bubāhā (fig. 199, 202, 203) in Patan.

The Scottish company was founded around the middle of the 19th century and soon came to prominence and became one of the most prolific architectural iron foundries world wide. Macfarlane and Co shipped their products from Glasgow all over the world: benches to rainwater goods, fountains, buildings, bridges, glasshouses, palaces, railway stations and bandstands. The company’s lamp pillars in the Kathmandu Valley are characterised by a circular base, followed by a fluted part of the shaft with an abacus. The next part is in the shape of a baluster decorated with palmette design, above a bead-moulding. The fluted part of the shaft that follows is bounded by two astragals. On the lower astragal the firm exhibits its brand and the upper astragal is formed by bead-mouldings. The rest of the lamp pillar exists of a narrowing plain shaft with a small capital with protruding arms and flower ornaments. It is crowned by a hexagonal lantern. The lamp pillars match the Nr. 30 (fig. 197) illustrated in the 6th edition of the catalogue, ca. 1882. The lower parts of other lamp pillars (fig. 206) found in the Kathmandu Valley matching the Nr. 10 (fig. 198) of Macfarlane’s *Examples Book* (1876) are reminiscent of balusters, partly fluted and decorated with bead-mouldings. They are also found in Edinburgh and other Scottish cities.¹⁸⁸ As ready-made products the lamp pillars were shipped to Calcutta and finally carried on shoulders across the Himalaya to Nepal.

¹⁸⁸ <http://www.scottishironwork.org/index.htm>, January 2008.

A number of designs were registered in order to prevent piracy. The company's distinctive trademark – “Walter Macfarlane & Co., Saracen Foundry, Glasgow”¹⁸⁹ (fig. 207) – was found on every casting, yet it did not prevent other enterprises from copying the design; they were only forbidden to use the trademark itself on their own castings (Robertson/Robertson 1977: 23ff.). In Calcutta and the Kathmandu Valley a mixture of imports branded with the firm's trademark and of copies of the originals with similar design (fig. 200, 201, 205) is still found today in the vicinity of formerly wealthy homes built in the colonial vernacular style – whether produced under licence or pirated is uncertain. As the Indian architect Kamalika Bose (2008: 258) mentions in a paper on the amalgamations of the vernacular in the contemporary in North Calcutta, gas lamps from Macfarlane & Co. were in use during folk theatres (*jatras*) played on outdoor stages and other community gatherings.

11.3.3 Supplier of Cast Iron: Martin & Co Calcutta

Cast-iron hydrant water pillars from “Martin & Co Calcutta” mushroomed valley-wide in the vicinity of older public wells (fig. 208), as can be seen in Kathmandu, Patan, Bhaktapur or Kirtipur. The pillars mark the cities in a way as pushpins otherwise are distributed on maps. The pillars demonstrate visual benchmarks of modern infrastructure. With their fluted shafts and stepped tops with a knob, the pillars are marked “Martin & Co Calcutta”, and “Martin and Coy Calcutta”, on their square base block (fig. 209) and may bear the label “Pillar Hydrant Stockton & Middlesbrough” on their screw caps (fig. 210). Whereas the screw caps imply the water connection for the local fire fighters, the shafts are provided with opposite water-taps. Inscriptions present the donor, for example “Bi Sri Raj Laxmi” (fig. 211). The water supply for Patan, completed in 1905, was realised in the name of Bada Maharani Chandra Loka Bhakta Lakshmi Devi, Prime Minister Chandra's first wife. Another example for the name of the donor found on the cast-iron pillars is that of the Prime Minister himself, “Tin Śrīcandra Lokdhārā” (fig. 209).

According to Lang, Desai and Desai (1997: 78, 41) “Martin & Co Calcutta”, established in 1875, was the major construction company in Calcutta at the beginning of the 20th century. In the first decade of the 20th century, the construction work of the Victoria

¹⁸⁹ The term “Saracen” in the company's name derives from its original location in Saracen Lane.

Memorial in Calcutta, India, was entrusted to Messrs Martin & Co. of Calcutta.¹⁹⁰ The company was also busy with the construction of railways and in 1927 the Raxaul-Amlekhganj line built by Martin & Co. was opened in Nepal.

11.3.4 Supplier of Wrought Iron: Bayliss, Jones and Bayliss, Wolverhampton

“Bayliss, Jones and Bayliss, Wolverhampton” was the manufacturer of the wrought-iron railing of the fountain on Darbār Square in Patan (fig. 212). According to the inscription in Nepali and English on the fountain it was dedicated to Bada Maharani Chandra Loka Bhakta Lakshmi Devi “by the people of Patan” since she supported the water supply project for the city.

Founded in 1826, the enterprise is best known for its fencing, special railing, gates and architectural and interior metal works (fig. 213), staircases, pub and shop signs and weather vanes, bronze or copper lamps, canopies in metal and glass suitable for cinemas, shops and hotels (fig. 214). All this was produced in great variety and in many styles, such as Tudor Gothic, Italian Renaissance, English 18th century, Art Deco and Art Nouveau style.¹⁹¹

11.3.5 Supplier of Technical Steel: Dorman Long, Middlesbrough

A bridge at Cupīghāt in Bhaktapur – rather small in an international perspective – is constructed with massive bridge piers made of bricks. The frogs of the bricks are signed with “Śrī Tin Chandra 1913” and provide information about the builder, Chandra Shamsher, and the time of construction. The bridge is borne by rolled girders from Dorman Long, Middlesbrough, England. Decorative stone consoles with lion faces support the heavy beams. Wooden joists are laid across, their ends carved (*dhalīmvaḥ*) in the shape of typical Newar mythical animal’s faces (*kūsuru*). They are covered by

¹⁹⁰ Around 1900, the company was ordered to erect the Victoria Memorial in Calcutta, India. Vincent Esch was the superintendent of the terminal construction and the design came from William Emerson.

¹⁹¹ There are more connections between Nepal and the English town of Wolverhampton: The Records of John Shaw and Sons, Wolverhampton, Ltd and T. E. Thomson and Co Ltd (Calcutta), held in the Wolverhampton Archives and Local Studies, tell the history of the enterprises. The first representative of the Wolverhampton firm of Shaw & Crane (later John Shaw & Sons) in India was Thomas E. Thomson (an early traveller for the firm). He established T. E. Thomson & Company in 1834 at 2 Old Court House Street, Calcutta. In the beginning it was an “indent business” that took orders from native firms and transmitted them to England for execution. The goods in turn were shipped to Calcutta. The earlier stocks were primarily railway supplies, but the business later developed into a large wholesale and retail concern, carrying heavy stocks of hardware, tools, machine tools, pumps and agricultural implements. In 1947 “TET and Co”, as it was called familiarly, was sold to the Maharaja of Nepal.

bricks (fig. 217). The entrances are flanked by a pair of dog-size lions, locally translated into stone and presented on pedestals (fig. 216).

Dorman Long began as an iron and steel works in 1875 manufacturing bars and angles for ships. The company was later expanded by Sir Arthur Dorman in 1889. He took over a business manufacturing iron and steel bars and became involved in the construction of bridges all over the world. Famous examples of the company's early 20th century bridges are the Omdurman Bridge, White Nile, Sudan (1926); the Dessouk Bridge across the Lower Nile in Egypt (1927); the Sydney Harbour Bridge in Australia (1932); the Khedive Ismail Bridge¹⁹² (now named Qasr El Nile Bridge) in Cairo, Egypt (1931-33); the Bangkok Memorial Bridge in Bangkok, Thailand (1932); the Birchenough Bridge in Zimbabwe (1935); and the Chien Tang River Bridge near Hangzhou in China (1937). It is most likely that Chandra Shamsheer, who had made a trip to Europe in 1908, ordered these steel beams in Bhaktapur a few years later as a demonstration of modernity. They had been shipped to Calcutta at the beginning of the 20th century and were carried across the mountains of the Himalayas by porters. In Bhaktapur, local craftsmen finally incorporated carvings in wood as had been known from the context of cornices of temples since the 15th century.

11.3.6 Bell Founders: Gillet & Johnston, Croydon

A tall, heavy, iron bell from "Gillet & Johnston Founders Croydon 1895" is placed at the Uma Mahesvara temple in Kirtipur (fig. 215). No further inscriptions and no ritual context mentioning the donor of the bell are found, but according to Mehrdad and Natalie Shokoohy (1994: 98), scholars of architecture and urban studies, the bell was originally a quarter striking bell from the Ghantaghar clock tower (1894) in Kathmandu (fig. 123). Juddha Shamsheer, then Prime Minister, offered the bell to the administrator (*dvare*) of Kirtipur, Jagat Bahadur Pradhān, at his request, after the earthquake in 1934 had destroyed the clock tower in Kathmandu.

Gillet and Johnston were the famous bell founders and clockmakers of Croydon, England. Around eight foundries in Britain were still in business by 1900, among them Gillet & Johnston, which closed around the middle of the 20th century¹⁹³. Many churches, not only in England, proudly present their bells from Gillet and Johnston up

¹⁹² There are also two pairs of majestic lions situated at the entrances of this bridge. They are larger-than-life bronzes sculpted by the French artist Alfred Jacuemart.

¹⁹³ <http://www.allsaintswokinghambells.org.uk/AbBells/AbBells.html>, November 2007.

to today, for example St. Paul's Cathedral in Rockhampton¹⁹⁴, and St. John's Ranmoor in Sheffield¹⁹⁵, whose bells were recast by the firm in 1934.¹⁹⁶ The Grace Cathedral in San Francisco has a cathedral carillon that consists of forty-four bronze bells, cast and tuned at the Gillet and Johnston Foundry of Croydon in 1938¹⁹⁷. The "Cohasset Carillon" is located in the neogothic stone tower of St. Stephen's Episcopal Church in Cohasset, Massachusetts. The instrument was originally cast as a 23-bell carillon in 1924 by Gillet & Johnston¹⁹⁸. The company also delivered to the Ripon Building in Madras, India, built in 1913, as part of a large municipal complex. Its "West Minister Quarter Chiming Clock", installed by Oakes and Co in 1913, is provided with four bells, which were cast by Gillet and Johnston in 1913¹⁹⁹.

11.4 The Elaborate Ways of Articulation with Stucco

Stucco was a major decorating material and the technique of stucco modelling was brought to perfection at the buildings of the Mughals in India from where it was finally imported to Nepal. A new and very resistant external plaster had been developed in the 19th century in Nepal as binding material that was used long before cement was available in the 1960s. The main ingredients of this plaster (*chun-surkhi*) were brick dust (*surkhi*) mixed with rice flour and quick lime (*chun*). It was applied onto trimmed bricks in two layers of mortar, formed *in situ* and finally finished with lime paint and later coloured.²⁰⁰ The plaster allowed a great variety of forms on the façades of the palaces and on the houses. Furthermore, ready-made pieces of plaster are sometimes found which are joined to form stucco friezes.

The techniques in plastering and stucco modelling were developed by Newar artists since the introduction of external plaster by Ranabahādur Śāh²⁰¹ and Prime Minister Bhīmsen Thāpā at the end of the 18th century and its use continued during the rule of the

¹⁹⁴ <http://home.iprimus.com.au/cwhittall/History.html>, November 2007.

¹⁹⁵ http://www.stjohnsranmoor.org.uk/site_pages/ourchurch.html, November 2007.

¹⁹⁶ Other examples are the Dagenham Parish Church (<http://www.barking-dagenham.gov.uk/4-heritage/archive-photo-ga/photo-gallery-enu.cfm?id=33114649-1422-C1AB-D32F2063D8050C4E>, November 2007); St. Georges Church in Dittisham, whose bells were recast by Gillet and Johnston in 1949 (http://www.dittisham.org.uk/st_georges_church.asp, November 2007).

¹⁹⁷ http://www.gracecathedral.org/enrichment/crypt/cry_19980701.shtml, November 2007.

¹⁹⁸ <http://www.ststephenscohasset.org/carillon.html>, November 2007.

¹⁹⁹ <http://www.indiavarta.com/buildingdreams/news.asp?topic=7&title=Articles&ID=IFB20060825075429&ndate=8/25/2006>, November 2007.

²⁰⁰ Additionally, spumed soap and buffalo milk were added to the lime paint cf. Becker-Ritterspach 1982: 122.

²⁰¹ Jagannāth-Tempel in Kathmandu (late 18th century), Palace of Prime Minister Bhīmsen Thāpā (1810) and his Bhīmbhaktesvara-Tempel in Kathmandu (1822).

Ranas after the middle of the 19th century. The majestic Rana palaces and houses of the Nepalese aristocracy encouraged the common Newars to invent local responses, presented in the sophisticated stucco work of many houses in Patan. It was a matter of wealth rather than of caste affiliation that qualified individuals for new and stucco designed houses. The owner might be a high-status member of the Vajrācārya or Śākya caste or a low-status member of the caste of butchers, Khaḍgī.

The usage of brick and stucco for decorative elements such as capitals, friezes, or figurative décor on the façades of the Newar houses became a widely practised technique. The façade design finally was up to the individual taste and wealth of the builder, and its quality was particularly dictated by the skills of the craftsmen. The obvious popularity of plaster as a decorating element of Newar residential buildings contravenes with the dictum of the art historian Ronald M. Bernier after which the “popular opinion generally may not have favoured the addition of white covering to the temples” (Bernier 1978: 37). His description of temples, that “then lacked the pleasant texture of brick as well as its warm reddish tone which is in harmony with the general color scheme of polychrome wood carvings” (ibid: 37), refers to those Orientalist’s descriptions of “exotic” architecture dealt with in chapter *Early 20th Century Houses in Western Travelogues*. Bernier’s valuation ranks in the list of the romantic descriptions of Europeans who awarded the Kathmandu Valley and the Newars a static visual culture. It exemplifies the lack of qualified art historical contributions to the history of Nepal that prevailed until recently.

12. VISUALISATION OF TRANSCULTURE IN NEPAL

12.1 Multiple Meanings: Symbols, Ornaments and Decoration in a Transcultural Context

Recent analyses of art history come to the conclusion that objects of art and architecture have a spatiotemporal history and that identities as represented in architectural form can only be understood contextually (King 2008: 221). In his essay *Is a Truly Global Art History Possible?*, the art historian Ladislav Kesner (2007) suggests that art objects may be taken as “potential guides to other worlds, to other human choices and possibilities” (Kesner 2007: 100) since the contemporary viewer of art and architecture at any place (even if it is considered one’s “own”) can never hope to attain cognitively the same viewing habits the “original” audiences had when such art objects entered their consciousness. Following this logic Kesner promotes the analysis of the specifics of art. He comes to the conclusion that a truly global art history “would have to insist on granting all objects the spatiotemporal particularity of the specific past from which they have come to us” (ibid: 100) instead of subsuming pieces of art and architecture under essentialist, nationalist, or linguistic categories which in the case of my work would be “European” or “Nepalese”. In regard to the definition of “local and specific spatiotemporal horizons for the production, use, and knowledge of art” (ibid: 100), Kesner’s conclusion remains largely hypothetical. The viewer of art and architecture should in any case be aware that cultural constructs ought to be defined precisely by the demonstrable differences and similarities in their artefacts and images, and by the ways those objects are distributed and worked.

In this consideration, the conception of ornament also has a spatiotemporal history (Irmischer 2005: 10). Furthermore, there is a crucial difference between what is called an “ornament” and “symbol”. While a symbol communicates a meaning to the viewer by definition, an ornament is known as anything decorative – with, or without a meaning. Different people may interpret an ornament in diverse ways. An ornament, for example, may be perceived differently by people with differing cultural backgrounds. Thus, one has to pay special attention to the embellished medium, its place or historic site, and time: What seems to be a meaningless ornamental part of a façade on a Buddhist or Hindu building or object to a European, in fact may turn out as a mantra necessary for evoking a deity or even considered to be a deity. While presently in Europe, a window is not regarded as an ornament anymore – in contrast to the view of Renaissance

builders – a Newar window on historic houses is not only an opening in the wall to let little light and air through, but there are different levels of interpretation of a Newar window. Its decoration is more than the mere abundance of form (chapter *The Symbolic Form of the Lattice Window*). The iconographic programmes, such as the sacred pot (*purṇakalāśa*), dragons (*malah*), peacocks (*mhaykhā*), *apsaras* and snakes (*nāga*), function as signs of water, fertility and affluence. Aiming to write about the history of ornaments, for example the “European” or “Nepalese” ornament, one therefore has to decide on the spatiotemporal setting of the ornamental topic. Furthermore, by focussing on multiple stages of the production of images, dichotomies, for example between Orient and Occident or “self” and “other”, may be resolved. From the perspective of art history, this sensibility may lead to a sophisticated appreciation of art: It encourages the viewer to regard certain images and forms as elements of “own” and “other” that are mediated in a process of cultural encounters. The message communicated may differ depending on the cultural background of the viewer, artist or craftsman (Juneja 2008: 190f.). Jyoti Hosagrahar (2005: 7) states for the modern Indian architectural design that “Viewed in isolation, a form may appear to have persisted on the basis of local knowledge and timeless traditions, or it may mimic the recognizable forms that some [western people; K.W.] have proclaimed as the original ‘moderns’. In the altered context, familiar forms acquire new uses and meanings and strange elements are incorporated into familiar arrangements.” In modern Kathmandu Valley, like in all cultures, there is an obvious conflict between the *antiqui* and *moderni*, between the remodelling of indigenous motifs and the innovation of new forms, which in the context of this study also emerge as imitations or interpretations of European ornaments.

12.1.1 A Brief History of the Ornament in Europe

The history of the ornament in Europe is often described as the history of adequacy (*decorum*), which asked for suitable decorative features for objects and surfaces. The Greek word *kosmos* (κόσμος) has the primary meaning of “order”, be it the due order or arrangement of things, or the world-order. Secondarily, it stands for the “ornament” of women, men, horses or speech. The corresponding word *κόσμοποιήσις* has the meaning of the architectural ornament and represents our designation of the classical “orders”, such as Ionic, Doric, Corinthian (Coomaraswamy 1995: 59). In English, the words “ornament” and “decoration” primarily describe the archaic understanding that is the

furnishing and providing with “useful accessory” and only secondarily an embellishment, “something that lends grace or beauty”, or “a manner or quality that adorns” (Webster).

The quintessence of Vitruv’s *Ten books on architecture* lays in the exemplification of numerous aspects of architecture, the detailed prescription of the four “types” of columns (*genus, genera*) Doric, Ionic, Tuscan and Corinthian and their ornaments that is the adequacy (*decorum*) of their applications – explanations that all followed antique architectural rules. In classical and Vitruvian architecture, structural shape and building types were assigned semantic qualities in a system of rules (*decorum*). Architecture was credited with the ability to convey a meaning through its symbols. Equally, the disposition of a building, its order and the single forms, including the ornaments, operated together. The aesthetical norms of the architecture of the Antiquity and Renaissance were based on the Vitruvian triad, the conventions of firmness (*firmitas*), utility (*utilitas*), and beauty (*venustas*). Architecture not only reflected the requirement and the status of the owner, but with its specific design elements also conveyed a complex non-architectural programme to the viewer (Hesse 1998: 235).²⁰²

The ornament was subordinate to a style or fashion. Since the 16th century the French theory of architecture followed the Vitruvian tradition, which regarded architecture as a divine or mythical matter.²⁰³ From the 16th to the 19th centuries, the exegesis of Vitruv’s work changed due to different temporal and local rhetoric.²⁰⁴ Sebastiano Serlio, a Bolognese architect, devised the term “Composite” for the additional variant on the Corinthian order. In 1537 he devoted the fourth of his seven books (*Sette Libri d’Architettura*) to the orders, fixing a canonic set of five orders after antique models (fig. 225), using ancient ornaments and adornments of structural elements. Architects not only reverted to the classical orders, but also to classical decorative forms in Renaissance, Mannerism, Baroque, Rococo and neoclassicism. There are ornaments that act as the leitmotif throughout these different periods and architectural styles (even

²⁰² The architectural historian Joseph Rykwert traces the persistent analogy between columns and buildings and the human body in his work *The Dancing Column* (1996). The body/column metaphor is as old as architectural thought, and is referred to in the works of Vitruvius, Alberti, and many later writers. It is traced in archaeological material from Egypt, Asia Minor, and the Levant, as well as from Greece. Rykwert re-examines its significance for the formation of any theoretical view of architecture, including the notions of a set number and a proportional as well as an ornamental rule of the orders. He points out the theological-philosophical *interpretatio Christiana* of Antiquity on which the domination of the orders relied and deals with the astrological and geometrical canon of the human figure. Rykwert devotes a chapter to gender and column and traces the body as a constantly refashioned cultural product.

²⁰³ Cf. to Vitruv’s first book where the author assigns structural shape to the divine pantheon.

²⁰⁴ Cf. Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472), Sebastiano Serlio (1475-1554), Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola (1507-1573), or Michelangelo (1475-1564).

though every epoch invented some improvements): vegetal forms, i.e. the acanthus, garlands and festoons, arabesques, flowers, rosettes and fruits; animals and mythical animals such as lions, birds, shells, dolphins, centaurs or aquatic monsters; human heads on capitals or in tondi, winged putti and cupids; artefacts such as vases, ribbons or heraldic emblems and cartouches.²⁰⁵

The meaning of and need for the ornament has nowhere else been discussed more extensively than in Europe during the long period between the age of the Enlightenment and the early 20th century. Since the middle of the 18th century, art and architecture dealt with new themes and design requirements while experimenting with the relation of form to subject matter. Theory and practice of late 18th century neoclassical architecture involve the disbandment of the “classical” or Vitruvian concept and the loss of the common meaning of structural shape and building type. After the middle of the 18th century, the neoclassical architecture renounces the classical rhetorical qualities. The French revolution put an end to the strictly hierarchically structured corporative state and resulted in a loss of the classical conventions in architecture. The design of buildings gained in importance, and the structural shape as a symbol became less important. The adequacy (*decorum*) of ornaments that previously followed the hierarchy of architecture dependent on the sacral, public, or private (urban or rural) context, the classical orders, the social status of the owner (king, nobility), etc. was abandoned. The ornament became an arbitrary application.

During industrialisation that characterised the last third of the 18th century in Europe, the contemporary theorist’s and architect’s awareness of art, previously based on the tradition of the classical period, changed in favour of foreign architectural styles due to the experiences of colonisation. In the course of the 19th century, the machine-made ornament was often reproduced as pure adornment and a “mere” addition to the object and in the eyes of critics it turned to be a superfluous and illegitimate decoration, indicating the loss of former meanings (see chapter *It is by no means easy to copy; easy by no means is it to design*).

²⁰⁵ Pereira (2005: 70, 80, 86, 93ff.) deals with the recourse of decorative forms in the history of European architecture to implicate the leitmotifs in the neo-Roman architecture of India.

12.1.2 Original Conception and Contemporary Understanding of *alamkāra* in the Indian Arts

In examining Indian art and architecture, special attention should be paid to the notion of the “decorative” because misconceptions occur in the Indian art studies: “While in literary criticism, the word *alamkāra* [“ornament”; K. W.] is understood in its primary meaning within the Indian tradition, in the field of the visual arts, architecture, and sculpture, there is an unfortunate transference of the nuances of the English word “decorative”, which denotes little of the conception of *alamkāra*” (Meister 1995: xxi).

Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy (1877-1947) was a pioneering historian and philosopher of Indian art. He made important contributions to Indian art history and symbolism, and was an early interpreter of Indian culture to the West. Based on Coomaraswamy’s essay on the *Ornament* (1939), the attempt is made here to give consideration to a critical vocabulary of Indian and Nepalese art. The knowledge of the etymological origin, use and meaning of the Sanskrit word *alamkāra* is still important with regard to the adornment of the relatively modern Nepalese architecture of the early 20th century houses.

As Coomaraswamy points out, there is an undeniable modern preoccupation with the notion of the “decorative”, the “aesthetic” aspects of art, which presents an idea far from the original purposes of “ornament” (Coomaraswamy 1995: 55). More precisely, former expressions used to characterise the notion of ornamentation and decoration are dualistic to the modern usage of the latter, which often “import an aesthetic value added to things of which the said ‘decoration’ is not an essential or necessary part” (ibid: 55).

The word *alamkāra* can be translated as “ornament” either in the context of the rhetorical use of ornaments as figures of speech or assonance as well as to jewellery and trappings. For a rhetorician, being provided with necessities, more precisely with words and arguments (*ornatus*), was the most important means of his speech. The word *alam-kṛ* is composed of “*alam*” meaning “sufficient” or “enough”, and “*kṛ*”, “to make”.²⁰⁶ The word *bhṛ*, “to bear, bring, support”, serves as the root of another Sanskrit word *ābharaṇa*, with a self-referent *ā*, meaning “towards”. Even though *ābharaṇa* is generally rendered by “ornament”, more literally it comes closer to “assumption” and “attribute” (ibid: 57). Coomaraswamy illustrates that

In this sense the characteristic weapons or other objects held by a deity, or worn, are his proper attributes, *ābharaṇam*, by which his mode of operation is denoted

²⁰⁶ Also cf. to the meanings of the words *bhūṣaṇa* and *bhūṣ* (Coomaraswamy 1995: 56).

iconographically. [...] *āhārya*, from *hr*, to 'bring', with *ā* as before, means in the first place that which is 'to be eaten', i.e., nourishment, and second, the costume and jewels of an actor, regarded as one of the four factors of dramatic expression; in the latter sense the sun and moon are called the *āhārya* of Śiva when he manifests himself on the world stage [...] (ibid: 57).

But *ābharāṇa* in other contexts is also "jewellery" and decoration of persons. Coomaraswamy summarises that traditionally the utility of an artefact had never been only of functional aspects, but in every work of art "the simultaneous satisfaction (*alaṃkāraṇa*) of practical and spiritual requirements" can be recognised (ibid: 58). These derivations, European and Indian, reflect the universal connection between a former and original "order", "significance", "function" or a "proper equipment in the sense of a completion" (ibid: 60) and a later modern view of art and ornament for aesthetic reasons alone.

The *svastika* symbol may serve as an example of a universal pattern and *decorum* with multiple meanings and for the dynamics of transcultural flows in art and architecture: Before the *svastika* motif was taken as the symbol of Nazism²⁰⁷, thus banned in Germany today and still closely associated with Nazism in the western world, it was once commonly used almost all over the world without stigma. The sun-symbol (*svastika*) is commonly used in Nepalese Hinduism and Buddhism and elsewhere in South Asia. The word "*svastika*" is derived from the Sankrit word "*svastik*", meaning any auspicious object. The word is composed of "su-", meaning "good, well" and "asti", a verbal abstract to the root "as", "to be". "Svasti" thus means "well-being" and the suffix "-ka" intensifies the verbal meaning or confers the sense of "beneficial". It may be translated literally as "that which is necessary for well-being", thus expressing its function and meaning as a proper equipment or mark made on persons and things to denote good luck. It acts as an inviting symbol on houses (fig. 442) and is also interpreted as the symbol for fertility and longevity. There are different meanings depending whether it is used in Buddhism or Hinduism. Whereas in Hinduism the *svastika* may symbolise the Vedic fire god Agni and may be associated with the Hindu trinity Brahma, Śiva und Viṣṇu, in Buddhism it may represent Gautama Buddha.

As an ancient Greek symbol the *svastika*, or *gammadion* (Greek key), was associated with good fortune, eternity and the sun. It is found in ancient meander friezes. Being a

²⁰⁷ In 1920 it became the symbol of the NSDAP and in 1935 it decorated the flag of Nazi Germany.

characteristic of classical architecture, it had been copied since Antiquity and became a meaningless ornament to neoclassical buildings and was often taken up in Newar neoclassicism in a similar context (fig. 223, 264, 290, 301). The *svastika* ornament that had been essential to Nepalese culture thus was adopted as an architectural detail of the West in a circular flow. The terms “decoration”, “ornament”, and “alamkāra” originally arose from a definite concept, even if they became an “empty slogan as the result of fashion or repetition” (Kristeller 1943: 286). In the course of my analysis I will take these aspects into consideration.

12.2 Mediating between Globally Meandering Flows of Ornaments in Nepal

Neoclassical idioms were incorporated into the Newar building style and some of them were altogether new, previously unfamiliar in Nepalese architecture. Certain ornamental leitmotifs in Western art, however, also are components of Newar design and Buddhist and Hindu iconography, e.g. vegetal forms (garlands or festoons), human heads on capitals or in tondi (fig. 274), animals and mythical animals (lion, peacock or dragon), (winged) putti or artefacts such as vases (fig. 11, 12).

In her book *The Pictorial Tile Cycle of Hašt Behešt in Iṣfahān and its Iconographic Tradition* (1978), the archaeologist Ingeborg Luschey-Schmeisser detects the motifs of the lion, peacock, winged spirits and dragons, found in the architecture, miniature paintings and drapery in the Greek-Roman and Christian as well as in the Islamic tradition as being major symbols for sovereignty, paradise and protection.

Even though these common motifs were popular in Europe, West Asia and South Asia, that is in the Christian, Islamic, Hindu and Buddhist context, their representation and specific meaning differed depending on the place where they occurred. The above-mentioned motifs also achieved canonic status in the Newar neoclassical style, suggesting the intermingling of Newar indigenous and European neoclassical idioms, in particular; in many cases the motifs were reworked and their final shape visualised their hybridisation.

In the case of early 20th century residential architecture of the Newars, some ambiguity about the ornament created by the intermingling of Newar indigenous and neoclassical idioms and the mimesis of Western forms thus creates an ambiguity about the origin of the motifs. In addition, the appropriation of alien ways of depicting familiar motifs, but also the usage of unfamiliar motifs and symbols through mimesis,

may produce multiple meanings. This report examines if certain decorations of the Newar neoclassical style in the Kathmandu Valley represent local ornamentation essential to the (religious) spirit and nature of a house²⁰⁸ or if they carry an inherent European symbolism. Another possibility suggests their incorporation into the Newar vernacular as “mere” ornaments with multiple meanings that could be omitted or added to the façade at the taste of the builder.

In any case, the following chapters do not aim to explain the neoclassical Newar architecture by an assumption of merely European and aesthetic purposes. Instead, the sources and transcultural flows that led to the appropriation of European patterns in modern Newar architecture are focused on. According to Lang, Desai and Desai (1997: 6), “Designing purposefully to communicate specific symbolic meanings is a complex task. It is even more difficult if one seeks to do so in a new way. It is difficult to think of any architectural expression as something completely novel, a total break from any precedent”. In this regard it must be taken under consideration that in the history of Nepalese art certain ornaments adopted multiple meanings or lost their original meaning while being hybridised. Newar artisans, visualising their idea of early 20th century architecture, favoured certain motifs over others if they could easily translate and remodel what was familiar from the local background into similar, yet reworked, neoclassical forms. This dialogue between European and Nepalese representational modi is driven by an affinity to both a universal grammar and indigenous idioms while the two are not mutually exclusive.

12.3 The Classical Orders

The portico, based on the Greek peristyle, its classical orders with colossal, freestanding columns and a grand gable is the most dominant element of the Rana palaces.

From the European Renaissance to the end of the 18th century – when there was a loss of the classical conventions in neoclassical architecture and the design of buildings gained in importance in contrast to the structural shape as a symbol – special features of a façade pattern were reserved for royal architecture only. A façade scheme with a fundament, and columns in the colossal orders based on the antique temple structure

²⁰⁸ Certain elements represent local symbols that had been familiar to the Newar architecture and express a religious necessity and completion to the house they decorate. Yet, for the Newar Buddhists, a piece of art that is a Buddhist image should not be considered merely a symbolic representation of an ultimate religious truth. While embodying the form of the Buddha or a deity, their presence is also conveyed in its own right (Gyatso 2006: 141).

were the decisive motif of and a symbol for the monarch since Bramante's and Raffael's plans for Italian *palazzi* (Hesse 1998: 237).

The corpus of an order consisted of a pedestal with a base and abacus, the column with a base, shaft and capital, and the entablature with an epistyle, frieze and cornice. The word "order" (*ordo*) was previously used quite generally in regard to architecture, e.g. by Leon Battista Alberti (1450) who describes a "row of columns", a "layer of stones or brick". In Serlio's work (*Sette Libri d'Architettura*), the five orders were canonised for the first time and the term "order" was applied to the proportions and decorations of the columns Tuscan, Ionic, Doric, Corinthian and Composite (fig. 225) (Rykwert 1996: 4). But in the course of the following centuries, these orders were modified. Columns and entablatures were adorned by new ornaments with no reference to the Antiquity.

The Ranas adopted a classical adequacy (*decorum*) in their neoclassical palaces of the late 19th and early 20th century palaces: In Nepal too, the colossal freestanding column was reserved for royal and noble architecture. It is not found at any of the numerous temples and shrines or Newar houses of that period in Patan or Bhaktapur – in contrast to some noblemen's residences in Kathmandu or Calcuttan residences built in the first half of the 20th century in the colonial vernacular style. Even if it is doubtful whether a mythological reference to the European tradition may have been ascribed to the specific design of the Nepalese neoclassical palaces, it is not impossible (see chapter *The Ionic Order*).

The framing of the Newar residential façade by half-columns and pilasters is a western form language that belongs to the most significant innovations in Nepalese vernacular architecture of the early 20th century. This development can indeed be described as a Nepalese *stylophilia*, an almost compulsive love for half-columns and pilasters. They are interpretations of the classical orders – Tuscan and Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, and Composite – the essences or stereotypes that are incorporated into the Newar façades where they are presented as autonomous design ideas, not subjected to the classical conventions. In many cases the pilasters are embellished by fancy décor (fig. 307, 308, 352, 360) or margents of husks, neoclassical ornaments in the form of wheat-ears or bell-flowers that often diminish in size towards the bottom.

12.3.1 The Tuscan and Doric Orders

In the Kathmandu Valley, the Tuscan and Doric capitals are not as common as the Corinthian, Composite and Ionic capitals. In Nepalese neoclassicism there is a loss of the classical conventions of the Tuscan and Doric orders, both in design and semantics. The Tuscan capital replaces the classical Tuscan order and so does the Doric capital for the Doric order. In Europe the Tuscan order was only defined in the canon of classical architecture by Italian architectural theorists of the 16th century.²⁰⁹ In the Tuscan order, the column had a simple base and the shaft was unruffled, while both capital and entablature were without adornments (fig. 226). A plain astragal ringed the column beneath its plain capital. In its simplicity, it was seen as similar to the Doric order (fig. 227) associated with masculine qualities, and was considered most appropriate in military architecture.

In the Kathmandu Valley the Nepalese interpretation of the classical design is more important than the traditional European alignment of the Tuscan order as being the lowest in the hierarchy of a multi-storey façade structure. It is only the capital which is based on the Tuscan model. It decorates the columns of Rana palaces (fig. 141) and pilasters of Newar façades (fig. 228-230) where it optionally appears on the ground, first or second floor. It is often the sequel to the (embellished) frieze and cornice.

12.3.2 The Ionic Order

In contrast to the Tuscan or Doric order, the Ionic order is more ornate. The capital is characterised by its rolled up cushion-like form that creates the volutes on either side (fig. 231). Bead-and-reel and egg-and-dart patterns further embellish the capital. The Ionic order was borrowed as a significant component for the Rana palaces in the 19th and 20th centuries.

Due to the composition of a plain fundament, the freestanding pairs of colossal Ionic columns, and the horizontal completion of the South façade of the throne hall, Gaddi Baithak (1908) at Hanumān Dhoka in Kathmandu (fig. 164-166) resembles the East façade of the Louvre in Paris. The Louvre was built for Louis XIV during the late 17th century after the design of Claude Perrault, Louis LeVau and Charles Lebrun. The German art historian Michael Hesse finds the key to the interpretation of the Louvre

²⁰⁹ The Italian Sebastiano Serlio describes it in his treatise on architecture (1537 – 51) and it was also delineated by Andrea Palladio.

front in the iconography of a draft²¹⁰ (ca. 1658) for a ceiling painting for the castle Vaux-le-Vicomte by Charles Lebrun (Hesse 1998: 237ff.): It depicts the palace of Apollo, which is presented with pairs of freestanding colossal Ionic columns that stand on a fundament. Ovid, in the very beginning of the second book of his *Metamorphoses*, says about the palace of the sun god: “Regia solis erat sublimibus alta columnis [...]”, “The Sun's bright palace, on high columns rais'd [...]”. A replica of the sun palace, the “regia solis”, was thus made for the sun king Louis XIV in Paris. Since the Ranas, too, considered themselves as “surya vanshi”, as “descendants of the sun god Sūrya”, one may speculate about an actual formal and semantic relation between the “regia solis”, the Louvre and Gaddi Baithak. The façade of Gaddi Baithak, built for Chandra Shamsheer, with its Ionic columns actually comes closer to Lebrun’s design of Apollo’s palace than the Louvre with its Corinthian columns.

The notion of the Ionic order became widely accepted in the ornate but less pompous architecture of the residential buildings in the Kathmandu Valley: There is a loss of the classical conventions of the Ionic order both in design and meaning, e.g. the attribution of female qualities (*gracilitas*).²¹¹ It is only the capital which is based on the Ionic model. Concerning the technical execution, the prototype of the Ionic capital in Nepal, more precisely the volutes, originates in the trimmed brick embellishments on the façades of many brick-lined buildings of the first half of the 20th century. Various options to design the Ionic capital are reflected, the covings being trimmed at both ends of one brick in the case of delicate columns and pilasters (fig. 591) or covings on only one side of a brick, where the capital is build up of multiple bricks (fig. 237, 239). Volute were also attached at the corners of Ionic capitals (fig. 235). The next step in the copying of this European structural part was the plastering of the unrendered model. Various examples testify to the fantasy as well as the perfection of the plasterers of the Kathmandu Valley (fig. 236). Noticeably, often the egg-and-dart was chosen as ornament of the Ionic capital (fig. 232, 233), but there are numerous examples with floral and abstract embellishments, which differ from the classical model (fig. 140, 234, 240).

²¹⁰ Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins.

²¹¹ In his ten books Vitruv (IV 1, 7) compares the Ionic column with the slenderness (*gracilitas*) of the female body.

12.3.3 The Corinthian Order

By far the most popular type of capital in Patan is the acanthus capital based on the Corinthian order. It embellishes the houses with rather simple façades and only scarce decoration as well as the Newar miniature-palaces and some temples. It decorates delicate pillars framing window openings as well as house-framing pilasters. In short, the acanthus motif is closely connected with Newar urban building in the early 20th century which spread the atmosphere of a European city.²¹²

The classical Corinthian capital exists of two rows of acanthus leaves that “grow” back-to-back in staggered disposition (fig. 242). Two small and two larger volutes sprout from the spandrels of the row of the high leaves and bear the abacus. Concerning the invention of the Corinthian capital, Vitruv tells the legend of Callimachus: After the death of a maiden her toys were collected in a basket by her relatives. A brick was put on top of the basket. Since they situated the basket at the place of an acanthus plant, the leaves of the latter encircled the basket. The leaves were stopped by the brick and rolled to the exterior. The image of the basket encircled by acanthus inspired Callimachus to design the Corinthian capital (fig. 241).²¹³

According to the architectural historian Joseph Rykwert (1996: 325), the acanthus appeared in Greek tomb sculpture in stone long before the Corinthian column. Later, there was an adequacy (*decorum*) of the applications of the acanthus in Europe. The acanthus was rarely used on façades during the Renaissance, except on the Corinthian and Composite capital. Yet, as an interior décor in stucco, wood etc., it was used manifold (Irmscher 2005: 90). Due to the legend of Callimachus, the acanthus was linked to virginity and purity since the Middle Ages and as such it was an attribute of the Virgin Mary often found in a sacral context. In a profane context, the classical acanthus ornament was associated with Antiquity and its beauty, and with the Roman Empire. This may be the reason for the global spread of the ornament, particularly during the centuries of colonisation. Since Antiquity the acanthus scroll was sometimes blended with figures (“peopled scrolls”) (fig. 323) and was primarily found on friezes of portals and tombs, in cartouches and on candelabra. Since the Baroque era and with the

²¹² Gérard de Nerval (1808-1855), a French poet who travelled to Egypt and visited the Hosh Al-Basha – Mohamed Ali Pasha’s mausoleum in Cairo (1820) – pictured the tombs with an ‘atmosphere of a city’ because they are decorated by the images of turbans and coronets amid acanthus garlands and poetic verses, cf. Johnston (2006: 32). Cairo was a centre of Classicism, Art Nouveau and Art Déco architecture in Egypt.

²¹³ Günter Irmscher (2005: 83ff.) presents an overview of the history of the acanthus ornament in Europe with special focus on the acanthus scroll. Rykwert (1996: 320f.) interprets the five elements in the story of Callimachus: the virgin girl, death and burial, the offering basket, acanthus, and spring and reflowering.

loss of the *decorum* the acanthus was also intermingled with non-antiquitising or even “exotic” architecture and objects, in Europe and elsewhere, particularly during the 19th century.

Different types of acanthus capitals became fashionable during the first few decades of the 20th century in Nepal. They may differ from the European model and may be divided into different groups: One type of acanthus capital is closely orientated on the classical Corinthian capital, bearing five acanthus leaves, every single one of them being positioned accurately next to each other (fig. 250, 396, 566). The largest group of the Patan acanthus capital family is characterised by three leaves with or without a shaft, the latter sometimes executed as an astragal and/or ending in a bell-like blossom (fig. 247). In some capitals the thistle character of the acanthus is underlined, the leaves acuminate (fig. 546); others are presented with round leaves (fig. 246). Often, their leaf apices are rolled to volutes. Most often the three leaves are connected wave-like at the bottom and sometimes they stand next to each other. The acanthus was also abstracted further so that the leaves are trifoliate (fig. 248, 251) – an ornament that is known in Nepal as *desisvā* motif (see chapter *The Acanthus and its Transformation from a Classical Motif into the “Foreign Flower” (desisvā) in Nepal*). In other cases the leaf in the centre is reduced to small foliage (fig. 252). A subgroup appearing frequently is the one with two acanthus leaves and a flower between the leaves (fig. 249). In still other capitals acanthus leaves are reduced to two specimens (fig. 254). Finally, a group of capitals with only one leaf shows the greatest variety of acanthus interpretations. It reaches from volute capitals with more or less classically designed acanthus to those with trefoils, rather abstracted from what could be described as acanthus.

The intermingling of eastern and western forms is demonstrated in the blend of lotus and acanthus design of some capitals in Patan (fig. 557). While there are only very few capitals where the ornament is closely orientated on lotus design, the majority of capitals with foliage or floral design remains rather indefinite. Fancy leaves decorate many pilasters in Patan, and the other Newar cities originating from acanthus, lotus, palmette or even shell-patterns.

12.3.3.1 The Baluster Column: Its Propagation in the Architecture of the Mughals and in Nepal

The acanthus motif reached South Asia during Antiquity and thus has a long tradition in South Asian art history. Alfred Foucher (1865-1952), a Frenchman, was among the first European scholars who identified distinctive features of Hellenistic art on early Buddhist images. He describes early acanthus depictions on friezes and Indo-Corinthian capitals in Gandhara²¹⁴ (Foucher 1905). Based on my observations, columns with a pot-like base and highly abstracted acanthus design and a straight shaft dating back to the 5th century CE are found in India, e.g. in the Buddhist monastery cave Nr. 6 in Ajanta. As Ebba Koch, a scholar familiar with the art and architecture of the Mughals, demonstrates in her essay on the baluster column, various prototypes of different columns that all combine the idea of a column with a pot-like element at the base are found in the architecture of ancient India and Indo-Islamic buildings, and during the reign of Akbar (1556-1605) and his son Jahangir (1605-27) (Koch 2001: 44ff.). These forms may have prepared the ground for the adoption of the related form of the baluster column. But the Mughal baluster column with a stylised but naturalistic depiction of acanthus leaf had no “real” precedents in the Indo-Islamic architecture. It was not familiar to the Mughals until the 17th century – at least it is not found in their earlier buildings – and the first known examples occur in the Mughal palace architecture (ibid: 50). The acanthus motif was thus propagated through the introduction of the baluster column that was found as a new architectural motif and recurrent theme since the 17th century in the palace architecture of the Mughals, such as Shah Jahan (1628-58) and his successor Aurangzeb, e.g. in Agra, Lahore and Delhi.²¹⁵ In the 18th and 19th centuries it became the predominant columnar form of North and Central India and was used in relief, as a functional architectural form or merely as a decorative feature, for example as an engaged colonnette (Koch 2001: 38).

The first baluster columns in Mughal times consist of four parts: A base, a pot-like element from which a shaft arises, and a capital. A characteristic feature is the eponymous baluster-like shaft. Its belly-formed lower part is found right above the pot. Acanthus ornaments are laid over the seam of the pot or adorn the latter below the seam. Furthermore, they embellish the column’s capital.

²¹⁴ Today, the Gandharan region comprises northwestern Pakistan.

²¹⁵ The acanthus motif was also taken up in the mosque and tomb buildings of the Mughals, i.e. the Qutab Shahi kings in Hyderabad (Aurangzeb’s mosque, 1687) and Aurangabad (Bibi-ka-Maqbara, built for Aurangzeb’s wife Rabia-ud-Daurani in 1679). In Lucknow it is found at many edifices, such as the Bara Imambara, erected between 1784 and 1791.

As Koch reveals, the similarity between the baluster columns of Jahangir's son Shah Jahan and European patterns is stronger than that between the possible prototypes in India (ibid: 50). As a decorative element the baluster column with its acanthus décor – maybe with an Egyptian origin (Papyrus column) – was taken up into the European architectural vocabulary during the Roman Empire. During the 15th and 16th centuries the form was propagated in Northern Italy, Germany, the Netherlands and Spain in both architecture and graphics. The German artist Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528) and his successors made the baluster column one of the most depicted columns in their architectural depictions: The pot-like part of the shaft in general is at the foot of the shaft, which is decorated with acanthus leaves. The capitals are Corinthian or Composite. European, particularly Flemish, graphics such as the *Antwerp Polyglot Bible*²¹⁶ again served as pattern books for Mughal art with its strong ties to Persian art. The Mughal Emperor Humayun (1508-1556) hired Iranian artists and craftsmen for his paintings and book illustrations. Mughal court painting in India was thus dominated by the accepted artistic standards of the Iranian court from the middle of the 16th century onwards. During Akbar, painters were not only recruited from Iran alone, but Indian artists trained in local styles were also present in the imperial workshops as exemplified by Milo Cleveland Beach in his study on *Mughal and Rajput Painting* (1992). Dürer's works were likely to be among the pictorial material that was introduced by Jesuit missions at the court of the Mughals from 1580 onwards (ibid: 51). Since the reign of Akbar in India, European prints were a major vehicle for Western concepts in the art and architecture of the Mughals.

Since Jahangir is known to have been supervising the copying of such European prints, he may be considered as a significant promoter of the Dürer revival of the early 17th century in India. Koch describes the baluster column and other European flower patterns as predominant features that were adapted for the botanical programme of the emperor's palace that was thus transformed into a garden of paradise. She points out the transformation of a literary concept, the eternal garden of the Quran, into an architectural reality with the highest degree of naturalism (ibid: 56). In the context of palace buildings, the author also asks whether the baluster column had a particular meaning in addition to its connotations of paradise. She finds evidence that Jahangir associated himself with European princes regarding his artistic undertakings and that he had the walls of his palaces painted with his portraits and those of European rulers, probably to demonstrate his world-wide connections, but also his status as a "king of the

²¹⁶ Cf. to Koch 2001: Fig 3.20.

world”. According to Koch he had seen the Christian princes presented together with the baluster column on the European prints and may have regarded the baluster column as a symbol of regal power (ibid: 60).

Koch talks about a “confident handling” (ibid: 52) of graphic prototypes such as the baluster column into three-dimensional, functional, architectural elements. However, a “mutual interaction” with indigenous forms can be observed, for example, on columns where the acanthus leaves at the bases of the columns with acanthus capitals were transformed into straight lotus petals (for example at Nagina Masjid, Agra Fort), a pattern that was later copied by British designers in India such as Samuel Swinton Jacob in Jaipur (fig. 256). A similar interaction can be observed on columns where the acanthus leaves at the bases of the columns with acanthus capitals were transformed into overflowing acanthus leaves (Machchhi Bhawan, Agra Fort, before 1637) (fig. 257), the concept being familiar from the motif of the auspicious vase (*puṇḍarikāśa*) used, among other things, for pillar design in Buddhist and Hindu architecture.

Colonnettes embellished by the vase motif with lotus leaves carved into their lower parts are frequently found carved in the doorframes of late 19th and early 20th century houses in the Kathmandu Valley (fig. 260, 261, 579). They might either derive from the *puṇḍarikāśa*-décor of ancient Nepalese pillars (fig. 255) or from the European or Mughal baluster column respectively. The Nepalese *puṇḍarikāśa* column shows characteristics similar to those of the baluster column: it depicts a belly-like vase from which lotus leaves poke out and are laid over the seam of the jar – like an ancient Asian version of the European counterpart. Despite these possible precedents, the colonnettes of Newar doors still have the greatest similarity with those colonnettes in marble, stone or plastered with stucco with pot or vase-like elements and lotus design found in Mughal architecture (fig. 258). I presented the incorporation of indigenous forms into the mimicked European baluster column of the Mughals above. In the end, the Newar early 20th century examples in turn may be local interpretations of Mughal interpretations of European models rather than of ancient Newar columns.

Whereas the baluster column may be regarded as a significant medium for the circulation of the acanthus motif in India, it did not enjoy a comparable popularity in Nepal. However, this does not imply that Newar craftsmen did not know acanthus décor from India. In rare cases the concept of the European or Mughal style baluster columns is found on the houses of the Newars where they frame the façades as half-columns while abdicating the characteristic bulb of the shaft (fig. 431, 577).

12.3.3.2 *The Acanthus: Its Transformation from a Classical Motif into the “Foreign Flower” (desisvā) in Nepal*

The acanthus motif had spread over the Asian continent and was developed during many centuries. By the 18th century it had become a well-known ornament in Indian architecture where it was found at the tombs and palaces of the Mughals, the colonial architecture of the Europeans and on the stucco capitals as well as in murals of private houses of wealthy Indian merchants, and was propagated in Anglo-Indian pattern books (fig. 244). In Nepal, acanthus décor was taken up in the Newar design of late 19th and early 20th century carvings such as pillars (fig. 19), window frames (fig. 53, 54) or wooden apron planks of windows (fig. 59).

Many Indian acanthus examples are characterised by their reduced form. In Nepalese architecture, where the acanthus motif may be abstracted to such an extent that the classical acanthus leaf cannot be recognised anymore at first glance, it is known as *desisvā* motif, the “foreign flower”. The acanthus depictions on friezes and Indo-Corinthian capitals in Gandhara detected by Foucher are quite similar to those of the *desisvā* motif, but are oriented to a greater extent on the Hellenistic form (Foucher 1905: 220, 230 and 237). This modification of Hellenistic acanthus depictions was undertaken early, since the *desisvā* motif is found already in Indian *caitya*-caves of the 3rd century CE. The *desisvā* motif in Nepal is comparable to the highly simplified acanthus décor of Mughal buildings from the 17th century. According to Niels Gutschow (1986: 22), the *desisvā* motif was not found in the Kathmandu Valley until the second half of the 18th century²¹⁷ when it was initially used to embellish pillars. The *desisvā* is also found in Rana architecture, such as on columns in some Rana palaces (fig. 122). It was not until the 19th century that the motif was repeatedly chosen as decorating ornament on cornices (fig. 253), pilasters and half-columns (fig. 577), capitals (fig. 248, 251), windows and doors of common Newar houses.

12.3.4 Composite Capitals with Figures

There are numerous capitals with half-reliefs of angels, female figures, and rather masculine figures in stucco. Like the angel capitals that are presented in the chapter on *Heavenly Women*, the capitals with female busts are characteristic of the neoclassical vernacular style of Patan rather than of the palace architecture of the Ranas. They

²¹⁷ The motif is found in the earliest known *caitya* caves from the time of Asoka in India and in the 18th century it appears more often in the wooden structures of Gujarat (Gutschow 1986: 22).

resemble European Composite capitals with figures of the Roman era found, for example in Herculaneum, of the Renaissance, of the Baroque or of neoclassicism, presenting female heads or busts with foliage and floral ornamentation (fig. 265-267, 271-273, 412, 516, 528). Often they are obvious local responses to their European models, decorated with a mark (*tika*) on the forehead, similarly as the consoles and keystones that are frequently found in the design of female stucco busts on both Newar houses (fig. 269, 292, 304) and Rana architecture, as in Gaddhi Baithak, Kaisher Mahal, or above the gable of the *Vasanta*-pavilion in Kaisher Rana's "Garden of Dreams", built in the 1920s (fig. 152). The models for the appropriated Nepalese figure capitals and figure consoles (fig. 268, 270) were representatives of European design in the remote Kathmandu Valley in the early 20th century and – like the other European style innovations – were most probably copied and interpreted from pattern books.

12.3.5 Brick Capitals

The brick-lined houses in the Kathmandu Valley entail a special kind of negotiating processes of cultural visual aspects of the classical orders, Doric and Ionic: Newar artists interpreted European forms in a variety of ornamental capitals made of layers of bricks. A protruding, worked brick may mark the astragal (fig. 276, 281). Often the astragal is replaced by two symmetrically arranged, cambered bricks decorated with small volutes on each end (fig. 257, 277-280). The capital above this arrangement is made of several layers of brick, which may be the sequel to the pilaster's shaft (fig. 279, 281) or slanting towards the abacus (fig. 280). The multilayered abacus, however, is clearly distinguishable from the capital and may be cambered. It may be made of layers of brick, which are half as thin as the brick used for the façade. Furthermore, its corner bricks are often shaped with raised corners – an essentially Newar feature of any cornice. Sometimes the capital is decorated by brick volutes resembling Ionic capitals (fig. 235, 237, 239, 590). Ornamental hybridisation of classical and Newar design is further represented where traditional patterns like the *kaḥsimvaḥapā*, a brick frieze with flower design (mainly lotus leaf pattern (*palehaḥcā*)) used to decorate the cornices of temples and houses, is interwoven in unrendered brick capitals that resemble Doric capitals (fig. 277).

12.4 Heavenly Women

A prominent example of the adaptation, interpretation and amalgamation of local iconography with western décor is represented by Nepal's half-divinities and angels. These motifs were incorporated into the exterior and interior decoration of the Rana palaces. The stucco figures were finally taken up in the design of many residential façades of the 20th century in the Kathmandu Valley. The main characteristic of the winged figures is their accentuated femininity: They are full bodied and half naked (fig. 287, 290, 292, 293, 301, 326, 398). Often their hair is painted black (fig. 288, 292, 293, 295, 304, 380, 381). They sometimes wear traditional Nepalese jewellery and there are a few examples where a tiny mark (*tika*) decorates the forehead (fig. 292, 304). In contrast to the tradition of the fine arts in the Occident affected by Christianity where angels are mostly depicted as men, maidenly beautiful youngsters, putti-like lads and chubby winged male infants, in Newar architecture mainly female angels – angel women – were favoured.

Compared to Kathmandu and Patan where a great corpus of winged figures is found, they are rarely depicted in Bhaktapur. The close connection of the two cities of Kathmandu and Patan is not only reflected in the quantity but also quality of heavenly women modelled in stucco. In Patan they can be categorised in three main iconographic groups: Angel busts appear on Composite capitals with acanthus décor (fig. 287-292, 301, 326, 398) or above window lintels where they take up the form of a triangle (fig. 293-296, 299, 300, 303, 304 380), thus replacing a gable. In the last category they are arranged in garland-bearing couples above windows while presenting ornate cartouches (fig. 327, 330, 332, 333) (see also chapter *Garland-Bearing Couples*). The latter variant is common in Europe and in the large urban centres of Indian cities, such as Bombay and Calcutta. The motif of the pair of garland-bearing celestial figures, even without any cartouches, is also found on Rana palace architecture, for example on the façade of Baber Mahal Darbār (1913) or inside the Darbār hall of the former palace Agni Bhawan (1894) (fig. 120) of Agni Shamsheer, and on Newar houses (fig. 322). On the gable of the grand palace Ananda Niketan in Patan, erected by Bir Shamsheer Rana for his wife and son Ananda and built by the brothers Kumar and Kishwor Narsingh Rana in 1892, they are depicted literally Nike-like in Greek style and in victorious pose (fig. 116). Even though their depiction is obviously based on European neoclassical décor, they are

unmistakably set in a Nepalese context through a Śrī Yantra²¹⁸ in stucco they present. Seldom do angels decorate keystones in Patan (fig. 306, 309), as above the three oculi of Kaisher Mahal's main front, where little cherubs, winged infants' heads, serve as keystones (fig. 132). The winged angel heads already had become favourites with the Mughal ruler Jahangir in India, where they represented a truly European concept.

To a European recipient, the Nepalese angel-figures doubtlessly look different to those of his or her background. Why were they depicted in this manner? Are they just a result of the imitation of European ornamentation set in a Nepalese context? To find an adequate answer to the question, one has to look closer at the iconography in Nepalese art and architecture: Buddhist and Hindu mythology contain a repertoire of celestial beings that seemingly have certain main attributes in common. This may be the reason for the lacking clarity that prevails in western literature concerning the identification of *kinnaris*, *gandharvas*, *apsaras* and *vidyādhari*s, e.g. in Gösta Liebert's *Iconographic Dictionary of the Indian Religions* (1976), Margaret and James Stutley's *A Dictionary of Hinduism* (1977), or Karel Werner's *Popular Dictionary of Hinduism* (1994). Furthermore, these texts do not rely on Nepalese iconography but provide a quite generalising view on the topic. Having reached the remotest parts of Buddhism in Asia, the early appearance of the figures in Nepal is testified by the reliefs of the still existing Licchavi monuments in Nepal. However, the iconography of the heavenly spirits was changed in the course of the last 1500 years: Newar artists obviously reworked the motifs by adding wings to the figures and assimilated Persian iconography found at Mughal architecture in India.

Since I am not aware of any scholarly examination of the iconography of Nepalese celestial beings, the following investigations are not based on any previous works. According to this, only a basic analysis can be presented while the topic should be investigated in future research. The following aspects should be analysed in particular: the dating of the monument and its iconographic programme, including the personifications of heavenly spirits; the exact localisation of the celestial figures within the architectural context, e.g. in reliefs of blind windows, niches, spandrels of entrances and windows, Newar capitals or *toranas*; the iconography of the motifs with special regard of their attributes. These investigations together with the motif's context within the iconographic programme of a monument could help to find the adequate characterisation of the half-divinities. Their descriptions as *kinnaris*, *gandharvas*,

²¹⁸ A Śrī Yantra is a geometric figure formed by nine interlocking triangles that are interlaced in such a way as to form 43 smaller triangles in a web symbolic of the entire cosmos

apsaras or *vidyādhari*s are hypothetical as will become obvious below. But there are diverse types of figures that are all associated with heaven and water beyond doubt. The analysis could shed light on the chronology of the changes regarding the depiction of the celestial beings. A question of special interest concerns the point in time when the celestial spirits were depicted with wings for the first time, thus coming closer to the Christian angels and winged figures of the Mughal art.

12.4.1 Kinnaris

In Buddhist and Hindu mythology, a *kinnara* is a celestial musician, half-human and half-bird. According to Gösta Liebert (1976), *kinnaras* originally used to be depicted with a human figure and a horse's head. *Kinnaris*, the female counterparts of *kinnaras*, were depicted as half-horse, half-woman creatures in Southeast Asian mythology and art. In Nepal, their head, torso, and arms were most often depicted as those of a woman having wings, tail and feet of a bird since Licchavi times (fig. 316). Some Nepalese carvings, however, exhibit *kinnaris* with the body of a bird and a horse's head, for example at the Indrēśvara Temple (1294) in Panauti. Literally the word "*kinnara*" is translated with "what sort of man?" (Liebert 1976: 137). Gautama V. Vajracharya (2009: 12), a Sanskritist from Kathmandu with a keen interest in South Asian art, states that in illustrated Newar texts a *kinnara* is identified as "*jalamānuṣa*" ("aquatic man"). Due to its association with water, the author assumes that the literal meaning of the word indicates the *kinnara*'s original designation. Regarding the water aspect, the depiction of *kinnaris* and *apsaras* show close parallels that will be discussed below. Like *apsaras*, *kinnaris* are renowned for their dance, song and poetry, and are also a traditional symbol of feminine beauty, grace and accomplishment. Together with *gandharvas*, semi-divine beings and musicians of the gods (Liebert 1976: 89), *kinnaris* form a celestial choir in Kubera's paradise (Stutley 1977: 147). The vagueness concerning the ascription of the demigoddesses is further exemplified by Slusser, who describes winged figures, some with flexed legs instead of a bird tail, also as *kinnaris* (Slusser 1982, II: Fig. 414 and 229). *Kinnaris* are nowhere mentioned as the bearers of garlands, yet it seems that Newar artists reworked the motifs so that figures with a bent leg posture and holding garlands may be identified as *kinnaris*.

The Indian word “*kinnara*” and the Greek word “*kentauros*” (*centaur*) may be of the same origin (Danielou 1991: 307). A reference may be the depiction of heavenly creatures on a façade in the locality of Sālākhā in the Newar town of Sankhu²¹⁹ that presents an iconographic scenario (fig. 334-340). According to the inscription of the house, it is located in *Śrī Sālakhāṭola jhoche naṃ 52*, [Śrī Sālakhā ṭola Jho-chē naṃbara 52], “Blessed Sālakhā locality Jho-house number 52” (fig. 338). Since another house in the Sālākhā locality in Sankhu, house number 524, according to the inscription on its plaque, was built in VS 1980 (1923 CE.) (fig. 508), the house number 52 is thus likely to date back to the first two decades of the 20th century. Its repetitive façade on the first and second floor is given Venetian character by two small balconies with rustic balustrades that frame the three windows in the centre, a disbanded triple window (*sājhyāḥ*). They are carried by plastered consoles that are adorned by two lion heads (fig. 339). The balcony thus is presented as a throne. Caryatides appear as rather inconspicuous details for they seemingly carry the abacus of the capital on the second floor (fig. 340). The walls of the dwarf-storey are decorated with eight stucco relief-plaques that are embedded in the brick wall. Two plaques on each side frame the upright *sājhyāḥ* in the centre of this floor and are embellished by heavenly musicians who play a trumpet. Even though they have a human, if not even female, upper part of the body, two bird’s legs and two arms and an uncommon, curved dragon-like tail and thus may be identified as *kinnaris* (fig. 335), they also resemble the Greek *kentauros* to some extent due to the erectness of their upper parts of the body. The idea of a background is evoked by the small depictions of mountain-scenery on the same plaques that may be interpreted as Mount Kailāsa, where Kubera is said to reside in a palace. The plaques on the next outer wall sections are adorned by griffins that hold a flaming torch (fig. 336), a recurrent motif at early 20th century houses in the Kathmandu Valley, e.g. at a façade alongside the main road at Gabāhā in Patan. The presentation of the plaques’ iconography in Sankhu is completed by a female European-style angel who presents a roll of paper or cloth with acanthus leaf décor (fig. 337). The façade presents a uniquely choreographed interplay of European and Newar ideas that is staged on the representative façade of a Newar house.

²¹⁹ According to the inscription of the house, it is located in *Śrī Sālakhāṭola jhoche naṃ 52*, [Śrī Sālakhā ṭola Jho-chē naṃbara 52], “Blessed Sālakhā locality Jho house number 52”.

12.4.2 Apsaras

As celestial nymphs who dwell in Indra's paradise (*svarga*), *apsaras* have at all times been part of Hindu and Buddhist drama, literary art, music and dance, painting, sculpture and architecture.²²⁰ In the Rigveda, the oldest text of the Veda which was recorded about 1200 B.C, *apsaras* are mentioned as the fellows of *gandharvas*, the personification of the sunlight. Authors consistently possess their own vocabulary in regard to celestial beings: Slusser thus finds another description for *apsaras*, namely "*gandharva-mukhas*" ("wives of the *gandharvas*"). They serve primarily as the motif on doors and windows of Nepalese *caityas* (fig. 310, 311), symbolising the celestial beings' dwelling within the shrine (Slusser 1982, I: 173). Like the *kinnaris* and *vidyādharis*, Nepalese *apsaras* are already found in the repertory of Licchavi architecture (ibid: 183f.).

The first depictions of *apsaras* date back to the Rigveda. The Sanskrit word for *apsara* is "*apsarasa*", being a constituent of the words "*apah*" (water) and "*sarasah*" (reservoir of water). In the Rigveda, the term "*apsara*" was attached to clouds. In the two epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata composed before 400 BC but also in the Puranas, the *apsaras* are described as clouds, too. Especially the Ramayana identifies them both as clouds and water and personifies them as dancing damsels of the heaven (Banerjee 1982: 12).

As already mentioned, the close examination of Nepalese Licchavi, architectural remains reveal close parallels to the Indian architecture of the Gupta period. In India and Nepal, *kinnaris*, *apsaras*, birds, animals and aquatic sea-monsters (*makaras*) are often characterised by a foliated lotus-scroll tail or emerging from a so-called foliage-motif that is described in a Sanskrit text as "*meghapatra*", "cloud foliage", and known to the Newars as "*lapva*", "amniotic water" (Vajracharya 2009: 12). Vajracharya (2003: 44) provides an elaborate investigation of the foliage motif and its association with foliate creatures and celestial water. In statements in Vedic texts he finds evidence for the belief that the torrential rain shower (*bal bal*) is the birth of a divine child (Vajracharya 2009: 6). According to a chapter of astrological texts that deal with "atmospheric gestation", cited by Vajracharya (ibid: 12), once people see various creatures or vegetation in the formation of clouds, this is a symbol for the pregnancy of these clouds, indicating water in the womb of the pregnant clouds (Vajracharya 2003:

²²⁰ Their role is often compared with the one of the Teutonic Valkyries because they take warriors who die in battle to Indra's paradise.

49). In the eyes of Vajracharya, artists expressed this belief by representing various creatures emerging from stylised clouds or cloud foliage. Often, wingless figures are presented against cloud patterns resembling foliage (fig. 310), but particularly in the case of *apsaras* their bent leg postures and floating scarves (fig. 311) suggest that they are airborne (Vajracharya 2003: 46). Artists often created them as charming dancing damsels clothed in gay colours, thus expressing their ideal beauty, or as nymph-like creatures dissolving into nebulous veils.

In other examples, the crest of the cloud may be identified as foliage (*patra*) due to its resemblance to the turn and twist of the lotus foliage motif. In South and Southeast Asian art, the foliage motif is not only employed in the representation of clouds, but also in the depiction of terrestrial water. As Vajracharya (ibid: 48) states, certain astrological texts agree that the celestial waters are full of lotus and populated by aquatic and semi-aquatic creatures, just like the earthly rivers and lakes. This belief is closely related to the iconography of *apsaras*. An *apsara* is often presented intertwined with the foliage motif because “she flies through the celestial water” (ibid: 48). He finds further evidence that the ancient concept of the cloud and water has long remained intact among the artisans of the Kathmandu Valley.

Buddhism adopted the *apsara* nymphs and in the Mahavastu that tells the legendary life of Buddha, they hold garlands of flowers and jewels (Banerjee 1982: 11). This tradition has lasted until today. Not only do they adorn Indian religious art and architecture – their origin – but became a widespread motif in many Buddhist and Hindu contexts in Asia. Originating in early Indian myths and art, they were also a popular motif in the Buddhist wall paintings of the period of the Northern dynasties (6th century CE.) in Dunhuang, China. In the mythology of the Khmer in Cambodia during the time of the ancient Kingdom, Kambuja *apsaras* were also venerated: In the former capital Angkor Wat founded in the early 12th century, depictions of the celestial beings were carved into the temples’ stone walls. There is a continuous depiction of *apsaras* in a religious context which is last but not least demonstrated in the stone brackets of Indian *sikhara* temples from the middle of the 19th century. In the middle of the 1980s a window in the Indira Gandhi International Airport in Delhi was painted with *apsaras*, in the manner of Art Deco-style.

In later legends, personification gradually increased and the original meaning of the *apsara* as clouds was lost. The cloud concept that helps identifying the origin and local context of the motif of wingless (and later winged) heavenly women on older buildings is thus rarely realised on early 20th century façades (fig. 291-292). This fact could either

imply that the cloud-foliage motif was simply neglected by the stucco plasterer or that the figures in general neither symbolise *kinnaris*, nor *apsaras* or *vidyādhari*s, but are pastiches of Western angel décor. Since garlands may be attributes of *apsaras* who may be depicted winged and in couples, there are close parallels to the neoclassical images at the houses of the Newars. I will further develop this aspect below.

Nowadays, Newar block prints which present depictions of snakes (*nāga*) and above them a pair of garland-bearing *apsaras* are often found glued onto the façades of residences. The image is believed to propitiate the snakes of the earth after the farmers have prepared the separation of the rice seedlings. In this ritual context, the *apsaras* ensure fertility (see chapter *Edificial Inscriptions – Inscriptions in Cartouches*).

12.4.3 Vidyādhari

Buddhists and Hindus not only share the iconography of *apsaras* and *kinnaris*, but also the flying, garland-bearing *vidyādharas* and their female counterpart, *vidyādhari*s. The motif of the *vidyādhari* was favoured in Nepal in Licchavi and Malla architecture, where it embellished carvings in timber and stone, for example ancient *caityas* and *bāhās*. As Stutley points out, *vidyādhari*s appear on early Indian Buddhist monuments of Bhārhut, Sāñcī, Amarāvātī and also in the Jain caves of Udayagiri (Stutley 1977: 332) and at other places such as Ajanta and Ellora in India. Already in ancient and medieval Indian art, *vidyādhari*s are often depicted as couples next to the principal deity. “There are usually two main types: one, a hybrid form with the upper half of the body in human form, the lower half bird-like; the other a complete human form. [...] In late Gupta art and in most medieval reliefs, the legs are flexed backwards from the knees”, (Stutley 1977: 332). The winged figure described by Stutley exactly fits Liebert’s definition of a *kinnari*. It would go beyond the scope of this work to figure out if these stylistic parallels are based on a general misunderstanding in regard to the denomination of celestial beings or if the diverse characters were depicted in a similar manner, indeed. Clearer results could be achieved by the denomination of celestial beings in reference to the iconographic programme of a building that means by asking which deity they attend. As “bearers-of-wisdom” (Liebert 1976: 336), *vidyādhari*s possess magical knowledge. The mythical beings’ attributes are jewels (*ratna*) and forest-garlands (*vanamālā*) made of flowers which are worn on the body or carried in one hand symbolising victory. Sometimes the “beneficent aerial spirits of great beauty”

(Stutley 1977: 332) also carry swords representing the wisdom (*vidyā*) which cuts through ignorance (*a-vidyā*).

In contrast to *kinnaris* and *apsaras*, *vidyādharis* are said to be wingless (Werner 1994: 172). There is, however, reason to believe that *vidyādharis* were at some point in Nepalese history provided with wings by Newar carvers, maybe since the middle of the 17th century or in the early 18th century. At the eastern wing of Sundari Cok (1647) in Patan, e.g. the cantilevers of the Newar capitals of the timber colonnade that opens up the ground floor, which turns toward the courtyard with a row of wooden columns, exhibit rather weathered winged figures with a hat (fig. 312). One example holds a club-like object in the right hand of its sprawled arm and a stylised blossom in the other hand. The lower part of the body is not identifiable any more, but the figure's depiction as a protector leads to the assumption that it represents a *vidyādhara*.

12.4.4 Angels, Kinnaris, Apsaras, Vidyādharis or Pāris? – Challenges in Iconographic Assigning

Throughout all cultures and centuries, the meaning and function of angels and similar heavenly beings did not change markedly. They are in general well tempered and appear as the attendants of certain gods. Their help is invoked where protection is needed. At the beginning of this chapter I raised the question about the origin of the celestial beings presented as motifs at early 20th century façades in the Kathmandu Valley. An iconographic specification within the group of mythical celestial beings proves to be rather difficult because of the interference of attributes such as the cloud-foliage motif, garlands, wings and postures of *kinnaris*, *apsaras*, or *vidyādharis*. Their descriptions referring to these attributes found in the pertinent dictionaries of Hindu and Buddhist iconography rather seem to be imprecise if not arbitrary. Yet between the winged figures that qualify as *kinnaris*, *apsaras*, or *vidyādharis* and the occidental angels there is doubtlessly an iconographic kinship. The physical interrelation between European angels and Newar winged spirits is best understood in the fairy-like beings, who frame several cartouches in Patan, be they *kinnaris*, *apsaras*, or *vidyādharis* or imitations or interpretations of European design that depicts chubby winged putti with bent leg postures and garlands.

Pairs of angels as exterior and interior architectural sculptures and half-reliefs, mostly at spandrels, are frequently found at Renaissance, Baroque and neoclassical buildings

and in European pattern books (fig. 323, 324). But at this point the question that deals with the date of occurrence of the first winged spirits in Nepal must be taken up again.

Mary Slusser (1982, II: fig. 383) published a photograph of the Viṣṇu-maṇḍala²²¹, a painting on cloth that was commissioned by King Jitāmitramalla of Bhaktapur in 1681. It was painted to commemorate a particular celebration of the sacred Vaiṣṇava rite, the Lord of the Serpent Vow (*ananta vrata*), in order to please the goddess Taleju (ibid, I: 205). The Supreme Viṣṇu with Lakṣmī and Garuḍa are placed in the centre of the polychrome banner painting, flanked by symbols, numerous divinities and Viṣṇu's own emanatory forms. His ten incarnations provide the theme of the top register, whereas the royal worshipers, Prince Bhūpatīndramalla, King Jitāmitramalla and his brother Ugramalla, and the Prime Minister Pradhānāṅga Bhāgirāma are found at the bottom. Most important in regard to the question I raised above is the fact that a pair of winged spirits with long garments and cone-shaped hats fly in the suggested sky. They may range among the first winged celestial beings dating from Malla time in Nepal.

The Siddhilakṣmī Temple (late 17th century) in Darbār Square in Bhaktapur exhibits the personification of winged spirits, moulded after the Persian *pāri*-type wearing long robes with pleated skirts and a *kurtī*-like, tight-fitting jacket and a cylindrical helmet-like hat.

Another painted example is found in the Hindu sanctuary Kvathu Maṭh (1748) in Bhaktapur (see chapter *The Changing Faces of Newar Façades*) that is provided with a small room which is one of the very few painted interiors from the late Malla period that still exist today. It was originally used as a reception room. The murals depict episodes from the story of Kṛṣṇa and other Hindu themes. Details of the wall paintings present winged celestial spirits depicted in the Rajput style (fig. 313). They are depicted in a lunge position, hold lotus flowers in each hand and ride on stylised Chinese clouds. Furthermore, they wear red or black tops, red skirt-like garments and red hats that resemble the Ottoman fez.²²²

Luschey-Schmeisser (1978: 47ff.) traces the flow of the winged angel motif from west to east. She establishes a “line of ancestors” for the winged spirits, the leading pictorial subjects in size and position of Hašt Behešt, the “eight paradises” built by Shāh

²²¹ The Viṣṇu-maṇḍala is held at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

²²² Winged spirits, *pāris*, in Muslim-looking costumes are frequently found in Indian miniature paintings, as for instance in a painting titled “The Angels Bring Food to Sultan Ibrahim Adham” published by William George Archer in his collected essays *Indian painting in the Punjabi Hills* (1952) and in *Indian Art Treasures* (2006) edited by R. C. Sharma, Kamal Giri and Anjan Chakraverty.

Sulaymān around 1670 in Iṣfahān. The depiction of Genii facing each other in the triumphal arch of the sovereign and flying towards an imaginary centre was a prominent feature, a “firmly established type of the Victories” (ibid: 48), in the Roman Empire where they eternalised the victory.²²³ She explains the transformation of Nike, the victory, into the Christian angel type which is continued in the Roman formation of winged beings facing each other, in Byzantine art, in particular. Considering the pictorial tradition in Southwest Asia it is only in Sasanian monumental art that the Roman theme of two figures is consciously resumed on the Ṭāq-i-Būstān – a series of large rock relief from the era of Sasanian dynasty of Persia in western Iran – during the time of Kushrau II (591-628).

These Genii embody as their ancestors Nike, Victory and angels; they carry in their hands the wreath of sovereignty and a grooved bowl with pearls as a visible sign of investiture with sovereignty and wealth and are thus more closely connected with the heathen Roman symbol of power than with the Christian symbol of salvation. The Sasanian architect found an abundant tradition and chose what suited him best (ibid: 49).

Luschey-Schmeisser compares two monumental Genii of the south side of Hašt Behešt with those of Ṭāq-i-Būstān and the Roman triumphal arches, intended to bring heavenly fortune to the ruler sitting inside the palace (ibid:16).

Notably, Christian and Islamic subjects such as angels have been incorporated into the miniature paintings and architectural decoration on the walls of secular buildings, particularly palaces, of the Mughals since the late 16th century where the European forms “were given the liberty to escape from their original context in order to express a concept deeply rooted in the Islamic tradition of rulership” (Koch 2001: 15). In an essay on *Jahangir and the Angels* (2001) that was first published in 1983, Koch presents the interplay of different types of angels painted on the vault of the residential tower called Kala Burj of the Fort of Lahore²²⁴ around 1611 or even slightly earlier. She finds evidence for Iranian-Mughal angel depictions dressed in floating garments and also

²²³ “The Victory, Nike, that had become personified, stands at the beginning of the symbolization of the idea, though it does not undergo a hieratic duplication in the Greek world, as in the ancient East, that preferred it with winged male Genii of fertility as the symbol of power. Only in Roman art did this strict systematic principle come about, which in the field of art was not used in the Greek period”, Luschey Schmeisser (1978: 48).

²²⁴ Lahore, the capital of the Pakistani province of Punjab, reached a peak of architectural glory during the rule of the Mughals. From 1524 to 1752, Lahore was part of the Mughal Empire, and from 1584 to 1598, under Akbar and Jahangir, the city served as its capital.

traces the iconography of some winged figures back to the European, boyish, half-nude and chubby putto image with bent legs (ibid: 20f.). The author points out a characteristic of Mughal rulers to visualise literary concepts. Jahangir and other Mughal rulers, for instance, compared themselves with Solomon. This self-comparison leads her to the assumption that the angels belong to the traditional stock of images used to depict the archetypal ruler Sulayman bin Dawud's (Solomon) flying retinue. However, they were depicted by means of European composition and Christian allegories. At the same time, the European forms underwent a "Mughalization" (ibid: 21) while Mughal forms were realised with European stylistic techniques. One angel type is even called "Hindu-angel" (ibid: 27) by Koch since, despite his chubby European-style legs, the dark colour of his skin resembles Persian miniatures from the 14th century and later that always presented Indians as blackish in colour (ibid: 27, note 40).

Koch's examples demonstrate the appropriation, reworking and assimilation of European and Christian concepts and prototypes within Mughal taste and symbolic function that show parallels to the negotiation processes between cultural traditions of visual representation – Newar, Mughal and European – in the Kathmandu Valley. The development from wingless to winged celestial beings in the iconography of Newar paintings either representing *kinnaris*, *apsaras* or *vidyādhari*s may be assumed to have started in the late 17th century. Instead of drawing from the Indian repertoire of European yet mughalised putti-like angel figures created under the Mughal rulers, the Newar craftsmen of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries orientated the depiction of their half-divinities closely on the Persian *pāri*-type.

In the middle of the 18th century and in the 19th century, winged, garland-holding figures are frequently found on reliefs in architecture, mostly on cantilevers of capitals (fig. 312), wooden spandrels (fig. 315, 317) or *toraṇas* (fig. 314). Since that time they represent an essential part of the local iconography. They were depicted in the same Muslim-style as the celestial beings of the listed Newar paintings and temple architecture of the 17th and 18th century – with cylindrical helmet-like or crown-like hats either with a bent leg posture or wearing long robes with pleated skirts and a *kurtī*-like, tight-fitting jacket that opens in the front. The latter version reveals close parallels to the "Iranian angel type" or "Solomonic angel" as Ebba Koch (2001: 33) describes the winged spirits (*pāri*) with crown-like caps and long, floating garments on the tile decoration of the outer wall of the Fort of Lahore in India that was completed by the Mughal ruler Akbar around 1580 and altered during the rule of Jahangir (1605-27) and Shah Jahan (1627-58). The tile decoration may date from the late period of Jahangir's

rule or the beginning of Shah Jahan's rule. The stylistic parallels between the Nepalese winged figures and those of Persian origin substantiate suspicion that the Newar painters and woodcarvers were aware of the Mughal angels in India and that these spirits were assimilated in the Nepalese programme. They in turn prepared the ground for the European-style fairies and angels.

It was not before the late 19th century that winged fairy-like figures with garlands in a truly European style appeared at Rana palaces and that they were thus exhibited out of their traditional architectural and iconographical context on *caityas*, blind windows, spandrels (fig. 317), late 19th century apron planks (fig. 318, 319) or *toranas*. They were for the first time moulded in stucco instead of being carved in stone or wood. In the course of the great rebuilding of the Newar cities after 1934, mainly in the 1940s, the heavenly women enjoyed great popularity.

It is difficult to figure out which half-divinity or angel of the Buddhist, Hindu or Christian pantheon the winged spirits were meant to resemble at the Rana palaces and Newar residences. The depiction of indigenous angels in early 20th century Newar art reflects the enhancement of motifs that had been familiar to the Nepalese iconography. Angels were adopted, incorporated and appeared in a new cultural context, even dressed in *saris* (fig. 320, 321). The representation of equivocal celestial beings implies the artisans' awareness of the similarities between the occidental angels propagated by neoclassical décor and the celestial beings inherent in their own pantheon. From this point of view, the Newar figures can be regarded as negotiators between cultures, having lost their defined role as intermediaries between an almighty power of a Christian pantheon and the humans or celestial beings mainly associated with rain and fertility in Hinduism and Buddhism. From today's perspective, it seems suitable to talk about the multiple identities of the winged female figures. This aspect seems to make more sense than asking for their spatiotemporal meaning since in Hinduism and Buddhism nothing is precise but rather multivalent. Every individual has the power to assign new qualities to a phenomenon or deity.

The Newars, asked about the term for the stucco fairies and winged beings at their houses, today in general identify them as being "*apsaras*" or "*pāris*". However, at early 20th century residences, in most cases, they are not associated nowadays with any meaning, but are merely regarded as décor by the inhabitants of the houses.²²⁵

²²⁵ Heinrich Krauss (2000) writes on the transmission, form and interpretation of angels in Christianity and the Occident and presents the change in their meaning.

12.4.5 Aspects of the Nude Female Body in Nepalese Art

In the early 20th century Kathmandu Valley, the motif of the angel and celestial beings was reworked both in a Buddhist and Hindu context – not without stamping them with Newariness. Regarding the group of angel busts loosening their upper garments depicted on the Patan capitals or those above window lintels with uncovered breasts, like benevolent godlings (*yakṣiṇīs*) on roof struts (see chapter *Caryatides*) they are presented with a definitely erotic air. As with the traditionally stylised female forms of the *yakṣiṇīs* or the erotic depictions on temples that combined the sexual appeal with the ritual significance, the creation of the modern half-nude female angels probably was a conscious aim of the artists to amalgamate the material form with the spiritual and cosmic world by depicting the female body as an object of the gaze. Erotic scenes of love-making couples and groups found in a religious sphere, as for example at the roof struts of the Cārnārayan Temple (1565) at Darbār Square in Patan, may correlate with the belief of “atmospheric gestation”: Just like pregnant women, the clouds were considered by the Newars to conceive before they give birth to a rain-child (Vajracharya 2009: 12) and in this sense, the love act augurs rain. The familiarity with the execution of eroticism in Newar religious art is thus mirrored at the early 20th century angels of the Kathmandu Valley.

The Indian art historian Tapati Guha-Thakurta elaborately discusses the imagery of the “unclothed sensual, feminine figure” (Guha-Thakurta 2004: 237) as a common canonical motif of Indian art. She deals with the controversial modern existence of such imagery. Vindicating the depiction of the nude female body in modern Indian art in terms of ancient sculptural precedents, Guha-Thakurta points out that “the depiction of the bare female body was an inalienable feature of the iconography of Hindu goddesses, and that such depictions remained fully within the realm of the aesthetic. Recovered as an object of art, the nude was accorded the full religious sanction of Hinduism and given its indigenous location in the conventions of Indian art” (ibid: 251).

The definite attribution of the erotic depiction of the nude female body to the sacred Hindu and Buddhist context presents a striking difference to European iconography. Concerning the history of art in Europe, the nude body appears in intervals: In Greek Antiquity the depiction of ideal beauty was exhibited in the *marmoris gloria*, the perfected sculptures of Praxiteles (ca. 390 – ca. 320 BC) and other sculptors who “portrayed” and “ensouled” the pantheon of mythological figures. The latter were assembled in the vicinity of temples. The naked female figure, however, was a great

rarity in Archaic and even classical Greek art until the middle of the fourth century BC (Rykwert 1996: 110).²²⁶

Whereas the angel motif has been a constant theme in European art and architectural sculpture, the motif of the bare body – absent during the Middle Ages – reappeared in sculpture in the European Renaissance. However, in contrast to the early 20th century Newar architectural sculpture there was no European canon of full-bosomed, half-nude and erotic female angels that could be referred to as an “angel-style”. Modelling and remodelling nude angels and heavenly figures in early 20th century architecture of the Kathmandu Valley must be seen in the same realm of the aesthetic propagated traditionally by Nepalese and Indian art forms.

12.5 Caryatides

In the first half of the 20th century, different kinds of figurative supporters, mainly caryatides, are found both in the palace (fig. 107, 108) and vernacular architecture. In some cases their potential models are found in European architecture and pattern books (fig. 342-344, 344, 348, 349, 351). In other cases they are presented in a hybrid manner suggesting Nepalese features (fig. 345, 347, 384, 387).

Yakśas and *yakṣiṇīs* – benevolent godlings – exist in Nepalese and other South Asian temple- and monastery architecture. They are related to the fecundity of the earth and form the host of Kubera, known as Lokapāla and one of the four Caturmahārājas – the guardians of the four quarters (see chapter *The Adoption of Tibetan Iconography – The Caturmahārājas*).²²⁷ In Licchavi art and during the Malla period, *yakśas* served as gnome-like caryatides carved at the base of columns or at the base of roof brackets. Slender *yakṣiṇīs* stood above them depicted in accentuated femininity. They may be shown as dancing figures wearing bells tied at the ankles (*ghunghuru*) or as goddesses of the Buddhist sacred grove (*salabhañjika*)²²⁸ with crossed legs grasping a tree branch with their extended arm (fig. 346, 388). This motif goes back to the pre-Kuśāṇa period in India. Recent tests, initiated by Mary Slusser, confirmed the dating of such struts to the 8th or 9th century. The motif of the dancing *yakṣiṇī* is also found on Buddhist

²²⁶ The Aphrodite of Cnidus was one of the most famous works of the ancient Greek sculptor Praxiteles of Athens. The statue is known as the first life-size representation of the nude female form.

²²⁷ He has attained great popularity in Nepal in his role as guardian and dispenser of wealth.

²²⁸ The sal tree (*shorea robusta*) is a South Asian tree that gives its name to the motif of the *salabhanjika*, a human figure who grasps a branch of a sal tree.

quadrangles that date back to the 13th or 14th centuries, for example the Ratneśvara²²⁹ Temple, a two-tiered shrine at Sulima, located in Patan. In the buildings of the Malla period since the 13th century, the *yakṣiṇīs* were replaced by a variety of other gods, including the eight mother goddesses and other Tantric deities. Religious representations translated into architecture complement the meaning of the principal deity that is housed in a temple.

Thus, the idea of embellishing the bases, brackets, columns or struts that also characterises the European caryatides and atlantes since Greek Antiquity was not new to the Nepalese architecture. However, the local variants differ from their European counterparts that serve as a figurative architectural support taking the place of a column and bear an entablature on their head. Whereas the caryatides of the “Caryatid Porch of the Athenian Erechtheion” (ca. 420-410 BC) are presented in an anthropomorphic form cap-a-pie, later fashions in Europe presented them in an anthropomorphic form only in their upper part changing into the shaft which narrows towards the bottom. Since modern times the upper part may also consist of abstract forms (except for the head) (Irmischer 2005: 64). Depending on the capital, the head or the whole figure may be subordinate to the order of columns or the whole classical composition. Due to their association with “burden” and “punishment”, caryatides and atlantes are predestined for lower floor levels where they literally bear the whole load of the building (ibid: 68). In the first half of the 20th century in Nepal, the position of the caryatides is not subordinate to European conventions, but the figures are found supporting the lintels of windows (fig. 345, 348) in different floor levels or placed in niches (fig. 349). They are realised as consoles and appear as female heads supporting pilasters or half-columns (fig. 351, 352). It is quite possible that the depiction of the Nepalese *yakṣiṇīs* prepared the ground for the adaptation of the female caryatids and their hybrid forms.

12.6 Mascarons

Originally, in Europe, a mascarón was a half-relief of an eerie manlike face of a mythical creature used to decorate the exterior and interior of buildings and even adorns furniture. It replaces keystones above doors and windows and is also found decorating consoles. In contrast to a chimera, a grotesque figure that was positioned above doors, at walls or gables and was believed to ward off ill forces or a gargoyle, a functional

²²⁹ A form of the Hindu god Śiva.

waterspout designed as mythical figure, e.g. in Gothic architecture, the mascarón has been used as a mere relief embellishment in the Middle Ages, the Renaissance and increasingly in the Baroque and Historism. It characterises many 19th and early 20th century houses of European cities. Through the British art schools the mascarón was exported to British-India, where it was employed by British and Indian artists and embellishes many public neo-Gothic and Indo-Saracenic edifices (see chapter *British Art Schools in Colonial India (circa 1856 – 1900) and Their Impact on Nepal*).

From Indian 19th century architecture it was only a stone's throw away to Nepalese architecture, where the mascarón was introduced in the late 19th century. It was used as decoration of the Rana palaces and in their garden architecture, for instance at the balustrades and above windows of Kaisher Mahal (fig. 127-129, 136), at vases in the “Garden of Dreams” (fig. 150) or at the main façade of Ananda Niketan (fig. 114). In contrast to European and colonial architecture, the mascarón, just like all other Nepalese interpretations of neoclassical design, was modelled in stucco instead of stone, no matter whether it was designed for the Rana palaces or Newar houses.

There are few houses in Patan where stucco mascaróns, masks representing unexceptional masculine caricatured human faces, are part of the façade design. In Bhaktapur no mascaróns are found. In most cases the mascaróns in Patan decorate capitals (fig. 302, 305, 355, 356, 358, 360, 362, 364), but sometimes they also appear on cornices (fig. 359), gables (fig. 367, 366) or consoles (fig. 451). The different faces localised in the city of Patan show that in general the mascaróns are characterised by their moustache and hair modelled into foliage, which appears as acanthus leaves at the corner of capitals.

12.7 Lions

“Descendants of the sungod Sūrya” (*sūrya vanśi*) is the epithet of the Rana clan who are said to originate from Udaipur, India. Their symbolic emblems typically show Sūrya and the lion as the symbol of strength. The motif of the lion is taken up in the name of the most imposing of all former Rana palaces called Singha Darbār, “Lion Palace”. Stucco heads of lions are found hundredfold in the Rana architecture of the Kathmandu Valley, often borne by consoles used as keystones, for instance at Kaisher Mahal (fig. 138), Gaddi Baithak (1908) or at the *Vasanta*-pavilion in the “Garden of Dreams” in Kathmandu. Colossal lion sculptures flank the steps up to the entrances of Rana palaces

(fig. 93), e.g. Kaisher Mahal, in the same manner as they are positioned in front of palaces, manorial residences, or bridges in Europe and the former colonies. Even in Bhaktapur, a pair of lions guards the entrance to the bridge at Cupīghāt (1913) (fig. 216). In Nepal, however, lions have been protecting gateways or the four corners of shrines and temples since Licchavi time and are positioned in front of the main entrances of the former Malla palaces or *bāhās* (fig. 94).

In various eastern and western cultures²³⁰ and religions, as for example in Buddhism and Hinduism, the lion (*simha*) is identified with sovereignty and is given the title “Lord”. Both Buddha and Viṣṇu are equated with a lion. Their throne carried by lions is thus called “*simhāsana*”. The lion together with the peacock is the emblem of the fourth of the five Buddhas (*pancabuddhas*), Amitābha. Narasimha is the name given to the fourth incarnation (*avatāra*) of Viṣṇu as a man-lion whose main attribute is a lion face (*simhamukha*). The word “*simhamukha*” is also the name of a lion’s face that is situated at the top of an arched doorway or portal (*prabhātorāṇa*), as is the “*kīrttimukha*”, “halo-face” (fig. 373, 374-377), intended to terrify the demons and unbelievers and to protect the believers.²³¹

Most stucco lions found at the early 20th century residential architecture of the Newars are male lions recognizable in the style of their majestic mane, moustache and cuspids. Some lions are presented mask-like with their eyes torn open, protruding canine teeth and stylised mane (fig. 371, 372) that resemble the iconography of some Newar masks.

The *simhamukhas* and *kīrttimukhas*, it seems, found their modern counterparts in the early 20th century architecture of the Newars. The lion masks are often depicted with a lacerated mouth (fig. 400, 407, 411) or with a shut mouth in which they hold foliage or vine tendrils instead of snakes in a truly European manner (fig. 369, 378, 379, 385, 393). Some lions rather look grim, some are “enlivened” with glass eyes, and others have a remarkably majestic or furious air, or even an expression of sadness. The most important difference to earlier depictions of lions in Nepal is the individual and naturalistic expression they usually hold and which originates in European models. They are vernacular interpretations of the Victorian academic style that was taught at the British art schools in India.

²³⁰ E.g., the title of the Emperor of Ethiopia is “Lion of Judah”; Sekmet, the Egyptian goddess, was lion-headed. In the Old and New Testament, the lion is one of the four creatures which carry God, Ezechiel 1, 4-1, 28, and is the attribute of Evangelist Markus. The winged lion “di San Marco” still is the symbol on the flag of Venice; the lion is regarded as the mythical ancestor of the Sinhalese.

²³¹ People affected by a certain kind of skin rash call a draftsman, Chitrakar, who paints the image of a lion on the ill skin. Both the draftsman and the lion adopt the function of a healer (Gutschow 2006: 22).

It is in Patan where lion images occur most frequently. They adorn capitals (fig. 394, 395) and pilasters which frame houses (fig. 414) as well as the pilasters of entrance walls. Lion heads embellish friezes (fig. 411, 413) (with triglyphs and vases, festoon friezes or meander-friezes). They are placed above central windows on the first floor (fig. 370, 389, 397, 401), above the defenestrations of windows (fig. 447), serve as keystones, or adorn cartouches (fig. 449). Lions that resemble heraldic symbols also adorn woodcarvings of apron planks in windows (fig. 416, 417). Often lion motifs are in company with other western figurative embellishments such as angels and female sculptures, birds and vases (fig. 398, 399) at the façades of early 20th century residences. A rare example of an ancient Newar well testifies to a renovation of the spouts moulded in the form of a pair of lions (fig. 415). These motifs exemplify the way images, iconographies, symbols and pictorial practices were negotiated and translated in new contexts.

12.8 The Peacock

The peacock (Skt. *mayura*, New. *mhaykhā*) plays a significant role in Nepalese mythology and also in Newar art and architecture. It is said to have been created from Garuḍa's fallen wing and like him devours and destroys snakes. As *pañca rakṣa*, one of the five protection goddesses, the peacock is believed to protect people from snake bites and due to his resistance from poison it is also a symbol for longevity. The peacock is a symbol of love and an emblem of Durgā²³². Together with the lion the peacock is the emblem of Amitābha. In Hinduism and Buddhism the peacock is a symbol of luck and wealth. A very popular Mahāyāna goddess is worshipped as *mahā-māyuri*, the "great peacock-daughter". The peacock is the vehicle of both the Hindu god Kartikeya (Kumāra) and his female attendant Kaumārī and of the Buddhist Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī.

The most famous peacock in regard to Nepalese art and architecture is probably the one which adorns the wooden "Peacock Window" (*mhaykhājhyāḥ*) of the Pujari Maṭh near Dattatreya Square in Bhaktapur (fig. 418). It dates back to 1763 and is copied in the balustrades of some vertical windows of 20th century houses in Bhaktapur (fig. 47). In these cases the traditional motif was copied into modern forms, but remained cohesive with the context of windows as the bearer of iconography.

²³² The great mother-goddess Durgā is a composite goddess embodying a number of local divinities and demonesses associated with mountains, vegetation and fire, (Stutley 1977: 81f.).

In an architectural context the peacock motif is found in South Asia – not only in Nepal, but also in India – e.g. at ancient Buddhist caves, *sikhara* temples and Mughal architecture where it appears on wall decorations carved in stone or moulded in stucco. According to Luschey-Schmeisser (1978: 159) the peacock came from India to Athens and Rome as a cult bird with the Phoenicians by way of Samos around the 5th century BC. It became sacred to Hera and Juno respectively and it is in early Christian art where it appears most frequently and is closely associated with paradise (ibid: 160). The author notes the flow of the motif backward to the East: “In considering Iranian art, it appears that the pictorial interest in the high-bred peacock was not awakened until the court period of the Sasanians [the last pre-Islamic Iranian empire (226-651)]. The influence extends from Byzantine art to the East probably through the mosaic representations and the numerous objects of minor art” (ibid: 163).

In Nepal the peacock was traditionally presented frontally or from the side and for the most part was provided with a coronet. In this form it was chosen as an ornament in ancient carvings and in the iconological programme of modern residential buildings: in woodcarvings, multipart brick sculptures (or sometimes provided with stucco (fig. 419)) overhanging the wall (fig. 420, 422) or displacing the column’s basis, and also as stucco figures which embellish capitals. The stucco “peacock capital” (fig. 421, 429, 392) is a peculiarity at few early 20th century houses in Bhaktapur. Where there are stucco peacock capitals they are always designed similarly: A peacock is placed in the middle of each capital. It is presented frontally and is framed by symmetrical foliage-ornaments splitting in two and rolling into volutes.

In the late 19th and early 20th century residential architecture in the Kathmandu Valley, the peacock developed chronologically and stylistically: The mythical peacock motif is known from the carved reliefs of apron planks of vertical wooden windows (fig. 55) that date back to the late 19th and early 20th centuries and mostly found its expression in a row of five peacocks. Many windows that survived the earthquake in 1934 were salvaged and used in the rebuilt houses. In comparison to those delicate carvings, there are rather abstract and inartificial brick peacocks found at the façades of the first half of the 20th century. The peacock was and still is a popular ornament in Newar architecture, especially in Bhaktapur, but nowadays peacock windows are prefabricated in cement.

12.9 The Vase

The vase motif and its various expressions in stucco reliefs, as fully plastic, carved in wood, or made of multipart brick (fig. 433) often decorate the façades of early 20th century houses in the Kathmandu Valley. They are found on pedestals (fig. 434), pilasters (fig. 398, 430, 432, 435), in relief on friezes or appear as carvings of window-details, while only a few capitals in Patan are embellished by the vase motif (fig. 218, 331). On Rana palaces, vases stand on balustrades or are depicted in bas-relief on palace walls. Some decorations resemble the mythical vessel (*puṇḍarikāśa*) from which the fortune-bringing lotus, the *bhadraghaṭa*, grows²³³ (fig. 133). Margaret and James Stutley, who published a dictionary of Hindu iconography (1977), suggest a comparison of the *bhadraghaṭa* which is dedicated to Lakṣmī with the Greek or Roman cornucopia, the ancient emblem for fortune and the bearer of wealth, fertility and abundance which is filled with flowers and fruits (ibid: 136). Other vases appear as western-style unlidded vessels (fig. 151) and with various forms distinct from the urn in classical Antiquity, a lidded vase that was revived in neoclassical architecture. It is a recurrent theme, e.g. at the balustrades of the Rana palaces (fig. 165) where it also occurs as relief-décor (fig. 155).

Until the second half of the 19th century the vase ornament in Nepal can be found solely in a mythical connotation, as the “vase of abundance” (*puṇḍarikāśa*). Since the Licchavi period the *puṇḍarikāśa* is a recurrent and often used motif. It derives from Indian ornamentation of the Gupta period (Slusser 1982, I: 184). In early Nepalese depictions the *puṇḍa* symbolised Buddha, but was later understood as symbol of the mother goddesses. The auspicious vase, filled with water and lotus plants, is further worshipped as the temporal dwelling of tantric deities (ibid: 323, 352). “The *pūṇa kāśa* is at once the productive womb and inexhaustible cornucopia. It crowns the dwellings of the gods,

²³³ The lotus motif became a popular motif beyond its South Asian origin – similar to the acanthus leaf, an antique Greek motif – it is a universal pattern. The lotus ornament, for example, was found in Mongolia as early as the 8th century CE, where the plant never grew (Hagmüller 2003: 18ff. and 142, n. 3 by Niels Gutschow). In Asia the lotus is a major symbol for Buddhism and Hinduism, and it is a symbol for the emergence of the divine and the universe. In both religions the auspicious plant centres numerous myths. Being a water plant, the lotus symbolises the water itself (Slusser 1982, I: 353), purity, but it is also a symbol of fertility and beauty and as such is as an attribute to many deities, Buddhist, Hindu or tantric, male and female, i.e. Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara, Pārvatī, Tārā or Lakṣmī²³³ (ibid: 320f.).

Lotus leaves are carved as foliated scrolls, the *patralatā*-motif, be it a relief in wood or stucco, and have been found at stone sculptures since Licchavi times. During the rule of the Mallas, the ornament did not lose its popularity. Slusser (ibid: 184) refers to close parallels between the Nepalese foliated-scroll-motifs in Licchavi sculptures and those of the Indian Gupta period, that is to say “in its same exuberant application to birds, animals, persons and mythical creatures”.

lines the processional way of mortal and immortal, and, real or symbolic, often flanks the doorways of temple and shrine, palace and farmhouse” (ibid: 352).

The treasure vase – modelled upon the traditional Indian clay water pot with a flat base, round body, narrow neck and fluted rim – is also one of the eight auspicious symbols (*aṣṭamaṅgala*) of Buddhism. This well-known group of Buddhist symbols includes a parasol (Skt. *chatra*), a pair of fish (Skt. *suvarṇamatsya*), a lotus (Skt. *padma*), an endless knot (Skt. *śrīvatsa*), a victory banner (*dhvaja*) and also a yak whisk (Skt. *carmara*), which in Newar Buddhism may replace the golden wheel (Skt. *chakra*). The eight symbols form a composite vase-shaped arrangement while the treasure vase itself may be omitted. In the Buddhist tradition the eight symbols of good fortune represent the offerings that were presented by the great Vedic gods, Brahma and Indra, to Śākyamuni Buddha upon his attainment of enlightenment. In the early 20th century, these symbols of good fortune decorated all kinds of objects, such as metal work, but also the carved wooden structural elements of a house (fig. 19), wall panels (fig. 440), or often functioned as decorative keystones (fig. 438, 439, 441, 444, 445) thus being adopted in new contexts.

Vases are among the most popular ornaments of the 18th century in Europe, made of various kind of stones, terracotta, bronze, metal, gold, silver, wood or stucco and found freestanding on balustrades, in niches, on pillars and on top of entablatures (Irmscher 2005: 72). In Europe, the vase as the reservoir of precious liquids or even money, on the one hand symbolised wealth and peace. On the other hand, urns and flower vases were associated with death and resurrection, the seasons and with gardens.

The naturalistic depictions of flower vases and single flowers that adorn the architecture of the Mughals in India were inspired by the contemporary European art of the 17th century. The most prominent examples are probably the delicate marble reliefs that appear as dado decoration of the central tomb chamber of the Taj Mahal in Agra. Their flower arrangements are based on European forms. Due to their meticulous completion the Mughal flower vases, however, cannot be put on the same level with the rustic early 20th century versions of the Newars (fig. 406, 434, 435).

The motif of the vase – be it either the *puṇṇakalāśa* or neoclassical invention – is repeatedly found at early 20th century houses of the Newars. Cups or vessels formed from plant décor often found on carved reliefs at windows do not derive from the Newar tradition of forms, but are 19th century inventions (fig. 53, 54).

Since the vase image is often not presented in its traditional pot-like form as the *pūrṇakalāśa* but as an interpretation of the western or Mughal flower vase, the motif suggests multiple origins and meanings. As a hybrid it may present the mingling of the Nepalese and neoclassical symbols (fig. 442, 443).

Ebba Koch compares an engraving by the Flemish artist Claes Jansz. Vischer (1635) with the dado decoration in the tomb chamber of the Taj Mahal. According to her explanation for the borrowing and adaptation of European-style art motifs by Mughal art, “the European elements that met with continuous success were those that could give a new expression to artistic or literary concepts already familiar to the Mughals” (Koch 2006: 219). Koch thus attributes a “multiple identity” to the flower vases which were given “universal quality” by the artists of Shah Jahan. In this regard the early 20th century versions of the vase in Nepalese architecture appear as a remodelling of an ancient motif, whether European or South Asian. What was familiar from a mythical context could easily be translated into western forms in the Kathmandu Valley. The vase motif is a convincing example for the trans-regional trajectories of major religious and cultural movements – Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam and Christianity – that connected Europe and Asia through migrations of artists, courts, images and objects.

12.10 Scrollwork and Rocaille Cartouches

Cartouches may frame an interior field. The ends and edges of scrollwork cartouches are shaped like volutes. The cartouches are characteristically stretched, pierced and scrolled. The German art historian Günter Irmscher (2005: 94), who specialises in architectural theory and decoration, emphasises the relevance of engravings from the Ecole de Fontainebleau in France since the middle of the 16th century for the circulation of the courtly European ornament. He also stresses the significance of scrollwork cartouches on plates in Serlio’s books on architecture that were popular in Europe and the colonies (ibid: 94).

The Rocaille cartouche is characterised by a c, or s-shaped clasp with volutes. Its convex part is designed like a stylised conch. The ornament may be either symmetrical or asymmetrical. The beginning of the Rocaille ornament traces back to Italy in the late 17th century, but it was not until the end of the late 1720s when the design was found in the works of representatives of the *genre pittoresque* in France, such as Juste-Aurèle Meissonier, Jacques de Lajoüe and Nicolas Pineau (Irmscher 2005: 142). In France the

Rocaille was primarily an elitist courtly-spiritual ornament in vogue during the *genre pittoresque* (ibid: 144). The ornament was not used for official, representative and sacral buildings, confined to decorate the interiors of private residences. But it was exported to different European places beyond France where it was modified and also used in a non-elitist context – be it profane or sacral – until the end of the 18th century (ibid: 146). The German engineer Johann Rudolph Fäsch published his pattern book *Grund-mäßige Anweisung Zu den verzierungen der Fenster* in 1720. He presents a range of patterns for windows with Rocaille and scrollwork cartouches (fig. 446, 448), presented in a quite similar style in the early 20th century architecture in Nepal (fig. 447, 449).

As a new element from Europe, the stucco keystone was translated hundredfold into the façades of Rana palaces (fig. 130) and Newar houses. The majority of façades bear scrollwork or Rocaille-elements in their keystones. The design of the cartouches is always symmetrical. The palette shows rather simple forms with two volutes rolling to the inside of an unostentatious oval or round plaque, most of them being adorned by a foliage (fig. 447), alternatively trifoliate ornament on top (fig. 465). More artistic embellishments are exceptions. They frame initials, the sun motif (fig. 485), foliage or a diagonal belt that is laid across the interior field (fig. 462). Volute clasps also appear with the upper volutes rolling inside while the lower ends roll outside (fig. 457). More often, there are convex symmetrical scrollwork ornaments which found a range of different realisations as, for example, two volute clasps bonded together with a plant outgrowing from between them (fig. 456, 466). In other cases scrollwork embellishments are found as part of cartouches simply framing, for instance, ovals or even mascarons (fig. 454). House inscriptions are mostly presented in the interior of a scrollwork or Rocaille cartouche (see chapter *Flowering Cartouches*). The trapezium-shaped keystone seldom embellishes the residences (fig. 180) while it widely decorates the former Rana palaces.

Similar to the acanthus capital, the scrollwork capital enjoyed great popularity among the ornaments on the houses in Patan. Acanthus leaves mainly decorate the corners of these capitals. Another interrelation of almost all scrollwork capital is a small ornament, be it foliage or a bracket-like element over the apex of the scrollwork and a flower or foliage between the two concave volutes at the top. Often, the scroll of each volute is split in two and the outer elements form the volutes of the capitals.

One group of scrollwork capitals is distinguished by its heraldic character, which is invested by the oval or round scrollwork cartouche and a band which adorns the inside

(fig. 459). Where there is no band the diamond décor framed by the scrollwork cartouche evokes the picture of a fruit, a pineapple (fig. 461). The space within the cartouche is also used to show letters such as “A” or “H” and “B”, which represent the initials of the original owners or Devanagari syllables (fig. 402-405) (see chapter *Initials*). In still another group the ornaments are presented as foliage and enclose an ungarnished area (fig. 460).

13. THE VOTIVE PLAQUES AT THE NEOCLASSICAL VERNACULAR OF THE NEWARS

13.1 Colourful, Stereotyped Images

Flat, non-relief plaques are characteristic for many late 19th and early 20th century houses of the Newars. They are composed of a mixture of mud and straw and a thin layer of lime paint. Stuck onto the façade, they were later painted in *fresco-secco*, maybe with tempera. The colourful plaques are in general found on the brick façades of former monasteries, (*bāhās* and *bahīs*), and houses set against the red brickwork of the unrendered wall (fig. 467, 470, 473, 478, 483, 492, 493). The shape of the plaques varies from house to house. In general, the shape of a medallion, an oval, a stylised lotus form or a square format is chosen to represent Buddhist iconography. Their iconography derives from a purely spiritual context. The collection of images on the votive plaques in the Kathmandu Valley reveals a canon of several motifs. “A symbol cannot be other than stereotyped, if it is always to carry the same significance. Its intention is precisely to draw the attention of the worshippers away from the distracting diversity of the everyday world and to assist him in concentrating his thought, through the medium of stereotyped words and stereotyped images, upon divine transcendent realities”, notes David Snellgrove, mainly known for his publications concerning Indian and Tibetan Buddhism (1972: 41). Whereas the stereotyped words are the subject of the next chapter dealing with *House Inscriptions*, the stereotyped images shall be presented in the following paragraphs. The subjects are taken, in fact, mostly from the Buddhist pantheon, such as the depiction of the sacred site of Svayambhunāth, Buddha’s birth by his mother Māyādevī, Bodhisattvas such as Avalokiteśvara, or Hari-Hari-Hari-Hara vāhana Avalokiteśvara. Another popular image appears to be Nāmasaṅgīti, the personification of a text that is often recited at the monasteries (*bāhās*). The similarity of the paintings, primarily in regard to the composition rather than in style, mirrors the tradition of copying in Nepalese art.

13.2 The Nepalese Tradition of Topographical Painting

In her recently published volume (2005), Mary Shepherd Slusser brings together a selection of papers written by the author over several decades. In her essay *On a*

*Sixteenth-Century Pictorial Pilgrim's Guide from Nepal*²³⁴, Slusser focuses on the depiction of towns and sacred sites in the Kathmandu Valley on painted scrolls. She assumes that there is no known Nepalese pictorial pilgrim's guide on a scroll that predates the end of the 16th century, but the majority is said to belong to the 17th and 18th centuries. The paintings are depicted in "Rajput style tempered with Tibetan influences" (ibid: 315) popular in the time of the copyists and painters. There are obvious similarities, both in content and style, between the main topographical motif on the banners and the one often found on the votive plaques of Newar buildings – the Great Caitya of Svayambhunāth together with the two *sikhara* temples called Pratāpapura and Anantapura²³⁵. "The scrolls that provide illustrated compendia of the sacred places seem to be the pictorial equivalents of 'religious geographies', pilgrim's guides or *mahātmyas* that extol the salient aspects of the sacred places and that provide directions to them" (ibid: 315). The Svayambhu-*purana* and the Nepāla-*mahātmya* are well-known examples of Buddhist and Brahmanical guides for the sacred geography of the Valley. For Hindus, according to the Nepāla-*mahātmya*, a pilgrimage should start and end with the holy site of Paśupatināth, in the Buddhist's eye with Svayambhunāth, a preserve with significant cultural importance. The foundation of the site by King Vṛsadeva dates back to the 5th century CE according to the chronicle of the Gopāla-kings, the Gopālarāja-*vamśāvalī* from the late 14th century (Slusser 1982, I: 165ff.).

Although little is known about the history of map-making in Nepal, such an activity may have started long before the 16th century. While Slusser discusses the marked similarities between parts of a scroll found in Patan, probably from 1565, presenting the Great Caitya of Svayambhunāth and other sacred places and those of a painting from Kathmandu inscribed 1664, the inscription on the latter also provides the information that it is a copy of a predecessor that was painted in 1433.

13.3 The Svayambhunāth Mahācaitya

The *caitya* of Svayambhunāth enjoys great popularity in Newar art. In his account on the Nepalese *caitya* (1997), Niels Gutschow elaborately documents the architectural history and ritual meaning of the four Great Caityas of the Kathmandu Valley – at

²³⁴ Reprinted from *Archives of Asian Art*, The Asia Society, vol. XXXVIII (1985), pp. 6-36.

²³⁵ Both Sikhara temples were erected by Pratapa Malla. They are named after him and his favourite wife and are dedicated to the esoteric goddesses of the Vajrayāna Buddhism.

Svayambhunāth Hill, Bodhnāth, Cabahī, and Baregaon. As Gutschow (ibid: 68) observes, *caityas* are omnipresent in the Kathmandu Valley:

They replace representations of auspicious deities (particularly Gaṇeśa) in the lintel above the entrance of the house [(fig. 25); K. W.], and they are found as pinnacles (*gajū*) on top of Buddhist temples and esoteric shrine buildings (*āgāchē*) – sometimes in a row of thirteen, representing the Bodhisattvas’ Worlds. Sometimes four *caityas* adorn the ritual crown of the Bajrācārya priest, who places his own head into the centre of the cosmic configuration. *Caityas* are found on metal flags (*kikīpata*), are dislodged and exhibited on the open ground floor level on the occasion of *bahidyah bwayegu* in the holy month of Gūlā, and even carried in procession like deities. Ephemeral *caityas* are made of sand, in a likeness to the primeval mound, or of mud in tiny moulds, or else are laid grain by grain in picture form.

The *caitya* is an essential feature of every courtyard in Patan with a mainly Buddhist population. According to Gutschow (1997: 30), the establishment of a *caitya* not only brings merit (*punya*) to the donor because there is a complex relationship between the building and the deceased family members, but *caityas* also represent a transcendental form (*dharmakāya*) which stands in the tradition of the Buddha Śākyamuni. In this judgement, they are the focus of public worship. The clockwise circumambulation (*pradakṣiṇā*) of a *caitya* is the most essential way of worship, a daily casual affair. As the Svayambhunāth Mahācaitya in general is reached by the eastern ascent of the hill, the circumambulation starts with the worship of Akṣobhya, who is situated in the eastern niche of four niches in the cardinal directions. The Great Caitya is assumed to be one of the earliest Buddhist foundations of the Valley and is often called “Ādibuddha” (“original Buddha”). Certainly the Svayambhunāth Mahācaitya is the most prominent, most sacred *caitya* in the Kathmandu Valley for Buddhists. The legends of the Svayambhu-*purana*, familiar to all worshippers, tell about the miraculous nature of Svayambhu, the Self-Created or Self-Existent:

For Svayambhū chose to manifest himself in the midst of Kālīhrad, or Nāgavāsa, the lake that filled the Valley before man, or even Paśupati, dwelt therein. Of flame, or alternately an image of crystal ‘one cubit high’, Svayambhū-in-the-Form-of-Light (Jyotirūpa) emanated from a resplendent lotus ‘as large as the wheel of a chariot. It

had ten thousand golden petals. It had diamonds above, pearls below, and rubies in the middle. Its pollen consisted of jewels. Its seed lobes were gold, and stalks lapis-lazuli.’ In time, however, the compassionate Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, finding the lake ‘full of monstrous aquatic animals and the temple of Svayambhū almost inaccessible, opened with his sword the ... valleys’ and drained the lake. Then the Bodhisattva Vajrasattva, ‘fearing that wicked men in the Kāliyuga, would steal away the jewels of Svayambhū and destroy his image, concealed him under a slab of stone.’ At last there came to the celebrated holy site the king-turned-*bhikṣu*, Śantaśrī or Śantikarācāya, who raised over the hidden Svayambhū a stupa ‘studded with gems, and having a golden wheel attached’ (Slusser 1982, I: 298)²³⁶.

On the full moon day in October (*Katīpunhī*), the Mahācaitya is ritually reborn through the renewal of the eyes that are annually painted on the shrine in Svayambhu by Citrakārs from Kathmandu. For Buddhists the Svayambhunāth Mahācaitya symbolizes the creation of the microcosm and as such is an existential icon on the votive plaques of Newar buildings.

13.4 Changes in Composition and Style

13.4.1 Early Contacts with European Paintings and Photography

A question, to which there is unlikely to be an answer, concerns the history of votive plaques on houses. The history of painting maps and figures undoubtedly has been a history of copying from predecessors for a long time. Yet this does not exclude compositional and stylistic developments and changes from time to time (Slusser 2005: 313). Images thus may reveal what Slusser calls “the persistence of remote traditional motifs in otherwise new styles” (ibid: 319). In this context, what is valid for the painted scrolls of the Kathmandu Valley is also characteristic for the edificial votive plaques. In contrast to some painted banners, no inscriptions are found on the stucco plaques. Thus, the information we get from them today is more covert. They may provide information about former clothing and dress codes, architectural techniques and significant developments in the painting techniques of the Newar painters, Citrakār. The central perspective and landscape painting was a new feature to late 19th and early 20th century painting in Nepal.

²³⁶ Slusser cites the *Svayambhu-purana*, published in Mitra (1971: 246-252).

Mary Slusser presents in detail two different banners from the 19th century. They both illustrate the religious geography of the Kathmandu Valley, that is, holy places and their shrines. One scroll is displayed at Kvābāhā in Patan, another one at the Guitabahī monastery in Patan for the annual exhibition known as “*bahīdyah bvayegu*” (“Looking-at-the-Gods-in-the-Vihāras”) (ibid: 314f., Fig. 27, 28, 29). On first glance, especially by comparing those 19th century paintings with older ones, the stylistic changes in the depiction of landscape and architecture are obvious. The paintings reflect the central perspective and a naturalistic depiction of landscape – features that are often found on the votive plaques.

Brian Houghton Hodgson (1801-1894) was the British Resident to the Kingdom of Nepal (1833-1843). During his 19-year stay (1824-1843) he maintained Nepalese assistants for collecting and drawing specimens and Buddhist architecture which he commissioned. Rajman Singh of the hereditary Buddhist caste of painters became his main draughtsman. His signature in Nagari-letters is found on many drawings and makes an ascription easy. A collection of pencil drawings even mirrors the use of the camera lucida, which explains the accurate depiction of certain monuments. Since these developments – roughly since the middle of the 19th century – paintings were no longer only drawn on cotton cloth, but also in gouache on paper.

Jeremiah P. Losty worked as a curator of Indian visual materials in the Asian department of the British Library for over three decades and published extensively on illustrated Indian manuscripts and painting in India. According to him, the work of Rajman Singh attest to the picturesque manner of George Chinnery, a famous artist “whose landscape style was highly influential in early nineteenth-century Calcutta” (Losty 2004: 95). Undoubtedly Chinnery’s pupils, Sir Charles and Lady D’Oyly, both friends of Hodgson, but also his younger brother Lt. William Hodgson of the Bengal Artillery (1805-1838) were the transmitters of this style from Calcutta to remote Kathmandu.²³⁷ The Nepalese picturesque style was later continued by Rajman Singh and others after the departure of Hodgson in 1843. In this way the style also found its way into the collections of Henry Lawrence and Henry Ambrose Oldfield, the Residency Surgeon in Kathmandu from 1850 to 1863. Oldfield collected the work of local painters which were also published in Daniel Wright’s *History of Nepal* (1877).

²³⁷ Lt. William Hodgson made drawings of the Residence at Kathmandu, ca. 1833, Hodgson Scrapbook, pl. 17, Natural History Museum London.

In a process of emulation and borrowing, Nepalese rulers had built western-style palaces since the early 19th century. This modern development, however, pertained not only to buildings. The growing business of self-portrayal of the Rana dynasty and Nepalese aristocracy was reflected in the taste for western cultural and consumer goods, e.g. costly decorations, European furniture and costumes. Since the Ranas maintained close relations with the British colonial power in India, they also adopted the life-style of the Rajputs and the British-Raj. The “Corinthian Theatre” in Calcutta was a popular venue for the Ranas, who found their entertainment in the spectacle. In British-India they got to know the naturalism of French and English artists that became an inevitable feature of their Nepalese paintings. Among the Nepalese aristocracy, there was a growing tendency to decorate the large palace walls with portraits, hunting scenes (*shikar*-murals), landscape-paintings and still lifes. The Ranas’ desire to have theatres similar to the ones in colonial India required painted backdrops and curtains. Therefore, court painters from the Citrakār caste were often employed to copy from western models.

The Newar painters had previously followed a purely religiously motivated work as painters of holy motifs, printing and painting religious images on different media such as paper, scrolls (New. *paubha*) and clay pots for festivals and domestic rituals, or painting masks worn at ritual dances. As Niels Gutschow (2006: 16ff.) illustrates, the Citrakār still act today as craftsmen, artists, but also as ritual specialists at annual festivals (*dyah taegu*) and individual rites of passage. As healers they pacify malicious demons which cause eczema by painting a lion on the skin of the patient.

Bhaju Man, a painter from the Citrakār caste, was the first Newar artist who travelled to Europe, being part of the entourage of Jang Bahadur Rana’s trip in 1850 (Rana 1909: 116). In India and during Jang Bahadur Rana’s and Chandra Shamsher’s trips to Europe, Citrakār painters became familiar with European art and adopted new painting techniques by using gouaches, oil and water-colours as new media. The two-dimensional style characteristic for Nepalese painting was replaced by naturalistic motifs and the spatial perspective according to European styles. The Rana palaces also boasted murals, for example the illusionist ceiling paintings in Laxmi Nivās, the former residence of Maharaja Mohan Shamsher, built by Dilli Jang Thapa in 1925. The paintings offer the illusion to view the sky.

The new self-portrayal with European status symbols and accessories was not only shown in paintings, but also in the first Nepalese photographs. In the history of early

Nepalese photography as documented by Susanne von der Heide (1997)²³⁸, Europeans are assumed to have been the first photographers in Nepal who may have trained the first Nepalese – members of the Rana clan who later taught their Newar assistants from the caste of Citrakār.²³⁹ The British photographers Bourne and Shepherd from Calcutta probably taught Dambar Shamsheer (1859-1922) the art of photography. Purna Man Chitrakar, who had been working for Jang Bahadur Rana in his residence Thapathali until he was summoned by Dambar Shamsheer around 1877, helped the latter and his son Samar Shamsheer (1883-1958) in their photo studio and laboratory with the developing of glass negatives. Purna Man also provided instruction in portrait painting to Samar and later to Gehendra Shamsheer, son of Maharaja Bir Shamsheer J. B. Rana. Around 1881, Purna Man was sent to Calcutta by one of his patrons for further training in photography. Von der Heide (ibid: 19) assumes that Purna Man visited photo studios in various Indian cities, i.e. Bourne and Shepherd, Herzog and Higgins and Johnston and Hoffmann.²⁴⁰ By the 1890s, Purna Man was working as a painter and photographer in the residence of Gehendra Shamsheer. Purna Man gave lessons in painting and photography to several Newar artists, among others to his relatives Dirga Man (1877-1951) and his son Ganesh Man Chitrakar (1906-1985). Chakra Bahadur Kayasta (1862-1944) is another of the early Nepalese pioneers of photography. He worked at the court of King Prithvi Bir Bikram (ruled 1881-1911), who may have sent him to Calcutta in order to learn photography, the colouring of pictures and oil painting. In the early 20th century, Chakra Bahadur Kayasta was a manufacturer of furniture, who also worked as oil painter and photographer for the Government of Nepal and many private clients.

Many Newar artisans – not only painters from the caste of Citrakārs – enjoyed great esteem due to their artistic skills and were thus trained to become painters and photographers under their Rana rulers. In this way, the Newars became familiar with the

²³⁸ Susanne von der Heide deals with “Pioneers of Early Photography in Nepal. Photographers, Artists and Patrons”, In: Von der Heide, Susanne and T.T. Thingo (eds.): *Changing Faces of Nepal – The Glory of Asia’s Past*. Kathmandu 1997, pp. 17-31.

²³⁹ We know from personal notes in the diary of Jang Bahadur Rana the exact dates of some shots taken by Bourne and Shepherd. The latter took pictures of Jang Bahadur Rana and the English viceroy of India, Lord Mayo, in Harihar, India, on 27th November, 1871 and also of the hunting trip of the Prince of Wales and the Nepalese Prime Minister in the Terai. The British Clarence Comyn Taylor (1830-1879) lived in Kathmandu from 1863 to 1865 and was the Assistant Resident besides George Ramsay. During his stay he made several photographs of ethnic groups, published in the encyclopedia *People of India*, and of Maharaja Jang Bahadur and his family and King Surendra (1829-1881).

²⁴⁰ P.A. Herzog and P. Higgins both worked for Lala Deen Dayal (1844-1905), a pioneer in 19th century Indian photography and court photographer to the sixth Nizam of Hyderabad, Mahbub Ali Khan Asif Jah VI. Furthermore, Herzog and Higgins were both employed at Johnston and Hoffman before opening their own studio at Mhow (Central India) in 1894 and continued until 1921.

“European view” that accentuated the central perspective and elaborate compositions in both paintings and photographs. Their new skills were transmitted to their local art, e.g. the votive plaques and were taught to the next generation. With the introduction in the history of painting and early Nepalese photography, I aimed at presenting the conditions under which the central perspective and naturalistic landscape painting became a characteristic feature of painted stucco plaques on Newar buildings. In the following chapter the focus is again put on the votive plaques to exemplify the results of these European views and painting techniques.

13.4.2 The Foreshortened Newar Pantheon

A foreshortened view of the holy site of Svayambhunāth is presented in numerous paintings on stucco plaques of early 20th century houses (fig. 468, 471, 576), which were all painted individualistically by different artists. The temple site is introduced by the steep stairs that lead up to the hill from the East. In all cases the monumental white *caitya*, Svayambhunāth Mahācaitya, is situated in the centre, framed by the two *sikhara* temples. In all pictures, the Great Caitya is encircled by a wall. In fact, the wall with prayer wheels was erected around 1920 (Gutschow 1997: 68). This may imply that the houses were built after this date. The surroundings of the scene are characterised by the green landscape and a blue, sometimes cloudy, sky. Although the painters were seldom fully involved with the technique of drawing the central perspective, especially the pattern of the floor tiles mirrors the effort in doing so.

Two votive plaques that adorn a facade of a house at Bhīchēbāhā (fig. 467) in Patan present the pictures of Svayambhu (fig. 468) and Hari-Hari-Hari-Hara vāhana Avalokiteśvara (fig. 469) and are framed by a rectangular picture frame in stucco. The latter testifies to the European influence even on the format of stucco plaques and the representation of Newar iconography on residences. But where the European eye might expect an upright format of the picture frame, the Newar mason (*āvah*) chose a square format. On the façade of this house, which comes without any European decoration but merely the upright window opening and the perspective painting of Svayambhu, the plaques seem to replace the square shape of lattice windows. Considered outside hanging pictures in a frame, or “windows”, the votive plaques in a square frame suggest the dialectic of “sight” and “insight”. Metaphorically speaking, with the introduction of

the western window that allowed an open view outside the house, the outside world in return was invited to look inside. Square-framed plaques, as in this case, sometimes decorate the public space like pictures that would embellish the interior of houses in the West. While in the history of European painting it is the painted and framed panel that decorates an interior wall, in early 20th century Newar art it is the framed stucco plaque on the façade that suggests the notion of a window and at the same time of a picture. The public space is suggestive of an interior where the inhabitants ensconce themselves.

The façade of a house in the courtyard of Nalachībāhā (fig. 483) in Patan, embellished by European and Newar forms, presents another example for the foreshortened depiction of sacred topography. There are still seven of originally eight painted votive plaques. The images on three of the four votive plaques on the second floor each show a monument which is placed on pavement tiles. A white wall is located in the back behind which a landscape in the manner of neoclassical garden architecture is depicted. During the first half of the 20th century, walls like this were often donated to embellish a *caitya*. The depictions on the plaques may be identified with the shrine of Buddha (or Vasundhāra) of Nalachībāhā (fig. 488), the *caitya* (fig. 489) and *dharmadhātumaṇḍala* (fig. 490). John K. Locke (1985: 229) claims that the plastered shrine situated in the courtyard and also painted on the plaque was constructed in 1944 by a family of the Śilpakār caste. If we assume the same date of construction of the house and of the painting of the plaques, Locke's information proves to be of special importance for the dating of the house. Hence, the latter must have been erected in 1944 or even later.

Even though the remaining plaques of the house do not exhibit any visible signs of the central perspective, they are presented in the following due to three reasons: to complete the presentation, to describe further representatives of popular motifs of the Newar pantheon, and to demonstrate how European painting techniques were realised together with the technique and motifs of local painting traditions on one and the same façade.

The depiction of Nāmasaṅgīti (fig. 487) is found on the very left plaque. The latter is the name both of a form of Avalokiteśvara and of an independent god who is the emanation of Vairocana. Nāmasaṅgīti is the personification of a text often recited at monasteries.²⁴¹ It is a popular motif often found on the votive plaques of Patan. The deity “seems to be a peculiarly Nepalese creation” (Locke 1985: 7) since it does not occur in Indian texts, but is sometimes found in Tibet. As on the votive plaque at the

²⁴¹ According to John K. Locke (1985: 7) this text is often recited at the bāhās in Kathmandu where the motif of Nāmasaṅgīti is also popular on the decorative panel (*torāṇa*) over the doorway of a shrine.

house at Nalachībāhā, Nāmasaṅgīti characteristically has twelve hands: One pair of hands shows the gesture of protection (*abhaya mūdra*) in front of the heart, another pair above the crown shows the gesture of salutation (*añjali mūdra*). One pair of hands rests on the lap in the gesture of meditation (*dhyāna mūdra*) and holds the begging bowl. Another pair sprinkles nectar (*kṣepaṇa mūdra*). In his right hands the Bodhisattva also holds a rosary and arrow; in the left hands he exhibits the lotus flower with a script on top and a bow.²⁴² In general, the figure sits on a lotus seat and wears five ornaments that each represent one of the transcendent Buddhas (ibid: 7): the wheel (Akṣobhya) (not visible on this votive plaque), ear rings (Amitābha), a necklace (Ratnasambhava), bracelets (Vairocana) and a cincture (Amoghasiddhi).

The first floor of the house at Nalachībāhā exhibits a figure with a mirror and another attribute that might be a parasol (fig. 484). This figure may represent Lakṣmī in white robe with a mirror in her upper right hand. The figure on the next plaque is Sarasvatī (fig. 485) playing a *vīṇā* and accompanied by her vehicle, the gander (*haṃsa*). Both Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī are thought to be the consorts of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. Sarasvatī is generally depicted dressed in white, seated in a lotus with her gander. She is the sister of Gaṇeśa and the goddess of learning. On the day of the coming of spring (*vasanta pañcamī*) that is the fifth day of the waning moon in the month of Māgh (January-February), Sarasvatī is believed to visit the Kathmandu Valley. On this day she is worshipped with particular veneration at Svayambhunāth, where her image is “massaged” with oil.

Acala (fig. 486) “The Steadfast”, who is the “King of Liberating Knowledge” (*vidyārāja*), is depicted on the right plaque standing on a lotus pedestal. He is regarded to have been the advocate of the dead against the “Lord of Death”, Yama, in his original function in North India. With Acala’s support, the good deeds (*karma*) of a deceased are factored in the decision about the kind of his or her rebirth (Schumann 1993: 206). The iconography of Acala is close to that of a Dharmapāla (*aṣṭabhairava*): On his flaming hair, he wears a five-pronged crown like the one worn by transcendental Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and deities, which signifies supernatural existence (ibid: 186). Like the Dharmapālas, Acala wears a chain of skulls. Nobody who harms Buddha’s doctrine (*dharma*) and its followers remains undetected by the third eye on Acala’s forehead. The aureole of flames reveals the energy with which Acala, like the Dharmapālas, defends the doctrine. With his right hand Acala sways a sword (*khaḍga*) while he holds

²⁴² The depictions of Nāmasaṅgīti vary and he is occasionally depicted holding the crossed diamond (*viśvavajra*), trident (*khaṭvāṅga*) or a sword.

a noose (*pāśa*) in his other hand. With the latter Acala is believed to draw the deceased into a better future in case his karma allows him to do so.

13.5 The Omnipresence of Amoghapāśa (Avalokiteśvara, Lokeśvara)

The cult of Avalokiteśvara, whose image appears on early 20th century votive plaques, was already established in Nepal by the beginning of the 5th century (Slusser 1982, I: 39). “As the god of compassion, the world savior, the succor of the dying, the protector of travelers, the giver of rain and fertility, it is not surprising that Avalokiteśvara has been everywhere extremely popular with Mahāyāna Buddhists” (ibid: 283). According to Mary Slusser, new iconographic forms of Avalokiteśvara such as Amoghapāśa were established in the Malla period (ibid: 293). In chapter *The Praising of the Three Jewels*, Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara is studied in the context of Newar Buddhist Observance and the Eight Precepts among Vajrācāryas and Śākyas. By practicing the Eight Precepts, the devotee shows respect to Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara. The Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara is invoked by several different names such as Padmapāni, Lokeśvara or Lokanātha, but he is preferentially called Karuṇāmaya in Nepal. As we learn from an explanation of Amoghapāśa’s mandala by the Buddhist priest during the deity’s worship – a text David Gellner (1996: 223) translates from a modern priestly handbook of Nakabahi, Patan – “Karuṇāmaya will be pleased, and at the end [of life] Śrī Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara will carry you across to the attainment of liberation (*mokṣa*), to such an Amoghapāśa go in refuge!” In Patan, Vajrācāryas and Śākyas are in charge of popular cults of Karuṇāmaya, the Bodhisattva of compassion (Gellner 1995: 222). Similar to many larger monasteries in the Kathmandu Valley, where Amoghapāśa has a shrine and his observance is performed in a long chamber on the upper floor, or the stucco citations of Avalokiteśvara’s mantra “Oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ” , his image on early 20th century houses of the Newars is of formulistic character. An eight-armed figure, Amoghapāśa (fig. 481) is often depicted standing on a lotus throne. He has a halo and an aura. In his hands he holds clockwise: A manuscript, noose (Skt. *pāśa*), lotus flower (Skt. *padma*), and a vessel (Skt. *kamaṇḍalu*). He shows the boon-granting gesture (Skt. *varada mūdṛa*), holds an iron hook (Skt. *ankuśa*), a rosary (Skt. *akṣamālā*) and shows the gesture of protection (Skt. *abhāya mūdṛa*). In other cases, Avalokiteśvara is presented in his form with eleven heads (fig. 472).

The pictures on the votive plaques often depict Hari-Hari-Hari-Hara-vāhana Lokeśvara (Viṣṇu-Viṣṇu-Viṣṇu-Śiva-vehicle king of the world) (fig. 469, 474, 576). Lokeśvara, who appears in 108 different forms, is the “king of the world-form” of Avalokiteśvara and appears when the Buddhist pantheon is unified with the Hindu god Śiva. The vehicles (*vāhana*) of Lokeśvara are presented in a pyramid of figures: Simha, the mythic lion-faced animal, is ridden by the snake Ananta upon which rides the sun-bird Garuḍa, half-bird, half-human. Ananta and Garuḍa are the vehicles of Hari Hara or Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa – a union of Śiva and Viṣṇu – who is depicted as four-armed with green skin, holding a club, conch, lotus and a wheel. On top of his vehicles sits Lokeśvara with eight arms and his attributes: manuscript, noose, lotus, gesture of protection, boon-granting gesture, rosary, iron hook and a *caitya*.

13.6 Depictions of the Birth of Buddha Śākyamuni

Other plaques often depict a female figure that leans against a tree while touching it with the left or right hand. It is Māyādevī, Buddha’s mother, who according to the legend rests under a tree in Lumbini while she gives supernatural birth to the Buddha Śākyamuni (fig. 475, 476, 479, 480). The prospective Buddha, depicted twice in the fashion of continuous narration as a tiny black figure, appears from her side and is represented a second time standing on a lotus. His mother stands on a lotus pedestal and is given special emphasis through her size. Next to her stand three little figures, ascetics who await the Buddha. Every one of them stretches a piece of cloth. In other cases, three little figures are presented in yellow, white and green (fig. 476, 480). They await the birth of the Buddha either with open bags or carrying offerings. Due to the bad repair of the majority of paintings the offerings cannot be identified. The yellow figure undoubtedly represents the four-headed Brahmā. On the house at Guitabahī the white figure can be furthermore identified as Śiva due to his attribute, the trident. Gautama Vajracharya (2006: 73) analyses an illustrated Nepalese cover for the popular Buddhist text, known as *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* dated 1028 CE²⁴³ on which he identifies the three figures attending the nativity as Brahmā (yellow), Śiva (white) and Indra (red).

Vajracharya furthermore discusses an 18th century illustrated Nepalese folio of the *Devīmāhātmya*, a text associated with the story of the great goddess Durgā (ibid: 90). It presents the red goddess Durgā riding a white lion and being engaged in a discussion

²⁴³ The manuscript was made in the year 148 of the Newar era during the reign of King Rudradeva.

with three figures depicted in human form. According to Vajracharya, Viṣṇu is recognisable with his green complexion “suggesting darker hue (*kṛṣṇa*)” (ibid: 90), Śiva can be identified by his white skin (and the third eye). There is reason to believe that the bearded figure with yellow complexion and red cap represents Indra since the text next to the illustration describes it as *Śakrādistuti*, “‘Indra and other [gods] are praising [the goddess]’” (ibid: 90). Since they are not shown in their superior cosmic forms with multiple arms they appear as the devotees of the great goddess, just like in the nativity scenes on the votive plaques.

The nativity scenes on the votive plaques in each case take place in a naturalistically painted landscape with mountain scenery. From house to house the figures are depicted individualistically, but are exhibited in the Rajput style. So is the depiction of Māyādevī, but the comparison of her depiction on a house at Guitabahī (fig. 478, 479, 480) and one at Vanagatabāhā (fig. 492) in the locality of Būbāhā in Patan and with Sarasvatī at the house in Nalachībāhā (fig. 485) exemplifies the way of codes of copying among the motifs of the painted deities’ clothing style: The top of Māyādevī’s and Saravatī’s *sari* (*choli*) is characterised by white and blue stripes in all three cases. Short, striped *cholis* have been worn by Nepalese goddesses over centuries (Slusser 2005: 355).

13.7 The Adoption of Chinese and Tibetan Iconography – Puffy Clouds and the Caturmahārājas

The stylised, puffy clouds, rolling hills and cliffs in the background of the plaques at the house in Guita (fig. 479, 481, 482) resemble “typical conventions of Chinese landscapes” (Slusser 2005: 394). Ingeborg Luschey-Schmeisser (1978: 126) traces the flows of the cloudy formations of the Chinese type to the 13th-14th century, the time of the Il Khanate (1256-1336), a Mongol *khanate* established in Persia and considered a part of the Mongol Empire. The cloud type was continuously painted in the Persian art during the Timurid dynasty since the 14th century (ibid: 53) and is a decorative element in the art of the Safavids²⁴⁴, a Persian dynasty from 1501 to 1722. Consequently, it was incorporated into the miniature paintings and architecture of the Mughals. Chinese clouds are found, for instance, in the tile decoration of the Kala Burj of the Fort of Lahore (Koch 2001: 33). Thus the motif of the Chinese puffy cloud may have reached

²⁴⁴ Cf. Koch (2001: 30, fig. 2.18).

Nepal either via the Mughal art of India or the Tibetan art to which it was a common feature, too. But most probably, Newar artists adopted the motif both in India and Tibet and incorporated it into their pictorial repertoire. Regarding the extent sketchbooks and painted scrolls of Newar artists, there is reason to believe that the Chinese cloud type had become established in Nepalese paintings by the early 15th century at latest. Chinese clouds are depicted on leaf 10 of a sketchbook presented by John C. Huntington in his account on *Nevar Artist Jīvarāma's Sketchbook* (2006). The sketchbook is of unique value since it contains a colophon that provides information about the date (1435 CE) and historical circumstances of its creation in Tibet and the name of the artist.²⁴⁵

Since at the time of Jīvarāma's visit Tibetan art had been greatly influenced by Chinese art of the Yuan and Ming dynasties, some figures on the several leaves of the sketchbook are portrayed in an essentially Chinese manner while others are clearly identified as Tibetans due to their costumes. Leaves 27-30 present drawings of the four guardian kings known as "*caturmahārājas*" in the Kathmandu Valley. On Jīvarāma's drawing they are rendered in the Chinese Ming dynasty style, as great generals of the Tang army. "It is notable that the Indic prince typology of the *caturmahārājas* in Nevar Buddhism began to give way to the Chinese warlord convention in about the 15th century" claims Huntington (ibid: 81). Newar artists such as Jīvarāma thus encountered works of art in the Tibetan and Chinese styles, captured them in their sketches and returned to Nepal. In this way the style inventions were put to use in the later works of Nepalese art.

By the early 20th century the four male figures depicted in Tibetan outfits with felt shoes and hats, as for example on four votive plaques of Vanagatabāhā (fig. 493), had become conventions of Newar painting. The style of the hats is also found on leaf 6 of Jīvarāma's sketchbook where a similar hat is worn by a Tibetan teacher (ibid: 76).

Possibly, the *caturmahārājas* on the plaques were painted by a hand different from the one that depicted Māyādevī on the two other plaques framing the entrance to the shrine. Through their attributes the figures can easily be identified as the *caturmahārājas*.²⁴⁶ Starting from the left side, Kubera (fig. 494) is depicted holding a snake in his left hand

²⁴⁵ *Nevar Artist Jīvarāma's Sketchbook*, 24 x 12.5 cm (each folio), ink and water-based pigment on paper, Thyasaphu format (with 39 leaves remaining from an unknown number): "In Nevari Samvat 555 (CE 1435) on the second day of the dark half of Vaiśākha [April-May], Jīvarāma personally wrote this, [and] after [he] heard [instructions] from Chon bhota made the whole book himself. After having come from *Prati cittam* [towards the west; perhaps a place name], where he heard [instructions] from Lālā Chunva [a Newar phonetic rendering of a Tibetan name ending in "the younger"]. Giving the book special importance, he brought it back to [his own] *vihāra*. After working in Nyar Dva [Tibetan place name?], he then brought it back. This was made personally by Jīvarāma" (Huntington 2006: 76).

²⁴⁶ Niels Gutschow (1997: 40) mentions the eight Lokapālas known in Hinduism. They act as world protectors while ruling over the eight cardinal directions of the world.

and a *caitya* in his right – the reason why he is called Caityarāja. He is the guardian of the West. The second figure with blue skin is the guardian of the South, Khadgarāja (fig. 495), holding a sword (*khaḍga*) in his right hand and a manuscript in his left hand. Next to him, Vīṇārāja (fig. 496) is presented guarding the East and playing a Vīṇā. As the guardian of the North, the figure (fig. 497) on the right side is known as Dhvājarāja due to the banner (*dhvāja*) he holds in his right hand and the mongoose in his left.

Mary Slusser notes that the *caturmahārājas* had rather been part of the Tibetan than of the Nepalese artistic repertoire. This fact may explain the Tibetan outfits of the figures of the house at Vanagatabāhā. As Gutschow (1997: 41) observed, it was not before the middle of the 19th century that the *caturmahārājas* became a regular feature of the iconographic programme of Jalaharyuparisumerucaityas and Sumerucaityas in the Valley. Beside the decorative character of the votive plaques of Vanagatabāhā, the depictions of the four guardian kings are based on religious belief and protect the house, the shrine, the Buddhist community (*saṅgha*) and the whole courtyard.

13.8 Further Thoughts on the Votive Plaques

Until the middle of the 20th century, besides being decorative attachments to the Newar houses, the stereotyped images depicted on the votive plaques show that “Newar art was the embodiment of spiritual forces which were generally believed to sustain law and order and served to diffuse it. It was one of the means by which the world, that is to say the local landscape, the local society, and the local gods, were fashioned and kept in order”, (Macdonald and Vergati Stahl 1979: 6). The painters followed the directions of their individual sketch books. Although Newar art does not exclude inventions, as is exemplified by Adalbert Gail (1984, I: 27) for the roof struts of the Cārnārāyaṇ Temple (1565) at Darbār Square in Patan, each inscribed with innovative names for Viṣṇu’s manifestation as Kṛṣṇa, the images of the votive plaques were depicted in a rather conventional style. The details, such as composition, colours, gestures or attributes, were more or less fixed. “Breaking the traditional iconographic rules can turn a deity from a beneficent force into a malevolent one”, states Gérard Toffin (2007: 25), a French anthropologist who has been researching in the Kathmandu Valley since 1970.

Until today the Citrakār have, in principle, been serving both Hindu and Buddhist clients as is revealed by the dual context of the images. As I attempted to demonstrate, the depiction of holy images testifies to stylistic development despite model books and

iconographic rules. However, it must be admitted that during the first half of the 20th century the depiction of holy figures on the votive plaques was not affected by the new painting techniques to such a great extent as was the architecture and landscape. In fact, the deities show no signs of portrait painting.

On the houses of the Newars, symbols that are painted on plaster are located above a principal doorway (fig. 491) on the occasion of a marriage or an old-age-initiation (*burā jākwa*) of an inhabitant. The paintings provide information about the identity of the hereditary priest (*purohit*) of the owner and his religious affiliation. Those with a Vajrācārya priest are *buddhamārgī* and have the five Buddhas (*pañcabuddha*) painted, while those with a Brahman Rājopādhyāya priest are *śivamārgī* and present the Hindu trinity (*trimūrti*) of Brahmā, Maheśvara (Śiva) and Viṣṇu flanked by Gaṇeśa and Kumār above the door. Being of interest for anthropological research, those symbols are mentioned in the literature from time to time. However, there has not been any account on votive plaques of Newar houses as far as I am aware.²⁴⁷

The painters may have worked with vegetable and mineral colours, which to a great extent came from the Kathmandu Valley. While indigo and carmine pigments were imported from India, the painters received lapis lazuli from Tibet and agglutinated the colours with Indian gum or egg white (Toffin 2007: 26).

Even though I have attempted to date some houses on the basis of their architectural motifs, the images are not a reliable source for dating the buildings. It needs further research to answer the question whether the images on the plaster plaques were sometimes renewed. But since they were not worshipped in ritual, a regular or annual renewal does not seem probable. Furthermore, it is not fully impossible that some plaques may have been added some time after the construction of the house.

²⁴⁷ A. W. Macdonald and Anne Vergati Stahl briefly mention the plaques as a type of mural painting (1979: 143).

14. HOUSE INSCRIPTIONS

14.1 Writing a Sacred Topography

House inscriptions are signs of a regional culture and present the peculiarities of its vernacular architecture. They may give information about the builder's (high) status, desire for protection and religious belief or morals. Whereas in the German-speaking parts of Europe inscriptions used to be common in the rural areas – where homes and stables were provided with religious verses, prayers and even profane matters – rather than in the urban context²⁴⁸ (Widera 1990: 5), they are found in the cities of the Newars, compact urban settlements, which are only partly rural in character. They are embedded in a complex network of religious structures. In contrast to the range of topics of inscriptions in German-speaking areas in Europe, in Nepal there are no peasant or time-critical themes but primarily protective invocations.

In Newar towns few residences that date back to the 19th century survive. Due to this reason nothing is known about inscriptions on houses before the beginning of the 20th century. It is, however, obvious that house inscriptions were in vogue in the Kathmandu Valley from the beginning of the 20th century until the 1980s.

The inhabitants of the Kathmandu Valley could not reach the plenitude of Quran dicta in Islamic countries, found on cultic buildings and upper-class houses. Throughout the history of Islam, calligraphy with its fully rounded strokes (*da'ira*) and long extended strokes (*madda*), formed an important part of the decorative scheme in architecture. The surfaces of Islamic religious or secular buildings provided the ground for convictions or exhortations of the faith as embodied in the Quran. Canonical literary passages dwelled on the impermanence of the world and the inconstancy of human life (Desai 1982: 119). For example, *Kufi*, the decorative floriated and foliated writing, together with vegetal and geometrical designs, embellished Islamic monuments from Spain and North Africa to Afghanistan, Central Asia and India from the Muslim Delhi Sultanate period in early 13th century, at the latest, onwards. In the middle of the 14th century, the late Tughluq period, epigraphic decoration was widely changed from stone to stucco (Desai 1982: 120).

The Newars did not develop a house-slogan culture comparable to the one ("Hauspruch-Kultur") in the German-speaking areas in Europe, where house

²⁴⁸ Even though house inscriptions are found in cities, they occur less often compared to their number in rural areas.

inscriptions span some 500 years (14th-19th centuries). According to Joachim Widera, who examines German-language house inscriptions and the possibilities of their interpretation (Widera 1990), nowhere else in Europe, North and South America, or Canada but in the German-speaking regions of Europe had a comparable house slogan culture been established, except on ecclesiastic and public buildings (ibid: 22f.).

And yet it is just in the Kathmandu Valley in Nepal where Newar inscriptions and house slogans express the intermingling of global aspects of habitation and design ideas with the vernacular. The inscribed façades act as the medium for this dialogue. The examination of Newar inscriptions raises several questions: Where are house inscriptions found within the Kathmandu Valley? What is the purpose of the inscriptions? Who was “in need” of inscriptions? What prompted the house owners to provide their houses with inscriptions? In short, inscription research should aim to identify the persons who created them, the reasons why they were used and how they spread.

Before turning to the presentation of the various examples, I would like to stress the fact that this is the first attempt ever made to analyse house inscriptions of the first half of the 20th century in the Kathmandu Valley. Therefore, I am aware that the corpus of inscriptions – mainly from Patan – focussed on and exemplified in the text may fail to be complete.

14.2 Aspects of Protection

Both have to be analysed: the time when the inscriptions occurred and the people’s concern met by the inscriptions. Almost all house inscriptions in the Kathmandu Valley are religious verses with the intention to bless the house and protect its inhabitants from misfortune and evil forces. The religious passages are mainly derived from Buddhist recital traditions in ritual acts, demonstrating that ancient concerns did not disappear during the rise of modernity but were expressed by stucco as a new medium. In general, a set of beliefs, an individual and collective consciousness, and trendiness may be reasons for providing houses with inscriptions. Religious dicta, however, can only survive if they are borne by faith and if a house is more than a profane matter but conforms to complex usages, secular and ritual, as is the case in the Kathmandu Valley (see chapter *The Functional Organisation and Symbolic Order of the House*). In this sense, the esoteric symbolism of the construction of a house had been kept alive during

the first half of the 20th century. Significant events – choosing of a site for the new house, the setting of the proper date by an astrologer to begin the construction, and the construction, completion and final purification of the building – required a vast array of symbolic references and practices. “The house, if improperly sited (in space and time), improperly constructed, or improperly purified, is dangerous”, as Robert Levy pointed out (1992: 192). It is believed that the members of the immediate or extended family of the owners may die without the proper building ceremonies. Most of this symbolism concerns the special knowledge and activities of the experts and the craftsmen – Tantric priests, astrologers, carpenters and masons.

Because of its religious aspect, the location of the house inscriptions could be expected to be above the door, the place where the house is most imperilled (Widera 1990: 14). Yet, in the cities of the Kathmandu Valley, house inscriptions are found above the central window on the first floor of a house, on friezes or even capitals. They generally contain the Sanskrit word “*śrī*”, a word or formula expressing a blessing, and furthermore may include an invocation to a deity. Rarely are they of a purely profane context.

In the case of the Newar house, the requirement for protection is already reflected in the stone which absorbs impurities (*pikhālākhu*) (see chapter *The Functional Organisation and Symbolic Order of the House*). This stone is situated in front of the entrance of each house. Various protective and auspicious signs are fixed to the lintels of the doors of a house (Gutschow et al. 1987: 238). It generally contains three-legged iron nails (*svakhaṇakī*) (fig. 25). They are nailed into the wood on the occasion of *silā caḥray* (March), *pāhā caḥray* (April) and *ghatāmugaḥ caḥray* (August) – that is the 14th day of a month, one day before the new moon – to propitiate the demons and affirm the wellbeing of the household. Furthermore, there are block prints presenting depictions of snakes (*nāga*) that are fixed above the lintel in August (*nāgapañcamī*) (Gutschow 2006: 46ff.). The images ought to appease the snakes of the earth after the farmers have prepared the separation of the rice seedlings. Even the lintel’s dentil pattern (*phvāsikva*) (fig. 24) on some doors, presenting an uneven number of trapezoids that can be traced back to Kuṣāṇa architecture, is considered to be an auspicious symbol.

14.3 Design Techniques

Inscriptions on early 20th century residential buildings were in general moulded in stucco, stuck onto the surface of plaques or plastered friezes. The texts protrude three-dimensionally from the wall. None of these are written onto the surface with a brush or carved into it. Very few are carved into wooden plaques, in case the house is not provided with stucco plaster. Until the end of the 19th century inscriptions were “inscribed” literally as carvings in stone, wood or metal. Ancient inscriptions are found on temple bells and carved in autonomous stone slabs in front of temples. They appear in an architectural context on stone columns, wooden *torāṇas* and are carved in massive stone roofs of miniature shrines and even wells. In many cases, they bear the name of the donor, the Buddhist or Brahmanical context and tell about the date of a consecration or construction.²⁴⁹ A simple wooden door of a rapidly decaying ruin of a house near Gaḥhiti in Bhaktapur is a unique example of an extant early profane house inscription. It says *Siddhi samba 803 vai śu 15 siddhi gopinā thayā : 11*” and tells us that on the 15th day of the waxing moon (*śudi*), that is the full moon day (*puṇimā*), in April (*vaiśākha*) 1683 CE (Nepal Saṃvat 803) a person named Gopinātha installed this door.

Whereas in Europe stones have been marked individually by the masons who trimmed them since the Middle Ages, there is no such tradition in Nepal. There are rare examples of single date inscriptions in brick dating back to late Malla time such as on the wall of Sundari Cok at Patan Darbār Square. It was not before the Rana period that bricks were provided with special moulded frogs such as “Keshar” used to build Kaisher’s palace in the 1920s and exhibited in today’s Garden of Dreams. *Śrī Tin Chandra 1913* is found in the foundation of a bridge²⁵⁰ at Cupīghāt in Bhaktapur (see also chapter *Supplier of Technical Steel: Dorman Long, Middlesborough*). Since Rana time, bricks used for palaces have been given brandings. Regular houses, however, were built with traditional bricks without any brandings during the Rana period.

²⁴⁹ Adalbert Gail (1984: 71ff.), e.g., presents the translation of several temple inscriptions containing invocations and providing information about the life of the donor, the objects endowed and the time of the consecration.

²⁵⁰ Massive steel beams from Dorman Long, Middlesborough, England are the bearing bridge. They had been shipped to Calcutta and were carried over the Himalayan Mountains by porters.

14.4 Difficulties in Reading

To read a text and understand its meaning always requires specific knowledge of the reader. In the case of early 20th century inscriptions in Nepal, the difficulties in deciphering may arise from phonetic writing (“writing as the language is spoken”). A formalised orthography does not exist in Nepalese language anyway. In addition, there are many loanwords from Sanskrit or Farsi, introduced directly into Newari or via Hindi and Nepali. Furthermore, European concepts of administration and Anglicism are imported into the Nepalese texts.

Sometimes a lack of kerning makes reading difficult. The often unconventional ligne spacing – due to the length and space given by the labelling field – may aggravate the reading. Furthermore, there are no hyphens and hardly ever any punctuation. In this report, the transcriptions are presented with the proper division of words to make the text legible.

Difficulties in reading may also occur due to the state of repair of the objects: Thick electricity cables may partly obstruct the view onto the inscriptions, and stucco letters may have fallen off. Missing letters and text components are therefore signed “X” and “[...]” in the transcription. I have standardised the orthography of the transcribed texts, taking into consideration that in Newari long and short vowels are frequently interchanged, as are the letters l/r, n/r, j/y, v/b, kh/ṣ and ś/ṣ/s. In particular cases it cannot be assured that I detected the original conception of the writer – that is transcribed (*italicised*), brought to a standard form ([in square brackets]) and translated (“in quotation marks”), and commented on the inscriptions correctly.

14.5 The Topics and Formal Aspects – Classification Criteria

Newar house inscriptions are mainly found on the houses of the well-to-do and citizens of high status, and are of formulaic character due to the multiple repetition of their restricted subject matter. In the following paragraphs the inscriptions are analysed according to their content and form. The chapter does not claim to be a complete catalogue. In conformance with my findings, the corpus of house inscriptions in the Kathmandu Valley can be classified into three thematic main groups: 1. edificial inscriptions, 2. invocations, 3. seed syllables and mantras. Each group is again classified into various subgroups to reduce the material presented to a common denominator. Each of these groups and subgroups is analysed and exemplified in the course of the chapter:

HOUSE INSCRIPTIONS**CLASSIFICATION CRITERIA**

| | |
|--|------------|
| 1. EDIFICIAL INSCRIPTIONS | thematical |
| Inscriptions in Cartouches | formal |
| The Language and Script of Edificial Inscriptions | formal |
| Time Specifications | formal |
| Decorative Attachments | formal |
| <i>Flowering Cartouches</i> | formal |
| <i>Garland-Bearing Couples</i> | formal |
| <i>Sun (Sūrya) and Moon (Candra)</i> | formal |
| <i>The Pointer – A European Icon</i> | formal |
| Edificial Inscriptions with Invocative Character | thematical |
| The Praising of the Three Jewels | thematical |
| Initials | formal |
| 2. INVOCATIONS | thematical |
| 3. SEED SYLLABLES AND MANTRAS AS FACADE INSCRIPTIONS | thematical |
| The Seed Syllable Om̐ | formal |
| Multisyllable Mantras in Devanāgarī | formal |
| Multisyllable Mantras in Ranjana Script | formal |
| Monograms | formal |

The observance of the entire palette of variations – topical and formal – might have confused the reader and would go beyond the scope of this work. Yet, in some extraordinary cases I take the liberty to present specific variations. There are relatively few thematic variations. These topical classifications of the inscriptions generally correspond to the basic form in which they are presented. For example, the edificial inscriptions (“Bauinschriften”), that provide information about a house, are presented mainly in neoclassical stucco cartouches or square frames. But edificial inscriptions are also represented by the formal subgroup of initials that are primarily found on capitals and hint at the name of the builder. The group of edificial inscriptions in cartouches is big enough to be analysed according to further formal aspects – language and script, time specification and decorative attachments such as decorative European style (Rocaille) cartouches, winged female figures, the pair of sun and moon or a pair of hands pointing their fingers at the inscriptions.²⁵¹ Furthermore, edificial inscriptions may be subdivided into further thematic subgroups, depending on the invocative character or the praising of the Three Jewels.

Invocations are found framed by cartouches as well as on friezes, whereas seed syllables and mantras in general adorn friezes. Signs that are exceptions in the context of invocations and mantras, such as the diamond sceptre or jewel (*vajra*) and *svastika* symbol, will be mentioned when the individual inscriptions are referred to.

²⁵¹ I have taken into consideration the approach to the categorisation of house inscriptions in the works of Joachim Widera (1990: 84, 102f.) and Max Kettner (1988: 48, 60f.).

As becomes obvious in the order of this listing, I have given up the order of first presenting the (sub)-topics and afterwards the (sub)-forms of each group for the sake of reading and writing.

14.6 Edifical Inscriptions

14.6.1 Inscriptions in Cartouches

Throughout the Kathmandu Valley, early 20th century buildings often bear ornate neoclassical plaques in clay or plaster with inscriptions. Only few exceptions are plaques whose inscriptions are carved in wood and pinned onto the lintel of the central window on the first floor of a house. The majority of inscriptions provide information about the address, e.g. the name of the locality (*tol*) and the house number, and the nearest monastery (*bāhā*, *bahī*). This is due to the fact that in rare cases streets and lanes are named but more often localities are named after squares, areas covering a number of blocks, or street crossings. Since a few decades, the localities are called “wards” and are numbered. In Patan, noticeable clusters of inscriptions referring to the name of the locality are found in the localities of Naka, Īkhāchē²⁵², Haugah and Maṃga (Mangal Bazaar), where it obviously became fashionable to locate the newly-built house in a territory. Asked about his or her place of residence, a Newar will first name the locality in which the house is situated. It becomes apparent that during the changes in the built environment in the early 20th century, the Newars kept on “inhabiting” not only their houses but their quarters, too. Around a dozen of the inscriptions localised in Patan disclose the construction dates of houses spanning from V.S. 1981 till 2044 (1924 – 1987 CE).

I have dedicated a separate paragraph to the small group of initials of the names of the builders. Besides this group, there are also more recent edificial inscriptions that shed light on the owner’s name – such as *Śrī Buddha Puṇya-nibāśa* 2025, “Blessed Buddha Puṇya residence 1968” (fig. 571, 572), *Śrī Prakāśa-nibāśa* 2029, “Blessed Prakash residence 1972 CE” (fig. 573), *Lakṣmī-nibāśa* 2038, “Lakṣmī residence 1981 CE” (fig. 575), or *Śrī nakīm̐jhyāḥ gurju-nibāśa* 2041, “Blessed Nakīm̐jhyāḥ Guruju residence 1984” (fig. 574) – even though they are rather rare and are not presented in neoclassical cartouches. The fashion of providing houses with edificial inscriptions lasted until the

²⁵² On a list of certain occupations that are regionally concentrated in Patan (Sakya 1973: 57), Īkhachebāhā is presented as an area that is inhabited by Vajrācāryas (or Śākyas) engaged in plasterwork.

1980s. When plain façades started being designed and houses were provided with flat roofs affected by the Indian modern style after the middle of the 1950s, plaques became more and more simple and were less and less provided with décor. Some even appear right on the façade without any plaque or frame.

14.6.2 The Language and Script of Edifical Inscriptions

Most inscriptions are written in Devanāgarī script, the majority of them in Newari language (“Nepal Bhasa”), whereas few inscriptions are written in Sanskrit language or contain words in Sanskrit. In this context, a short introduction of the Newar language seems appropriate. Newari, being a Tibeto-Burman tongue grammatically and linguistically, has been strongly influenced by Indo-European languages that dominate North India. It is the only Tibeto-Burman language to be written in Devanāgarī script. Concepts, especially for legal terms, are often borrowed from Sanskrit or Farsi²⁵³, often indirectly through Hindi and Nepali. The Nepalese linguist Kamal P. Malla (1982: 43) finds evidence for the early interest among literate Newars in Farsi in a trilingual dictionary for Sanskrit, Farsi, Newari, *Pharaśi Prakaśa* (1699) by the Newar author Karna Pura Kayastha. Just as the features of Mughal architecture and painting detected, for instance, in the depictions of the winged Newar spirits (see chapter *Angels, Kinnaris, Apsaras, Vidyādhari or Pāris? – Challenges in Iconographic Assigning*) the dictionary testifies to the growing interest and contact with the Muslim power in India.

For Buddhists and Hindus, Sanskrit is the language of scripture and liturgy and its usage is honorific. This general rule is also mirrored in the houses’ edificial inscriptions, where Sanskrit is assigned with a religious meaning, for example the praising of the Three Jewels, Skt. “*trīratnaḥ*”, *Trīratna nakavahī tola naṃ: 6*, [Trīratnaḥ nakabāhī ṭola naṃbara 6], “Three Jewels Nakabahī locality number 6” (fig. 509, 510). Another house (fig. 505) in Patan is inscribed *Śrī lakṣmī nārāyana haugala ṭolanamvara 173 sāla 1981*, [Śrī lakṣmī nārāyana haugala ṭola naṃbara 173 sāla 1981 VS], “Blessed Lakṣmī Nārāyan Haugaḥ locality number 173 year 1924” (fig. 506) while the pilasters exhibit stucco figures of Lakṣmī (fig. 503), the goddess of wealth, prosperity, purity, and generosity and her spouse Viṣṇu (fig. 502). Sanskrit is thus also blended with Nepali and Newari, since it is sometimes used as a loanword in a religious context and

²⁵³ In India, Farsi was the official court language for more than six hundred years until the early 19th century, when the British installed English in its place.

combined with profane matters, the house number, date of construction, and name of the locality.²⁵⁴

Anglicism such as *nambara*, *naṃbara*, *naṃvala*, *naṃvla*, *naṃva*, *laṃbara*, *lamvara*, *naṃmbara*, *naṃmvara*, *namvara*, *namara*, *naṃ* or merely *na*, is derived from the English word “number”. The differences in the diction of such loanwords are due to the attempt to phonetic writing. Furthermore the prevalent sound shift, as for example from “v” to “b” or “n” to “l” and vice versa is due to the lack of orthographic conventions and caused by the uncertainty of the diction of these consonants.

The word Nep. “saṃvat” originates in the Sanskrit word “saṃvatsara”. The inscription *Śrī dholātola naṃmbara 72 sambata 1998 sāla* (fig. 537) at a butcher’s house (fig. 536) next to the Dhomlādhvākā in the Newar town of Sankhu exemplifies both the lack of orthographic rules and the usage of several loanwords. It may be written in a standardised form as [Śrī Dhomlā ṭol naṃvara 72 saṃvat 1998 VS sāla], meaning “Blessed Dhomlā locality number 72 1941 year”. The word *sāla*, “year”, serves as an example for a Farsi (and Urdu) loanword, “sāl”, which in Hindi and Newari is “sāla”.

14.6.3 Time Specifications

Throughout the history of Nepal, four principal calculations of times (*saṃvat*) are used: Śaka Saṃvat, Mānadeva (Aṃśuvarman) Saṃvat, Nepal Saṃvat (N.S.) and Vikrama Saṃvat (V.S.).²⁵⁵ Vikrama Saṃvat begins with a year that corresponds to 57/56 BC and is of Indian origin. It may have been founded by an early Śaka king, but is assigned to Vikramāditya, who is a legendary ruler (Slusser 1982, I: 384). Vikrama Saṃvat, which is in use today, used to be the common but not the sole reckoning in the Kathmandu Valley from the beginning of the Shah period in 1768/69 CE. During that time, the use of the Śaka Saṃvat became more frequent throughout the Valley (ibid: 385). Vikrama Saṃvat was chosen as official reckoning by Rana Prime Minister Chandra Shamsher in 1903 CE but it was not before 1911 CE that it replaced the Śaka Saṃvat for dating coins (ibid: 385 and Shrestha 2002: 222). Almost all time specifications in edificial inscriptions, e.g. the date of construction, are given in Vikram Saṃvat (V.S.). In

²⁵⁴ The historian and linguist Kashinath Tamot, who helped with the transcriptions and translation of the inscriptions in December 2007, identifies those inscriptions that are written completely in Sanskrit as Sanskrit language and those including at least one word or expression in Newari as Newari, even if there are also Sanskrit words in one and the same inscription. I shall refer to this method in the following chapter.

²⁵⁵ Mary Shepherd Slusser presents the history of the eras in detail (Slusser 1982: 384f.).

Pharping, a Newar city South of Kathmandu, a house (fig. 498) is presented by a damaged plaque, saying Nep. *Śrī Kāch[...] tola nambara XX 1968*, “Blessed Kāch[...] tola number XX 1911” (fig. 501). With its date of construction in stucco it ranks among the earliest houses demonstrating the construction in 1911²⁵⁶. The house in Pharping might thus be among the earliest residences that had been provided with Vikrama Saṃvat as the date of construction. Furthermore the house is embellished by plastered pilasters with acanthus capitals and serves as one of the earliest 20th century buildings with stucco figuration – Sarasvātī (playing a *vīṇā*) on a *makara* (fig. 499) and Lakṣmī riding on a tortoise (fig. 500), identical with the river goddesses Gangā and Yamunā²⁵⁷ – orientated on mythical artwork.

The Nepal Saṃvat, which is also referred to as the Newari Saṃvat, succeeded the Mānadeva Saṃvat in 879 CE, when a generous merchant from Kathmandu called Saṃkhadar Sākhvāla is said to have paid off the Nepalese’s debts. The *Kaisher Vaṃśāvali*, however, credits its foundation to King Rāghavadeva (Slusser 1982, I: 389 and Shrestha 2002: 222). The Nepal Saṃvat was used to date all subsequent documents until the end of the Malla rule at the end of the 18th century (Slusser 1982, I: 389).²⁵⁸ Within my collection of Newar edificial inscriptions, I am only aware of one example on a house in Patan (fig. 518) that uses Nepal Saṃvat as the reckoning, *Śrī nhāgala tola mahāpāla mūgalachā laṃvla 74 sāla 1045*, “Blessed Nhāga locality, crossroad Mahāpāla, Mūgalachā courtyard 74 year 1925” (fig. 517).

Another plaque of a stucco plastered Śreṣṭha house close to the Viśvarupa (Nārāyaṇa) temple in Sankhu presents the following information: *Śrī trīratna sālśāṭol nambara 524 1980 sāra*, “Blessed Three Jewels/ Sālkhā locality number 524/ VS 1980 year” (fig. 508). The expression “sāra” can be equated to New. “sāla” as discussed above, while the date of construction can be traced back to the year 1923. These houses are examples of the oldest residences that survived the earthquake of 1934 and whose date of construction can be documented with the help of a stucco inscription.

On Rana architecture such as the former military hospital or school building in Kathmandu and on some palaces, the name of the building, e.g. Ananda Niketan, is

²⁵⁶ It was in the very year that the first electric installation in Nepal, the Sundarijal Hydro-Electric Scheme, was opened in Pharping.

²⁵⁷ As per Gautama Vajracharya (2009: 5) in Newar iconography “Śrī and Lakṣmī are two different deities and the goddesses standing on *makara* and turtle are not necessarily Gaṅgā and Yamunā; rather they are Śrī and Lakṣmī respectively”.

²⁵⁸ Since the end of Rana rule in the middle of the 20th century, the Newars have been celebrating the New Year’s Day of Nepal Saṃvat as a public event at the end of October.

presented in Roman letters. The date of construction, the name of the Rana builder and his decoration are often found put in marble tiles. The inscriptions are visibly placed above porticos and can easily be read from the ground floor level. The following inscription in capital letters is placed above the monumental portico of the throne hall Gaddi Baithak (1908) at Hanuman Dhokā in Kathmandu: *ERECTED/ DURING THE REIGN OF HM THE MAHARAJAH DHIRAJ PRITHVI BIR BIKRAM SHAH BAHADUR JUNG BAHADUR/ AND DURING THE ADMINISTRATION OF HH THE MAHARAJAH MAJOR GENERAL SIR CHANDRA SHAMSHERE JUNG BAHADUR RANA G.C.B.G.C.S.I.D.C.L./ HONOURARY COLONEL 4TH GURKHAS THONGLINPIM-MAKOKANG WANG SIAN PRIME-MINISTER & MARSHAL NEPAL/ A.D. 1908* (fig. 164).²⁵⁹ Inscriptions like the latter, written in English and presenting the date of construction *anno domini*, underline the representational character of the neoclassical architecture in Nepal, so badly needed by the Ranas to demonstrate their political ambitions towards the British in India.

14.6.4 Decorative Attachments

The classification of house inscriptions in this work takes into consideration a variety of aspects, such as aesthetic or linguistic aspects, that do not belong to the meaning of the inscription itself. The range of ornaments of early 20th century houses in Patan and other Newar cities contains several interrelated key elements. The decorative attachments – probably the most obvious of all “formal” characteristics – are inseparably connected to the overall appearance of edificial inscriptions. They may be either ornaments or symbols of protection, or both: flowering cartouches, garland-bearing couples, sun (*sūrya*) and moon (*candra*), or “the pointer”.

14.6.4.1 Flowering Cartouches

The stucco keystone as described in chapter *Scrollwork and Rocaille Cartouches* was translated hundredfold into the façades of Newar houses as a new achievement from Europe. The majority of façades bear neoclassical flowering cartouches with scrollwork elements in their keystones, mostly located above the central window in the first floor of a house (fig. 363, 365). Cartouches of this kind often enclose edificial inscriptions to which they are decorative attachments without any symbolic function.

²⁵⁹ Knight Grand Cross, Order of the Bath (G.C.B.), Knight Grand Commander, Order of the Star of India (GCSI), Doctor of Civil Law (D.C.L.).

14.6.4.2 Garland-Bearing Couples

In Patan, some edificial inscriptions in cartouches above windows are presented by garland-bearing couples of heavenly female figures (fig. 327, 329, 330, 332, 513). As discussed in chapter *Heavenly Women*, their affiliation as attachments of either purely decorative or at the same time protective reasons is ambivalent: The figures resemble European décor while their iconography may also be rooted in the South Asian religious context where they are originally symbols of protection.

14.6.4.3 Sun (*Sūrya*) and Moon (*Candra*)

“O my client! You have built a house to live in; your house is finished. I call you great. O client, may your construction always remain firm. May all the gods protect it for as long as the gods live on Mount Meru, as long as the Ganges flows on this earth, and as long as the sun and the moon rise in the sky!” (Slusser 1982, I: 420) – these lines are part of the *Sthirobhava-vākya*, a text of prayers that is recited by a priest at the consecration ceremony of a newly built Newar house. Numerous inscription bearing plaques in Patan are embellished by the sun (*sūrya*) and moon (*candra*) (fig. 512, 515, 517, 525, 529, 537) that also appear in other architectural context, i.e. on carved apron planks (fig. 417) or as stucco keystones.²⁶⁰ The sun and moon may guard the entrance of temples; the probably oldest example is found in the personification of *Sūrya* on the *torāṇa* of the *Indrēśvara* Temple in Panauti from the late 13th century.

This alignment of Hindu and Tantric symbols on profane buildings sheds light on the religious belief and the intentions of the inhabitants, who “stress the importance of both male *and* female, means *and* wisdom, moon *and* sun” (Gellner 1992: 280). Gellner presents a list of dualistic correspondences that are used by the symbolism of Tantric initiation and are found in Tantric songs, iconography and ritual. According to him, sexual, mystic, and antinomian qualities like wisdom and means, night and day, woman and man, left and right, moon and sun, and lotus and *vajra*, are central to Tantric initiation.²⁶¹ The aim is to transcend the duality in order to realise the ultimate truth: emptiness (*śūnya*).

The sun and moon are elements of traditional Hindu iconography and belong to the nine heavenly bodies and events (*navagraha*) of South Asian astrological theory. The

²⁶⁰ The symbols are also found on the Nepalese flag, on coins etc.

²⁶¹ This initiation represents the culmination of the religious achievements of few Newar Buddhists; all other practices are only preparation (Gellner 1996: 280f.). A worship of *Vajrasattva* is performed at the house where the Tantric Initiation will take place one to three months before the actual event.

image of the sun is also represented among the Newar household gods (Levy 1992: 265f.). In the listing of the Sthirobhava-vākya, “‘The laths laid over the rafters under the tiles are clouds, the mud mortar is the sky, and the bricks are stars. The sleepers under the left-hand door jamb are Candra, those under the right-hand jamb, Sūrya. The roof is the umbrella of the house’” (Slusser 1982, I: 421). As attachments to the inscriptions the moon is always set on the left side and the sun on the right side of the first syllable if seen from the viewer’s perspective. Taken of the cosmic context, the sun and moon may symbolise permanency: “May this house, locality or even city, endure!”

14.6.4.4 *The Pointer – A European Icon*

Two stucco hands may be depicted on both sides of a text. Their origin is unclear. They were, however, popular icons known as “pointers” in Europe (fig. 507), its colonies and the United States of America in the beginning of the 20th century and frequently used in advertisements. In the case of Newar house inscriptions, they “advertise” the house or the statement of the inscription (fig. 508-512, 514, 515, 522). The icon may have arrived in Patan through British advertisements and catalogues received by the Newar merchants of the city. Even nowadays, these icons are glued on the windscreen of Calcuttan cabs.

14.6.5 Edifical Inscriptions with Invocative Character – Where Divine Spirit meets Profane Matters

An example from Sankhu inscribes a Śreṣṭha house that was built in 1958 and shows neoclassical design such as stucco plastered pilasters and cornices: *Śrī Ugratārā DHUNLA TOLE 2015*, “Blessed Ugratārā/ Dhomlā locality/ VS 2015” (fig. 533). The inscription is a rare example of the intermingling of Devanāgarī script used to invoke the deity Ugratārā and Roman letters on a plaque in 1951. Furthermore, “Dhunla Tole” just as “Dholātola” describes the same locality, Dhomlā.

In 1958, the same year the Śreṣṭha house in Sankhu was built, the four-storey Jyāpu house was constructed in the locality of Calākhu, Sankhu (fig. 534). It carries the inscription *Śrī Bajrajoginī śarṇa 2015*, “Blessed take refuge to Vajrayoginī 1958” (fig. 535). A stucco lion head is situated above the central window on the first floor, the place where plaques are usually installed; the inscription, however, appears frameless above the central window on the second floor.

The inscriptions of the two Sankhu houses refer to the local female goddess Sankhu Vajrayoginī (in fact Ekajāṭa/Ugratārā, Tārā in her terrifying form) (Slusser 1982, I: 325), one of the four chief Brahmanical *yoginīs* in the Valley besides Vajrayoginī in Pharping, Akaśayoginī in Pulchok, Patan and Akaśayoginī (Vidyāśvarī) near Svayambhunāth. *Yoginīs* are female minor deities or demons in the retinue of Durgā. The temple of the Sankhu Vajrayoginī is situated at the hilltop forest monastery, Guṃbāhā, of Sankhu.

While the foundation of the monastery of Guṃbāhā may be traced back to Licchavi time (Locke 1985: 467), its importance did not diminish during Malla time and Rana rule. Members of the Rana clan provided land and also money to practice religious activities at the Vajrayoginī temple in Sankhu. They even chose the goddess as their personal god (*iṣṭadevatā*) (Shrestha 2002: 308).

14.6.6 The Praising of the Three Jewels

A number of edificial inscriptions on houses in Patan from the first half of the 20th century hint at a Buddhist context. For example, the praising of the *triratnaḥ* (Skt.), the Three Jewels, is found on many edificial plaques (fig. 327, 386, 508, 510, 512, 513). For a better understanding of the Three Jewels, we have to look closer at some religious practices of Śākyas and Vajrācāryas since Buddhist inscriptions are found primarily on houses of these groups of Buddhist Newars.

Śākyas claim to be descendents of the Buddha's clan and thus underline their unequivocal identification as Buddhists and part-time monks at the time of initiation, despite being married²⁶² (Gellner 1992: 33, 58), whereas Vajrācāryas identify themselves mainly as Tantric priests (ibid: 263). Gellner observes caste and religious affiliation and Buddhist identity among Newars and describes how Śākyas and Vajrācāryas are set off from all other Newar castes by their conception of caste (Gellner 1992). He observes that "Śākyas and Vajrācāryas perform more ritual as an expression of their Buddhist identity, i.e. for what they would see as soteriological purposes, than other castes" (ibid: 33). The Śākyas and Vajrācāryas of Nepal have preserved the monastic ritual of taking the Eight Precepts, even though they do not practise permanent celibate monasticism and thus do not have a monastic code. The temporary assumption

²⁶² The Śākya's and Vajrācārya's monastic status begins with monastic initiation in which the boys spend four days as a monk. The ritual is annually at the festival of Pañcadān when the boys beg for alms, and also whenever a Śākya or Vajrācārya performs an observance or life-cycle ritual and has his head shaved.

on holy days of the Eight Precepts is, according to Gellner, the only occasional practice that ancient Theravāda Buddhism provided for the laity (ibid: 220). A lay person in general only keeps the Five Precepts. Taking the Eight is thus half-way towards the Ten Precepts that make a person equivalent to a novice monk or nun. The Five Precepts are assignments that prohibit the taking of life, stealing, committing sexual misconduct, telling lies and intoxicating oneself. These, together with three other Precepts, namely not to have meals at the wrong time (i.e. after midday), not to watch dancing, singing or music shows and neither to wear perfumes and finery nor sleep on high beds, are the Eight Precepts.²⁶³ These Precepts are usually taken on full moon and new moon days, but sometimes also on the eighth day of the month (ibid: 220). One important difference of the Newar Buddhist Observance to Theravāda Buddhism is that the Newar Buddhist Observance is mainly a ritual of devotion to the Bodhisattva Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara. The latter is a particular form of Avalokiteśvara (Karunāmaya), who was already mentioned in chapter *The Omnipresence of Amoghapāśa (Avalokiteśvara, Lokeśvara)*, since his image is often depicted on Newar votive plaques and is associated with this Observance and the Eight Precepts.

John C. Huntington, a scholar in the field of Asian art history, Dina Bangdel, an art historian specialised in the art and architecture of South Asia, particularly Tibet and Nepal, and Robert A. F. Thurman, a specialist in Indo-Tibetan Buddhist studies, write about Buddhist meditational art state and claim: “Like all Mahayana and Tantric persona, Amoghapasha is regarded as an embodiment of dharanis, or mantras, that is, Sanskrit invocations whose repetition generates religious benefits and attainments. The *Amoghapasha Dharani Sutra* states: ‘Amoghapasha is the secret, wise ruler of everything in this world’” (Huntington et al. 2004: 186). I will refer to mantras and *dhāraṇīs* in chapter *Multisyllable Mantras and Dhāraṇīs in Devanāgarī*. The Tibetan practice of the ritual of performing the Observance of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara, like the Newar ritualisation, is expressed in the worship of the Three Jewels (Buddha, *dharma*, *saṅgha*) and to Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara (Gellner 1992: 221f.). The Three Jewels, among others, are worshipped in basic rituals of Newar Buddhism, such as the *guru maṇḍala*, the most common and basic Newar Buddhist ritual as part of life-cycle rituals (ibid: 149). There are three levels of Newar Buddhism, the Disciples’ Way (*Śrāvakayāna*), the Great Way (*Mahāyāna*) and the Diamond Way (*Vajrayāna*).²⁶⁴ Just as the Buddha

²⁶³ In the context of the Eight Precepts, the third is interpreted as an overall ban on sex.

²⁶⁴ The three levels of Newar Buddhism also represent a historical development. The Disciples’ Way is the earliest and the Diamond Way the latest form of Buddhism, cf. Gellner (1993: 109f). They are

appears in a hierarchy of various forms, as Gellner (ibid: 149) shows, the Three Jewels can be explained at three levels. In the Disciples' Way, there is the Śākyamuni Buddha, the *dharma* representing a doctrine and the *saṅgha*, the monastic community. In the Great Way, one finds Svayambhū, Prajñā Pāramitā (a sacred text represented also as a goddess, the Perfection of Wisdom), and the Bodhisattva Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara. As representations of the Three Jewels, Vajrasattva, Vajrayoginī and Ṣaḍakṣarī Lokeśvara are represented in the Diamond Way²⁶⁵ (ibid: 294).

Gellner speaks of an “important, ideologically central, scriptural charter for encouraging faith in the Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha, by whatever means necessary, including making promises and assumptions which are true only in that they lead eventually to salvation” (ibid: 346). In this logic, the Three Jewels are displayed on numerous tympana over monastery doorways and shrines or in front of *caityas* as figurative depictions. On 20th century residential houses and plastered shrines such as Kisibāhā (1953-58) in the locality of Būbāhā, Patan, they are presented as inscriptions, thus adding authority to the faith in the Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha in an abstract form.

It is remarkable that cartouches with early 20th century inscriptions became a widespread fashion in Patan and also other Newar towns such as Sankhu, while in Bhaktapur only few such plaques could be located. This may be due to the fact that the majority of houses in Bhaktapur had not been provided with stucco plaster that served as the medium for inscriptions in Patan. As a rare exception, one building in Bhaktapur, a *sattal*, beside the god-house (*dyaḥchē*) of Maheśvarī at the square of Inacva, an inscription provides the construction date of 1947 CE (fig. 436). In the same neighbourhood along the main street, a plaque reveals the Buddhist verse “*Śrī trīratnaḥ*” that was widely present in Patan. The examination of edificial inscriptions in Patan and Sankhu points to a tendency to simplify the presentation of inscriptions at the end of the 1950s. In general, the text appears in a simple rectangular stucco frame that is often larger than the playful cartouches of early 20th century houses. Often, the frames are renounced and the inscription is fixed directly on the plastered façade.

symbolically and practically represented in the organization of the Newar monastery. The principal deity of the monastery is held on the ground floor to represent the Disciples' Way. On the upper floor wing, the bodhisattva Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara represents the Great Way and the Tantric deity, representing the Diamond Way, is situated over the main deity or over the monastery's entrance. “It is not merely that there is a hierarchy of levels, but *the gods at the different levels are considered to be forms of each other*” (Gellner 1993: 293).

²⁶⁵ Gellner gives explicit information about the Diamond way and Tantric rituals that come with it, cf. Gellner 1996.

14.6.7 Initials

On former Rana palaces such as Kaisher Mahal, Kaisher Shamshar's initial "K" is found in the wrought iron parapets or in form of stucco décor in the round arch of the *Vasanta*-pavilion in the Garden of Dreams. King Mahendra, who was crowned king in the middle of the 1950s, provided the large well at Bhandarkhal Garden with "M" in cement. Even the bricks used to build the well of the garden bear the name "Mahendra". Initials from the Latin alphabet also give special character to some Newar houses. In the case of the majestic whitewashed Amatya house²⁶⁶ (fig. 401) at Darbār Square, Mangal Bazaar in Patan (see also chapter *In Remembrance of the Nāyahs of Patan*) that was erected in 1945 (VS 2001) by Subrana Nursing Amatya according to its present owner Prakash Nursing Amatya, Roman initials even intermingle with Devanāgarī syllables. Four aspiring pilasters frame the three arched windows, their capitals being embellished by four Devanāgarī syllables that spell Raghunāth, the name of Lord Rām (fig. 402-405). The keystones of the two outer windows on the second floor bear the Roman letters "H" (fig. 409) and "B" (fig. 410), initials for Hem Narsing Amatya, the builder's father, and Bhakta Narsing Amatya, the builder's elder brother. Like many Newars, they were named after Hindu gods: Narasimha, the man-lion, is the fourth of the ten incarnations (*avatāra*) of Viṣṇu. Bhakta²⁶⁷, "devotee", is the name given to a fervent worshipper of Viṣṇu (Liebert 1986: 37) and Hema is the Sanskrit name for "gold".

In Bhaktapur three stucco figures embellish the façade of the house of Ram Krishna Bhadra (fig. 389) representing Rām with Hanumān (fig. 390) and Kṛṣṇa (fig. 391). There is an interconnection between the Bhaktapurian's witty play with figural embellishment in memory of the builder's own name, Ram Krishna, and the westernised self-representation with Roman initials.

14.7 Invocations – Taking Refuge in the Local Pantheon

There are parallels between the placement of a sacred image as the first thing in a new house, by which in future the permanent presence of the deity is maintained in the home (Gyatso 2006: 144) and the invocation of goddesses and gods in house inscriptions.

²⁶⁶ Recent ward number 18. The building nowadays houses the Kathmandu Valley Preservation Trust that is related to Nepalese architectural history and professional development for preservation practice in Nepal.

²⁶⁷ According to *bhakti* ("devotion"), a mystical religious doctrine, the *bhakta* attains the union with god – either Śiva or Viṣṇu (Rāma) or other gods – "through an ardent love of God, or an uncompromising devotion" (Liebert 1986: 37).

Some flowering cartouches come without any edificial information, but purely praise local gods and goddesses worshipped by the inhabitants of the houses, such as *Śrī 3 trīratna*, “Blessed three times the Three Jewels” (fig. 511, 512), *Śrī tāre maṃ śarṇa kā*, “Carry me to refuge” (fig. 525, 526) or *Śrī sīva*, “Blessed Śiva”. Therefore, they are categorised in a particular group since they are primarily presented like edificial inscriptions, but their straight religious context rather conforms to the one of mantras, as discussed below.

Śrī dakṣiṇakālī hāratimāt mahalakṣmī sarṇa, “Blessed refuge to Dakṣiṇkālī, Hārītī, Mahalakṣmī” – on the plaque (fig. 530) of a house in the locality of Thati in Patan (fig. 531), Hārītī is called in her Newari name, *hāratimāt* (“mother Hārati”). Hārītī is a Buddhist Tantric goddess²⁶⁸ and the goddess of fertility, which is thought to protect children from smallpox and other diseases. Certain Maharjan women – farmers in Patan’s eastern district – work as midwives (*didī aji*) and are associated with birth. They thus have a special relationship to Hārītī, who is regarded to have special power over children (Gellner and Pradhan 1995: 173). At the life-cycle rite of birth purification a wooden pot containing beaten rice, mustard oil, and clarified butter represents Hārītī (Gellner 1992: 203). After the ritual, the pot is thrown at the nearest spot (*chwāsā*) where inauspicious objects such as the umbilical cord or a dead person’s clothes are placed. The *chwāsā* is thus often identified with the goddess Hārītī (Gellner 1992: 81).

The main shrine dedicated to Hārītī is found on the hill of Svayambhū where it was given by King Pratāpa Malla in the 17th century. Hārītī was also given a shrine in the courtyard of Sīghaḥbāhā in Kathmandu. She is intensively worshipped by Buddhists at the beginning (*gũṃlādharmārambha*) and the end (*gũṃlādharmārasamāpti*) of the month of Gũṃlā (Lienhard 1999: 177).

The goddess Hārītī has no temple in the city but her protective and popular character might be a reason why she is praised on the plaque, together with Mahalakṣmī and Dakṣiṇkālī. To protect the succession of the owner and ensure his future. Mahalakṣmī is one of the eight mother goddesses (*aṣṭamātrkāś*) of Patan with a temple in the city. She is also one of four of the *aṣṭamātrkāś* for which people from the castes of “untouchables”, Dyaḥlā, daily serve as god-guardians. The Dyaḥlās of Patan are settled in four localities – that correspond with the cardinal directions – each attached to specific *pīṭh* gods and goddesses (Gellner 1995: 283). In the South of the city, the Dyaḥlā locality of Thati is associated with the *pīṭh* goddess Mahalakṣmī. Whether the house with the plaque was originally inhabited by Dyaḥlā remains an open question.

²⁶⁸ Gellner (1996: 77) calls the goddess “a demonness (*yakṣiṇī*) converted to Buddhism”.

The text, at least, refers to the specific *pīṭh* goddess of the locality where the house is situated.

The foremost deity in Nepalese Buddhism, Avalokiteśvara, the Bodhisattva of compassion, is exemplarily praised on the plaque of a house of Buddhists at Pintubahī, Patan, where he is invoked by his other name, Karuṇāmāya: *Karuṇāmāya sarana*, “Refuge to Karuṇāmāya”. Avalokiteśvara is also often depicted on votive plaques as Harihariharihara-vāhana Lokeśvara, Lokeśvara riding his vehicles, as discussed in chapter *The Omnipresence of Amoghapāśa (Avalokiteśvara, Lokeśvara)*.

To give an example of Hindu inscriptions, there is a plaque saying *Śrī paśupatīnātha kī jaya jaya rāma*, “Hail, hail to Paśupatinātha, hail, hail, Rāma” (fig. 529) at a house in the locality of Tyāgaḥ Patan (fig. 527, 528). The text refers to the protective god of Nepal, Paśupati (“Lord of the Cattle”). He is a manifestation of Śiva to whom a temple in Deopatan near Kathmandu is dedicated: The holy site of Paśupatināth is a significant place of pilgrimage for Nepalese and Indians and the most prestigious cremation ground in Nepal.

The Hindu god Rāma is also mentioned in one of the most extravagant stucco inscriptions in Patan. It is a prayer that used to stretch across a cornice of a richly decorated house (fig. 519-524) in the vicinity of Nalachībāhā in the locality of Thābu, which was dismantled in 2007. Several gods and goddesses were worshipped in the long text, which was written in Devanāgarī and partly destroyed: *Śrī rāma / śrī lachumna / śrī rādhyasyāma / śrī kīśna saraṇa / śrī rāma / śrī kṛīśna sarana / śrī rāma / śrī sītā rāma / śrī [...]/ [...]/ śrī guhyakāli sarana / śrī rāma / Bhagavatī sarana / jya karuṇā-nidhyāna sarana / śrī bhīmasyaṇa*²⁶⁹. It may be translated as “Blessed Rāma / blessed Lakṣmaṇa / blessed Rādhesyāma / blessed take refuge in Kṛṣṇa / blessed Rāma / blessed take refuge in Kṛṣṇa / blessed Sītārāma / blessed [...] / [...] / blessed take refuge in Guhyakāli / blessed Rāma / take refuge in Bhagavatī / hail take refuge in the store of mercy / blessed Bhīmasena”. The text gives information about the religious belief of the builder of the house who worshipped Brahman gods, such as the protagonists of the Hindu epic *Rāmāyana* (“the life of Rāma”) – Rāma, his brother Lakṣmaṇa, and Rāma’s wife Sītā (Sītārāma), – or Kṛṣṇa and his mistress Rādhā (Rādhesyāma). Rāma and

²⁶⁹ Standardised form: [Śrīrāma / śrīlakṣmaṇa / śrīrādhesyāma / śrīkṛṣṇa śaraṇa / śrīrāma / śrīkṛṣṇa śaraṇa / śrī sītārāma / śrī [...] / [...] / śrīguhyakālī śaraṇa / śrīrāma/ bhagavatī śaraṇa / jaya karuṇā-nidhāna śaraṇa / śrībhīmasena].

Kṛṣṇa, the seventh and eighth incarnations (*avatāra*) of Viṣṇu, are given special emphasis. Rāma is mentioned three times and one time as part of the divine unification with Sītā, *Sītārāma*.²⁷⁰ Rāma and his wife Sītā are considered as the ideal couple by Hindus.

A rhythm or melody is brought to bear when the lines are repeated. Kṛṣṇa's name appears two times and one time in the unification with his mistress, *Rādhesyāma*. Both, "Sītārāma" and "Rādhesyāma" are also expressions used by Hindus as general blessing formulae and as greetings. The inscription calls on the reader to take refuge in Kṛṣṇa, Guhyakālī and the Brahman mother goddess Bhagavatī (Durgā). The worshipped deities thus not only relate to the general Hindu pantheon, but Guhyakālī and Bhīmasena also establish a local relationship to Nepal. Guhyakālī is also known as Guhyeśvarī ("the goddess of secret") and is worshipped as the protective goddess of Nepal. She "dwells" in Deopatan near the Paśupatināth temple, where she appears in different forms and, depending on the Brahmin or Buddhist context or folk religion, with different names. Axel Michaels, a scholar of Classical Indology, deals with the identity of the goddess Guhyeśvarī and her temple and festivals (i.e. *kalaśapūjā*, one of the basic rituals of Newar Vajrācāryas) (Michaels 1996: 303f.).²⁷¹ Guhyeśvarī is worshipped by Śaivas as Guhyeśvarī (Guhyakālī), one of the nine manifestations of Durgā in Nepal (Naudurgā), while Buddhists variously deify her as Prajñāpāramitā, Agniyoginī, or Nairātmā (Slusser 1982, I: 215f.). A special feast is dedicated to the deity in Nepal. Guhyeśvarī is one of the chief national divinities of Nepal and a popular private deity (Michaels 2006: 248) for many Nepalese people. The goddess is a *piṭha-devatā* (Nepali) or *piganadyo* (Newari): She is a goddess who has a place, seat or altar (*piṭha*). The *piṭha-devatās* of the Kathmandu Valley are related to the concept of the *śakti-piṭha* in Indian tradition (Slusser 1982, I: 327). The majority of *śakti-piṭha* is scattered in Bengal; a few, however, are found in Nepal and the Himalaya. According to Indian mythology, Durgā in her manifestation as Satī (ibid: 327), or Pārvatī who became Satī (Michaels 1996: 317), immolated herself as her husband Śiva was insulted because he was not invited by her father Dakṣa to the sacrifice. Mad with grief at Satī's death, Śiva wandered around bearing her corpse on his shoulder until piece by piece it dropped away.²⁷² Wherever a piece of Satī fell down, the place became a *śakti-piṭha*, a place sacred to Durgā. In the

²⁷⁰ At a house in Mhaga (fig. 542-544), the divine couple is also named as *Rāma/ Siṃtā*, "Rāma/ Sītā", on a small pedestal above the acanthus pilasters that frame the windows.

²⁷¹ Besides the main sanctum, Michaels presents other shrines of the goddess in the Valley, e.g. in Kwābāhā (Skt. Hiraṇyavarṇa-Mahāvihāra) in Patan (Michaels 1996: 309).

²⁷² Another version lets Viṣṇu cut away the pieces of the corpse by his *cakra*.

Kathmandu Valley the *śakti-piṭha* is the place where Satī's anus or vulva, *guhya*²⁷³, fell down. It is the place of Guhyeśvarī, whose identification as a *śakti-piṭha* deity has almost no Tantric implications, but rather is of a benevolent character (Michaels 1996: 317).

Bhīmasena, also worshipped in the inscription of the house at Nalachībāhā, is one of the most popular deities in the Kathmandu Valley. He is one of the five Pandavas, the five acknowledged sons of Pandu by his two wives Kunti and Madri in the Hindu epic Mahābhārata. In “an unexplained metamorphosis” (Slusser 1982, I: 258), he became a god of good fortune, whose tasks relate to commerce and love. Among his devotees are numerous Newar merchants and his most important temples are found in the bazaar area of the cities. His chief temple is in Mangal Bazaar, Patan, a few blocks away from where the house used to be located. Bhīmasena is in general portrayed in a heroic posture standing erect with his legs widespread, with a helmet for battle and brandishing an enormous club, or sometimes sword and shield. Bhīmasena is worshipped as a household deity and in major temples such as those in Kathmandu, Patan and Bhaktapur.

The deities invoked in the inscriptions embody mercy and matters of universal concern such as passion and love, protection and good fortune. These aspects secure the future for the house owner and his family. The presence of the deities, evoked through the inscriptions is abstracted from traditional figurative depictions. At the same time their names and symbolism are intrinsically tied to the early 20th century façades of Newar houses, the stage for self-display and platform to showcase wealth, and modern comforts.

14.8 Seed Syllables and Mantras as Façade Inscriptions

14.8.1 The Background of Magic Formulas

Some houses, in Patan in particular, do not expose the locality name but are embellished by one or multi-syllable expressions (*mantras*) in stucco with a purely religious content. They occur not only on friezes but are also placed on keystones and on pilasters. The sources for these inscriptions can be traced back to ancient scriptures of Indian religions. The verses trickled down onto the 20th century houses of the Newars mainly

²⁷³ Skt. and Nep. “to be concealed”, “private parts”, or “the secret part of the body”.

from Buddhist recital traditions in rituals, thus emancipating from religious traditions, be it texts or architecture.

Gellner (1992: 146f.) deals with the typology of ritual acts and defines two types of elements as the smallest meaningful unit of a complex ritual. One element consists of the worshipper who offers a given substance (e.g. rice, water, vermillion) while appropriate verses and mantras are recited by the priest who also displays the appropriate hand gestures (*mudrā*). The mantra is necessary for evoking the deity. Often it is even considered to be identical with the deity. This is a significant aspect regarding mantras in house inscriptions. Robert A. Yelle, a scholar in the history of religions who specialised on South Asia, examines the emic theories of reality and language which shed light on the authors of mantras and how they understood the character and effectiveness of the texts they developed. He states, that

Tantric ritual converts mantras into mimetic diagrams of several forms of creation simultaneously: the general cycle of evolution and involution of the cosmos; the cycle of in- and out-breaths; the act of verbal creation that traces the path of speech from the back of the throat to the front of the lips, and outside the body to the world beyond; and the cycle of sexual reproduction, including the birth and death of the mantra itself regarded as a living being or form of the deity (Yelle 2003: 5f.).

These “mimetic diagrams” conquered the realm of the built environment in the Kathmandu Valley. Several different types of mantras that relate to a given deity and are known in Buddhist liturgical tradition are presented by Gellner (1992: 146f.). According to Gellner, there are two crucial types of mantras, the “heart-seed” or “seed” (*hr̥dbīja* or *bīja*) mantra being a single syllable “used to generate the deity, the mandala, and indeed the whole universe” (ibid. 1993: 147), and the “heart” (*hr̥daya*) mantra²⁷⁴ consisting of several syllables. It usually begins with *Om̐* and ends with *Hūṃ*, *Phaṭ*, or *Svāhā*. “Sometimes only the main deity of a mandala has both seed and heart mantras, and the deities of his or her retinue or mandala have only heart mantras. In other cases both the main deity and the others have both kinds of mantra” (ibid: 147).

The standard positions of syllables such as *Om̐* at the beginning, and *Phaṭ* and *Svāhā* as endings of a formula, suggest part of their function as “magic words signalling the boundaries of the ritual formula or spell” (Yelle 2003: 17). Furthermore, Yelle holds the

²⁷⁴ The heart mantra, according to Gellner, corresponds to what is known as the “root” (*mūla*) mantra in other Tantric traditions, cf. Gellner 1993: 147.

view “that claims for the magical effects of mantras are rhetorical in nature, and that the real effect of mantras is to support these claims by persuading of their efficacy on a psychological or cognitive level” (ibid: 19). In other words, “From inside the Tantric tradition, mantras are powerful utterances capable of effecting even real-world objectives. From the outside, they constitute a species of rhetoric: their poetic form contributes to the belief in their efficacy” (ibid: 59). Mantras are repeated several and even “countless” times, as in Tantric tradition their formulas become more powerful through repetition (ibid: 11). Because of its divine context, mantras are not translated and only their transcription will be presented in the next chapters.

14.8.2 Animating the House with Mantras

After the presentation of different notions about mantras – their “nature”, derivation, use and their users – I raise the question of what mantras mean for the Newar houses and their inhabitants. Janet Gyatso deals with the power of (Tibetan) Buddhist images which are able to invoke the presence of the divine. The author portrays the vivification that is performed for the images (Gyatso 2006: 142):

The effects of having the visualized presence of the Buddha projected onto the image are cumulative. This begins with the very first ritual involving the image, the consecration ceremony, which is performed immediately after its construction. The image is animated for religious use by a lama, who imagines and projects the spirit of the actual Buddha/deity onto the work of art. Symbolic of this animation is the inscription of the mantric syllables *Om ah hum* on the backs of paintings, just at the spots where the corresponding psychic centres (chakra) of the deities depicted on the other side occur. For statues, this is further enacted physically by the depositing of sacred relics, *mantras* and texts inside the statue’s body.

I assume the Newar house is inextricably connected with a deity through the posting of a mantra that is considered to be the deity. The house, just like a Buddhist image, is able to invoke the presence of the divine. Moreover, the house is vivified by the syllables and the divine is omnipresent in and outside the house. The formulistic signs that are expressed countless times on the façades of the Newars and become more powerful

through these repetitions are thus interwoven and form a net that spans the whole Kathmandu Valley.

14.8.2.1 The Seed Syllable Om̐

The single syllable, *Om̐*, is often presented in a cartouche above the central window on the first floor of early 20th century Newar houses (fig. 437, 545-547). The script in which the syllables are written is Devanāgarī. As representatives of house inscriptions, they can in fact be regarded as a subgroup of the group of mantras. *Om̐*, the single Sanskrit syllable, a *bījamantra* named “*brahmabīja*”, is the most celebrated of all seed mantras (*bījas*). The syllable is placed at the beginning of all Hindu and Buddhist rituals and books, e.g. it is a sacred exclamation to be uttered at the beginning and end of a reading of the Vedas or prior to any prayer or mantra. The *Mandukya Upanishad*, one of the shortest Upanishads – the scriptures of Hindu Vedanta – is devoted to the explanation of the syllable: *Om̐* is considered anything that is visible and can be seized with the senses, anything that may be conceived as creation. In Hinduism it is sometimes interpreted as AUM (while A and U become O), the Hindu triad (*trimūrti*) that represents Brahmā and “creation” (A), Viṣṇu and “maintenance” (U), and Śiva and “destruction” (M) (Liebert 1986: 200). No matter how the syllable may be analysed, in the context of house inscriptions a major aspect comes to the fore: Since *Om̐* represents universal power, thus qualifying for marking houses, it may be interpreted as a symbol that, just like the word “*Śrī*”, augurs well. In this function the syllable acts in a similar manner as the “*bismillā*” (“in the name of Allah”), the most prominent formula for the suras of the Quran and for prayers or inscriptions in Islam.

14.8.2.2 Multisyllable Mantras and Dhāraṇīs in Devanāgarī

Multisyllable mantras have different themes and are assigned to a particular group due to their form only. In the edificial context they are mainly located on friezes. A heart mantra is, for example, presented on a small white plastered Vajrācārya house (after 1934) (fig. 553) that stands next to the main entrance of Kvābāhā (see chapter *In Remembrance of the Nāyaḥs of Patan*), one of the most important of Patan’s monasteries having the largest community (*saṅgha*) (ibid: 22). The house is decorated by three Newar votive plaques made of plaster showing the images of White Tārā,

Avalokiteśvara and Green Tārā.²⁷⁵ An inscription is exhibited across the length of the façade, each Devanāgarī syllable of the white painted stucco relief set on blue ground, saying: *Om namo bhagavatya āryyatārāya locane || sulocane || tāretārot bhava sarvvasavānu kaṃyini sarvasatvatārnisahaśra bhuje sahaśraṇetre avalokayamām sarvastvanā ca huṃ phaṭ svāhā 1180 [11]*. It begins with *Om* and ends with all three syllables, characteristic for the “heart” mantra, *Hūṃ*, *Phaṭ* and *Svāhā*.

In the locality of Īkhāchē, at the northern boundary of Patan, Buddhist verses inscribe the entrance to the Buddhist monastery Ānābāhā. Above the passage (fig. 538-539) that leads into the courtyard two lines are presented on a frieze, the lower one reciting a magical formula (*dhāraṇī*): [...] *vate ralaketu rājāye tathagatāyār hate saṃgaktam vuddhāye || tadyatha || om rale 2 / [...] jaye svāhāḥ || vuddhadharmasaṃghaḥ || triratna || śaraṇa || āXXvāhāla ||* (fig. 541). *Dhāraṇīs* (literally “that which is borne”) often exist of random syllables. Like mantras, their recitation is considered to create supernatural power. They are comparable to mantras, but are longer than the former. A *dhāraṇī* can also be described as an “incantation used to invoke the deities into one’s presence or to invoke their powers to affect some benefit. Recitation of the *dhāraṇīs* will result in both Buddhological and mundane benefits” (Huntington and Bangdel 2004: 524).

The *dhāraṇī* at Ānābāhā glorifies the Adibuddha – a primordial, self-emanating, self-originating Buddha, present before anything else existed – as Ratnaketu (Ratnasambhava), one of the five transcendental Tathāgatas²⁷⁶, a Buddhist saint (Skt. *arhat*) who has realised the goal of *nirvana*, the culmination of the spiritual life. The text is written in Prachalit script, yet the design of the letter “e” reveals irregularities. One time it is depicted in Prachalit, the other time in Devanāgarī. It may betray the writer as unpractised in writing either Devanāgarī or Prachalit, the script most often thought of as “Newari script”. David Gellner (1986: 121) states that until around 1900 the literate Newars would learn Prachalit and copy manuscripts and other documents or inscriptions for Newar donors in this script, rather than in Devanāgarī. The two scripts,

²⁷⁵ Tārā is the epithet of the mother of the Buddha, Māyā. According to Liebert (1986: 295), in Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna Buddhism Tārā is the name of a goddess “who is usually regarded as a *dhyanibuddhaśakti*, the Śakti of Avalokiteśvara [...] or of Amoghasiddhi [...], but often also as the Śakti of Ādibuddha and the different *dhyanibuddhas* (as a group)”. Tārā “is then characterized by different colours, either corresponding to the colours of the different *dhyanibuddhas* or being of another and independent symbolical character”. White Tārā is Sitatārā, green Tārā is Śyāmatārā – they are the gracious forms of Tārā.

²⁷⁶ The Five Tathāgatas are also known as “Jinas”, or “Dhyāni Buddhas”. They are of fundamental significance in the Vajrayāna rituals and pantheon, see also Slusser (1982, I: 272).

There are striking parallels to the stucco inscription at Alkohiti, the well in the vicinity of the monastery, which says: *Om namo bhagavata ratnaketu rājāya/ tathāgatāyahata samyaksambuddhāya/ at 11dyathā 11 om ratna 2 mahāratna tadyathā/ ratna vijaya.*

Two houses neighbouring at Josinani in the vicinity of Nāgbāhā (fig. 552) in Patan present another example which is characteristic of the intermingling of western and Newar concepts of design in the first half of the 20th century. Each of the houses is less than four metres wide and four storeys high, their façades framed by slender Corinthian pilasters. The façades open up with three doors on the ground floor level and three-sectioned upright windows on the first and second floor, thus presenting an open house front. The ground and first floor of the left house are characterised by monumental Sanskrit stucco inscriptions in Devanāgarī, saying *Buddha/ Dharma/ Saṃgha* and *Śrī svayambhu : tāremāṃ śarṇa : āryyatārā :*, meaning “Blessed svayambhu/ refuge to tārā/ honourable tārā”. The three words *Buddha/ Dharma/ Saṃgha* are divided by a *svastika* symbol. The interplay of topic, script, and modern architecture builds a bridge to the Sthirobhava-vākya prayer where the three windows under the eaves – the *sāṃjhyāḥ* – are described as Buddha, Dharma, and Saṃgha.

²⁷⁷ Nārāyaṇa is the common name of Viṣṇu.

Tāremām is often understood to be a short form of tāre mām śaraṇa, and this is glossed as ‘Oh Tārā, my refuge’, which is intuitively plausible but grammatically incorrect (genitive for accusative is normal, but not vice versa). According to Asha Kaji Vajracharya [a *paṇḍit* from Kathmandu; K. W.] the phrase originates in the verse: *Buddhaṃ dharmaṃ ca saṃghaṃ ca bhajāmi sarvadā tu ’ham/Tārām jineśvarīm caiva mām tāraya iti smṛtaḥ* (I worship always the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṃgha, as well as Tārā, empress of the Buddhas; I think always ‘Save me’).

In a comprised form, the meaning of this verse is reflected in the two inscriptions of the house in Josinani, which was built in the 1940s. A different script, Ranjana, is used for the mantra of the right house in Josinani, which leads to the next paragraph.

14.8.2.3 Multisyllable Mantras in Ranjana Script

Another way of expressing Buddhist mantras on the hybrid architecture of the Newars is the very artistic Ranjana script. The script has been used by Newar and Tibetan Buddhists for sacred purposes. Slusser (1982, I: 395) mentions the close relation of Ranjana, which was employed after the 14th century, to the writings of Mithilā in the northern plain of the Ganges river.

On the first floor of the right house in Josinani (fig. 552) which I mentioned above, the mantra *Om maṇi padme huṃ hrī* is set in Ranjana script under each window and thus reflects the architectural order of the tripartite window. The *Om̐ maṇi padme huṃ* mantra, just like the single syllable *Om̐*, can be found on several façades and is, in fact, the most popular mantra in Ranjana to form its own subgroup within the subgroup. It is actually most often cited in Ranjana script. Yet I decided to drop this division due to the fact that this distinction would make the whole analysis of house inscriptions more complicated for the reader.

“Om̐”, “huṃ” and “hrīṃ” are each seed letters (*vijākṣara*) of any mantra. “Om̐” and “huṃ” are syllables of invocation and therefore do not require any translation. *Maṇi* (“jewel”) and *padme* (“lotus”) are two elements of the compound word “*maṇipadme*” (“jewel-lotus”) (Bowker 2003: 738). “Om̐ maṇi padme huṃ”²⁷⁸ is the six-syllabled mantra of Lokeśvara/Avalokiteśvara, the chief patron of Tibet. The mantra is traditionally found on banners, prayer wheels or carved in stone in Tibet and Nepal.

²⁷⁸ Every syllable of this mantra is identified by a different colour: Om “white”, ma “blue”, ṇi “yellow”, pad “green”, me “red” and huṃ “black”; “hrīṃ” appears additional in this example.

The mantra is repetitively presented in stucco on the first floor of a post-earthquake well-to-do Jyapu residential building's façade (fig. 350) alongside Patan's mainroad in Naṭol (see chapter *In Remembrance of the Nāyaḥs of Patan*). There, it is cited 21 times in Ranjana script, ten times on the frieze on the left and right side to the centre (fig. 353), starting on the left with the sign for “*siddhi*”, and above the central window. “The word *siddhi* is used, not just for magical powers acquired by holy personages, but for spiritual, or spiritually related, attainment in general” (Gellner 1992: 129).

The small monastery called Chāyabāhā²⁷⁹ (fig. 473) in the locality of Chāyabāhā in Patan is the main *bāhā* of three and was probably built after 1934. According to Locke (1985: 44), its repousse metal *torāṇa* presents Buddha (Akṣobhya) in the middle, Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on the right and Saṃgha (Ṣaḍakṣari Lokeśvara) on the left. There are building elements which are characteristic Newar, such as the strict symmetry of the brick façade, the deities-bearing niches next to the main entrance and the wooden window which might be from the 19th century. The four coloured iconographic votive plaques on the first floor present Hari-Hari-Hari-Hara Lokeśvara²⁸⁰ (see chapter *The Omnipresence of Amoghapāśa (Avalokiteśvara, Lokeśvara)* (fig. 474) and Black Tārā (Śyāmatārā)²⁸¹ (fig. 477) on the outer plaques. The inner ones depict the birth of Buddha, who miraculously emerges from his mother Māyādevī's right shoulder while she rests in the grove in Lumbini (fig. 475, 476) (see chapter *Depictions of the Birth of Buddha Śākyamuni*). European elements such as plastered pilasters with Ionic and acanthus capitals adorn the building. Not only are the door and window openings and (blind) niches provided with a stucco frame, but the cornice and frieze are also mantled with plaster. In this way, space is given on the frieze for presenting Avalokiteśvara's mantra *Om maṇi padme huṃ* four times on each side of the central axis. The mantras serve as a decorating medium and special focus is put on the façade's centre being surrounded by divine syllables, like *caityas* are being circled by devotees, citing their prayers. Furthermore, the number of eight mantras on the building

²⁷⁹ An inscription which recounts the founding of the monastery demonstrates the name Cchwāca Bahāra.

²⁸⁰ It is a pyramidal depiction of the figures: Siṃha, the mythological lion-faced animal, is ridden by the snake Ananta on which rides Garuda. Ananta and Garuda are the vehicles (*vahana*) of Viṣṇu, who is depicted with green skin, holding a club, conch, lotus and a wheel. On top of his vehicles sits Avalokiteśvara with eight arms and holds a manuscript, iron hook, lotus and vessel. He shows the gesture of protection, boon-granting gesture and presents a noose and a caitya.

²⁸¹ Śyāmatārā (lit. “black Tārā”) is usually known as the Green Tārā.

demonstrates Buddhist symbolism, as for example, the eightfold noble path²⁸² (Skt. *astangamarga*) that leads to the removal of suffering and to the cultivation of the enlightened attitude of the Boddhisattva.

A façade of a Shakya house (fig. 549) in Nyākhācuka in Patan, according to some of its members²⁸³, was completely rebuilt around the middle of the 1940s. It was provided with white-washed plastered pilasters and acanthus capitals (fig. 548) and three upright lattice windows, bearing Tantric mantras²⁸⁴ in Ranjana script on the first floor. The two outer windows present the mantra *Om maṇi padme huṃ*, (fig. 550) two times each and divided by the diamond symbol (*vajra*²⁸⁵). The latter is used as an attribute, the diamond sceptre, by the Vajrācārya priest in basic Newar rituals. The central window reveals another mantra, *Ōm padmo snisa bimalle huṃ phat svāhā* (fig. 551). Whereas the script was carved in wood and protrudes three-dimensionally from the plank, the *siravindus* (Skt. “point on the head”) and *candrabindus* (Skt. “point of (crescent) moon”) that are part of the letters are nailed on the surface.

14.8.2.4 Monograms

A relatively homogenous subgroup of Ranjana script façade inscriptions is demonstrated in the decorative stucco monograms (*kūṭākṣara*) in Ranjana script. A seven-syllable monogram (fig. 560) related to Mahāyāna Buddhism (Shakya 1974: 38) is found above the oculus of the transverse gable of the god house (*guthichē*) (fig. 561, 562) built around 1948 at the northern *caitya* in Patan. The monogram is framed by a pair of mythical dragons. Framed by the two syllables “e” and “vaṃ” the decorative pattern resolves in the syllables *ha kṣa ma la va ra yaṃ*.

The same mantra occurs as part of a mystic formula on the plastered pilasters of a house in Svathā, Patan (fig. 555), most probably built before 1934 and inscribed *Svathaṭola naṃ 19*, “Svatha locality number 19” (fig. 554). The single syllable *Om̐* (fig.

²⁸² Correct view or understanding, correct thought or analysis, correct speech, correct action, correct livelihood, correct effort, correct mindfulness, correct concentration or meditative equipoise (Beer 2003: 249).

²⁸³ Personal information, 06.12.2007.

²⁸⁴ More than 60 cm long. Height of letters: ca. 9 cm.

²⁸⁵ While in Hinduism *vajra* is the chariot of Śiva and Skanda and in general translated as “thunderbolt”, in Buddhism *vajra* is the “diamond” and may also symbolise the Three Jewels (Liebert 1986: 318). In the case of the Shakya’s building, the identification as diamond is appropriate. There is another example from a house at Pulchok, Patan, where the derivation of the stucco symbol of the two footprints (*pāduka*), familiar to both, Hinduism and Buddhism, could not be identified. The new houseowner, a Buddhist, considered the symbol being from the Buddhist context while a Hindu shopkeeper regarded them as a Hindu symbol.

556) decorates the pilasters on the first floor, whereas on the shafts of the pilasters with lotus capitals above, on the second floor, *e vaṃ ha kṣa ma la va ra yaṃ* (fig. 557) is recited in an Art Nouveau cartouche. The characteristic tripartite window in the centre of the second floor is framed by Ionic pilasters that are embellished by the mantra *ma ṇi pa d remya huṃ* (fig. 558). It is most likely that the artist who made this mantra in Ranjana script meant to cite “*mani padme huṃ*” but was not proficient in doing so. The outer windows on the second floor are partly framed by Ionic pilasters that are adorned by a composition of the eight auspicious signs of Buddhism (Skt. *aṣṭamaṅgala*) (fig. 559).²⁸⁶

A house next to the *caitya* of Bodnāth (New. *khāsti*) (fig. 563-565) reveals parallels to the *guthichē* at the northern *stūpa* in Patan, but most notably it bears features that are similar to the house in Svathā, Patan. In Bodnāth, the pilasters that frame the façade on the first floor also present the mantra *e vaṃ ha kṣa ma la va ra yaṃ* (fig. 566), and the second floor also exhibits the eight auspicious signs. They thus repeatedly appear as decorative attachments to the Ranjana monograms. Ekai Kawaguchi, regarded to be the first Japanese who visited Nepal in February 1899 on his way to Tibet, stayed in Bodnāth where – probably a few years later²⁸⁷ – he erected the majestic three-storey house in gratitude towards his Nepalese host, Buddha Bajra Lama.

The Vajrācārya house (1934) at Chāyabāhā Nr. 487 (fig. 568) in the locality of Nakabahī, Patan, boasts a mélange of European and Newar design. The pilasters are adorned, for instance, by neoclassical husks of flowers and figurative capitals on the first floor (fig. 569). On the second floor they are fluted and embellished by a Ranjana monogram saying *Lakṣmī* (fig. 570) instead of being a mantra.

At early 20th century houses of the Newars powerful utterances and incantations were used by the tenants to invoke the powers of deities in order to affect mundane benefits. Religious inscriptions were set in a new context. Not only are they highly decorative, but also provide the surrounding environment with a certain religious statement and a wish for protection.

²⁸⁶ The conch shell (Skt. *dakṣhina-varta-shankha*) vanished and may have been depicted horizontally above the lotus or between the parasol and yak whisk so that the composition of eight symbols formed a vase (*purnakalāśa*).

²⁸⁷ According to Perceval Landon’s list (Landon 1928, II, Appendix XXIV: 303), Kawaguchi returned to Nepal in 1913 to study Sanscrit manuscripts.

14.9 The Dialogues of the Global and the Local in Newar Urban Designs

The presentation of the names of certain localities (*tol*), combined with an irregular numbering of the Newar houses, is an effect of the modernisation of the cities under the rule of the Ranas. They aimed to follow the life-style and trends of the British in India and Europe. As demonstrated by James Prinsep (1799-1840) in the 19th century (Prinsep 1996: 13), the idea of the “modern” 19th century in Europe – where administrative signs of a modern state symbolised order and state control – was exported to the British colonies, particularly India. Prinsep, a British artist, epigrapher, numismatist and mapmaker, was the Mint Master in Benares, India in the 1820s where he promoted the neoclassical styles in architecture (London 2005: 128f.). In his account on Benares he mentions a complete register of all houses and their owners in the city of Benares, in the European cantonment Secrole – the British residential and administrative district – and in neighbouring villages (Prinsep 1996: 13).²⁸⁸ In this regard it may have been the aim of the strict Rana regime to exercise control and to register the individual in an urban cadastre by the naming of localities and by numbering the newly-built houses. But in the end it remains an open question of why only few houses in the cities of the Kathmandu Valley were provided with plaques and house numbers.

The modernisation of the Newar cities was part of a world-wide trend that was spread by the colonies. In formerly colonised American, African and Asian cities, public and residential buildings were often provided with the date of construction in Arabic/western numerals. The streets of the “civil lines”, residential areas originally built by the British for senior officers, were provided with English names. In post-1857 Delhi, the British constructed public buildings, bridges, plazas and new roads, whose names such as Hamilton Road, Elgin Road, Nicholson Road, Queen’s Road or Esplanade Road often commemorated the British political and military regime and new administration (Hosagrahar 2005: 58f.). In some cases, for example in the city called “Model Town” near Lahore, the roads were not given names but the blocks were numbered alphabetically just as in western plan cities like Manhattan.

Anthony D. King has written extensively on colonial architecture and urbanism and on the spatial aspects of globalisation in India. In his essay on *The Westernisation of Domestic Architecture in India* (King 1977: 36), he illustrates the changes in the Indian

²⁸⁸ The lists were ordered by the British municipal Mr. Deane, made by the native Kotwāl, and published by Lord Valentia in 1803. The register was revised in 1829-1829 and the results of the registration were published in the 17th volume of the Asiatic Researches. In the tabulation a difference is made between the houses of the Europeans and natives (Ibid 1996: 13).

urban environment – “a willingness to adapt to Westernised environments” (ibid: 36) – which in the author’s eyes emerged as a consequence of changes in the system of public administration and law.²⁸⁹ These developments affected the residential behaviour of the Indian middle class after 1900, that is, the architecture of the houses and the growth of suburbs based on western models.

Affected by the changes in the residential behaviour of the Indian middle classes initiated by the British, the built environment of the Kathmandu Valley was also modified, yet to an alleviated extent: There had been an exchange of ideas about urbanism between Nepal and British India – a proposal for the international competition for the town planning for New Delhi was given by the Nepalese engineer Kishwor Narsingh Rana, who was educated in the Indian Roorkee College and in London (Journal of Nepal Engineer’s Association 1978: 117). However, the urban development in the Newar towns in the 20th century was not geared to the idea of plan cities or Indian, but effectively European, major metropolises such as New Delhi, Calcutta, Madras or Bombay, where the indigenous citizens were rather exposed to the dominant colonialists’ culture. In contrast, cities like Kathmandu and Patan are long-established settlements: Wealthy Newar merchants did not move to suburbs as was a world-wide trend to express the wish to live separated from the socially lower residents, nor had there been European colonialists who did so. The Newars followed ancient urban structures instead, with the high status inhabitants living around the central Darbār Square and the lowest ranking at the boundaries of the cities. Former configurations of streets and places’ names had in general not been changed after the earthquake in 1934, but were adopted when new houses were built. In Nepal, edificial inscriptions were mostly presented in Devanāgarī syllables in Sanskrit, Newari and Nepali language. “New Road” in Kathmandu, a formerly impressive boulevard with eclectic neoclassical architecture built shortly after the earthquake under Prime Minister Juddha Shamsheer Rana, is one rare example of a Nepalese “model street” with an English name.

Still, inscriptions containing Anglicism to express the idea of Western concepts on the basis of a plan city on Newar houses, such as the one saying *Blak na 3 652*, [Blak naṃbara 3 652], “Block number 3 652” located in the vicinity of Ikhābāhā in the

²⁸⁹ According to King (1977: 36), especially “in those areas of professional activity – particularly government service or, after 1918, the commissioned ranks in the army, complete acceptance into the higher echelons of the colonial bureaucracy was conditional upon a lesser or greater degree of ‘Westernisation’”. The growth of government services and its centralisation in colonial India implied the acceptance of an increasing number of Indians into lower and middle range government occupations.

locality of Ikhālakhū (fig. 532), imply the striving for modernisation in the Kathmandu Valley.

The urban development in the early 20th century Kathmandu Valley reveals aspects of globalisation of edificial concepts, even though the forces behind such a process can only be speculated about: Considering the abundance of peculiarities, thematically and formal, the Newar house inscriptions inform about developments in art and language. They shed light on fashions and artistic and linguistic imports from India and distant countries. Repeatedly used expressions and decorative attachments within the realm of Newar inscriptions, the Kathmandu Valley, are not primarily due to uninspired copying. Rather, the repetitions testify to what was important to the Newars in both religious and urban ways.

The inscriptions – in content and form – express the multiple identities of their original owners. In Patan, most Śākya and Vajrācāryas used to work as artisans²⁹⁰ – goldsmiths²⁹¹, god-makers or silversmiths. Gellner notes that Buddhist hymns were chanted by artisans and shopkeepers while they worked, permitting a considerable amount of religious activity (Gellner 1992: 33). In this sense, house inscriptions on Newar residences may demonstrate the pursuit of religiously-based self-portrayal in form of the prestigious media stucco among high caste Buddhist Newars. Besides, the Nepalese inscriptions also have iconographic functions as has Islamic calligraphy placed on façades, rich interiors, majestic domes and lofty minarets, outlining arches and also highlighting horizontal friezes on the façade: Words function as images.

In the presentation of edificial inscriptions, invocations and mantras to the public, be it the street or courtyard, their intention as means by which the people may obtain salvation may be reflected (Liebert 1986: 171). Inscribing one's house was a new way of religious activity – even though a fashionable one. Just like Buddhist and Hindu paintings or statues which play important roles in the religious life of the Newars by embodying a divinity and “making the intangible tangible” (Gyatso 2006: 141), house inscriptions brought together the mundane and sacred worlds which are strongly connected in Nepal. According to Gyatso (ibid: 144), the physical holy image not only grants blessings to a person, but its presence also transforms its environment into a sacred space. In this spirit, house inscriptions mark the country as a realm of Buddhism. Gyatso (2006: 140f.) notes that the significance of divine images

²⁹⁰ According to Gellner (1993: 49), only a minority of Śākya and Vajrācāryas are full-time priests.

²⁹¹ Since the price of gold has increased, this has fallen off. Only a few are shopkeepers and traders.

lies as much in how their intended viewers mentally and physically interacted with them as it does in the images' visual characteristics. Yet, at the same time, the specific iconographic prescriptions of the images were directly linked with, and intended to ensure, their religious power, highlighting the symbiotic relationship between form, meaning, and viewer interaction.

In this function, Newar house inscriptions often resemble the prayer-wheel that is situated in the middle of a stream in the Himalayas, self-turning by the ever-flowing water and the *caityas* that liberate Buddhists upon seeing.

15. CONCLUSION

The late 19th and early 20th centuries in the Kathmandu Valley witnessed the advent of a neoclassical building style. In the beginning, the identity of the Rana rulers was demonstrated by an inevitability of numerous palaces that copied European architecture in Europe and British India and by a westernised lifestyle and material culture. The palaces were built by the rulers in order to integrate British standards that also guided the maharajas in India. Finally, the new building style was absorbed by the Newars, who built their residences during the first half of the 20th century. The European luxuries of the Ranas, however, must have appeared to the Newars as a dreamland of ideals which could only be translated into the realities of the common built environment of Newar cities. Hence, the early 20th century residences of the Newars are ideal examples for the visualisation of transcultural flows.

The façade of a Newar house, as it had been built for generations before European motifs were incorporated, contrasted strongly with the indigenous neoclassical building style. The houses and their builders and inhabitants were embedded in a complex social and religious system. As the presentation demonstrated, the exploration of self among the Newars was made in a conscious relationship to the varied groups – such as caste and profession, extended family or household – to which people belonged. The residence in a particular neighbourhood of one of the diverse cities also had its impact on the individual who built its house. The common Newar house, its functional organisation and symbolic order were affected by the complex variety of socially organizing principles. Even before the transcultural flows of Mughal and European forms of architecture into the Kathmandu Valley, the identity of the Newars was necessarily manifold, derived mainly from family and caste affiliation, gender or place of residence. There are essential interactions of the built environment, e.g. the function and arrangements of the rooms and the spatial subdivisions, with social organisation and special behaviour.

During the first half of the 20th century, the architectural form obviously continued to be determined by the use of space, as a matter of cultural organisation and larger social processes. Reciprocal actions are characteristic of the early 20th century houses of the Newars. The novelty of the façades of these houses is expressed by the awareness of Mughal and particularly European forms and their reception into the local architecture and identity. By blending local built fabric with interpretations of foreign design, old

with new the Newars constructed their collective separate identity, reflected in their houses of the early 20th century. The functional organisation, symbolic order and certain traditional patterns of the Newar house did not change at all. Thus, “tradition” in the Nepalese context was neither the complete opposite of “modernity” as is generally assumed in western literature nor had the “West” and “non-West” been opposing and contradicting categories. The Rana’s adaptation of a European architectural language and lifestyle and the Newar’s interaction with neoclassical forms considered as modern can be regarded as the “breaking with traditions”, the caesura with well-known Nepalese techniques and patterns. In the first half of the 20th century, neoclassicism was “contemporary” and characteristic for the Nepalese present. Whereas in Europe, classicism must be equated with tradition and nostalgia – a sentimental yearning for the past – in Nepal it stood for the projection into the future.

These changes in Newar building practices during the first half of the 20th century appeared as delayed answers to new, but opposing notions of modern design propagated in many places in Asia and in Europe during the 18th and 19th centuries. While the reformers of western art broke with exhausted clichés of its own imagery, instead welcoming new and even foreign design, the East propagated classical western design, the signum of modernity.

An import of foreign design started around the middle of the 18th century in Great Britain. It would strongly influence the debate about (prefabricated) stylistic options in architecture a century later. Whereas some critics in England were in favour of the imitation of classic patterns as taught in the academies, others advocated originality which they found in foreign – for instance Indian, Chinese or Japanese – design. This discourse also affected the colonial architecture in India. In the Victorian age, a number of different architectural and ornamental styles were advocated and employed in Great Britain and its Indian colony. Depending on the periods of urban development and the preference for individual styles, different images dominated and characterised the Indian cities. In Mumbai (Bombay) and in other large Indian cities, western art schools became popular. The interaction of local practices with British standards was required for a successful development and production of architecture, painting and other fields of art. The results were a melange of architectural styles, be it neoclassicism, High Victorian Gothic, Indo-Saracenic or the late Mughal.

In Nepal neoclassical forms were not imposed by the British as colonial architecture, but copied liberally by the order of Nepalese rulers to prove equality with their British neighbours in India regarding universalism and political power. This is a crucial

difference in the history of colonial architecture in India and elsewhere. The Rana style and Newar neoclassical style was realised with the imagination and fantasy of the builders and craftsmen. In this aspect the changes in the visual culture of the Kathmandu Valley may be compared with artistic changes in Europe where foreign design ideas had been partly mimicked and incorporated into European art and architecture since the 18th century.

In the course of these global encounters of different cultures, aesthetic ideas flew into all directions, and diverse styles were absorbed at any place, stereotyped and incorporated into the respective environment. This development led to the increased reciprocity of identity and alterity, originality and mimesis.

Classical architecture in Asia was often critically discussed in Europe during the 19th century. The arguments denounced an architectural style considered to be eclectic. Visitors from Europe also regarded the buildings in Kathmandu as imitations lacking principles of their structural elements. They were said to bear no reference to their environment. The Europeans, however, never compared the Nepalese affection for European styles with the Western love for Asian forms. The Baroque and neo-Palladian style appealed to the Ranas and Newars in Nepal in a similar manner as *chinoiserie* and Indian Gothic exerted over the West, arousing in the spectator an impression of something exotic.

In Europe the term “copy” has unfortunate connotations. It suggests the result of inferior craftsmanship lacking any creative imagination. In contrast to this western perception Alexander Griswold, an influential scholar of the art and history of Thailand, has described the meaning of copying in the Buddhist context:

Certain essential features must be reproduced, but not necessarily the outward appearance. The principle governing this kind of copying is like the process of planting a descendant of the living *paribhogacetiya*, the original Mahabodhi tree: the sapling, though far smaller, and possessed of far fewer branches and leaves, is no less a *figus religiosa*; and while it can never resemble its ancestor exactly in configuration, it will be able to exercise the same power over men’s minds (Griswold 1965: 181).

The notion of copying from prototypes in the Asian context is also well illustrated by the way the Mahābodhi Temple in Bodh Gaya, India, was copied which we find replicated not only in Nepal but also in Burma, Thailand and China. Rather than

maintaining to be “true copies” of the “original” *sikhara* temple, the replicas are modified versions that display the distinctive features of the Mahābodhi Temple: A central pyramidal tower flanked by four smaller corner towers in the cardinal directions and rising above a square massive ground floor which houses the main shrine. The towers and the ground floor façade are organised in tiers of niches and images.

Similarly, it seems that the essence of classical patterns, a universal formula, however, was modified and translated into the local context that was copied in the early 20th century houses of the Newars, thus forming a canon and resulting in a new Newar building style. The mimesis is expressed by a rather incomplete, yet effective, copy that preserves the power of the original. Pilasters and half-columns, cartouches and fasciae or balustrades of windows were conceived as places holding a potential, asking for the fantasy of their Newar creators and allowing a wide range of possibilities. In this regard, what was taken up from European architecture by the Newars in their vernacular architecture was an appraisal over the neoclassical as a whole.

In few cases there is evidence of the transmitters of the transcultural flows in the architecture of the Kathmandu Valley, namely the first Nepalese engineers who were educated by Europeans in engineering institutes in British India around the late 19th century, and the Newar craftsmen who were employed at the building sites of the Rana palaces. In a variety of ornamental details rather than in certain buildings, evidence is found for the assumption that the craftsmen in Nepal must have worked with patterns, for instance books or photographs. The same people altered European architectural forms and incorporated them into their own vernacular building style while giving each city its *genius loci* and a special sense of place. For instance, the distinction between those façades with purely brick façades, brick-and-plaster or mere plastered fronts reveals astonishing differences between the two cities of Bhaktapur and Patan. Even though the differentiation or classification of the façades of interest under those criteria in general may imply a methodical problem because of the lacking knowledge of houses which were partly or fully plastered at a later point, in the case of the houses in the Kathmandu Valley the result would not be considerably falsified. This is because the majority of buildings in Bhaktapur consist of brick façades in contrast to the Patan houses, where by far most of the houses are bearers of brick-and-plaster façades.²⁹² Particularly stucco made the dissemination of neoclassical patterns and their incorporation into the local vernacular possible while Newar iconography was

²⁹² Recent renovations like those of the Taja Math in Bhaktapur that change the edifice’s face completely by removing its neoclassical order (Scheibler 1982: 259f.) are considered to be exceptions.

furthermore realised in the same media. The Newar façade of the first half of the 20th century became a transcultural contact zone and offered the space for the creation of the Newar neoclassical style of architecture.

16. EPILOGUE

16.1 The Nostalgic View of Rana Architecture

In the Kathmandu Valley, modernity was characterised by the borrowing and blending of new forms with the familiar Newar architectural vocabulary. The next step in the history of modern Nepalese architecture is mirrored in the houses' plain, repetitive fronts and flat roofs affected by the Indian modern style and widely built from the middle of the 1950s onward: Bungalows and freestanding houses, mushroomed at the peripheries of the towns.

The Rana palaces were nationalised in 1966 and at present many of them house government offices. Many buildings are steadily decaying due to the lack of maintenance and preservation. Simultaneously, the neoclassical architecture which was once modern in the Rana period and today is nostalgically associated with the former glory of Nepal, has been accredited to a cultural heritage since the last decades.

16.1.1 Heritage Hotels

Some former Rana palaces have been turned into hotels that render homage to the bygone glory. The former neoclassical palace of Jit Shamsheer Rana, Agni Bhawan (1894), was already converted into the high-class Hotel Shanker in 1964. The hotel advertises with the slogan "Old World Elegance" and offers a "royal treatment you deserve". The facade was widely kept intact while the interior was redesigned to provide travellers with modern comfort. Rana ambience is given in the "Kailash Restaurant" and the "Durbar Hall", formerly a princely Rana ballroom, with its neoclassical interior design and antique chandeliers.

In the 1970s, a palace wing of Lal Darbār, once the palace of Rudra Shamsheer, was restored and the hotel "Yak and Yeti" was established. The former palace wing today is part of the five-star hotel of the same name. It boasts Rana heritage such as the exalted entrance hall with its portraits of the Rana Maharajas and Maharanis. The "Regency Hall" is a fully preserved hall for public use, adorned with antique mirrors and murals. The "Dynasty Crystal Hall" (fig. 105) was the private meeting room of the Rana rulers and is still decorated with exquisite antique chandeliers, mirrors and portraits of the Rana royalty.

16.1.2 Baber Mahal Revisited

Another recent return to Nepalese neoclassical heritage is exemplified in the design project of “Baber Mahal Revisited”. In 1913, Rana Prime Minister Maharaja Chandra Shamsher completed the construction of a palace named Baber Mahal for his son Baber Shamsher. The stables, cowsheds and outbuildings of his palace today are contemporary concepts based on Rana architecture. They comprise “Baber Mahal Revisited”, an exquisitely remodelled shopping compound where the imitated Rana architecture is even blended with Newar design.

Gautam SJB Rana, the great-great grandson of Prime Minister Chandra Shamsher, had grown up in Baber Mahal until in 1966 the government nationalised the building that was to be used as the Ministry of Roads. His family retained the adjacent carriage house and stables. By the 1990s the structures were in disrepair. Gautam SJB Rana was aware of the potential of the past and had the idea for this building project on his family plot.

In 1996 Erich Theophile, an American architect who had been involved in restoring historic architecture in the Kathmandu Valley since 1990, made the design for the remodelling. The existing historical buildings and foundations were used and new building blocks were inserted to create a sequence of courtyards and alleys. The new building fabric was oriented on the old buildings, and consisted of mud mortar and common brick, and was provided with pitched roofs. Additionally, antique vertical windows of early 20th century Newar houses – salvaged from demolition sites in Patan – were reused. At that time, adaptive reuse like “Baber Mahal Revisited” was still a completely new idea in Nepal. The new design was augmented without a strong imposition of contemporary style in order to market the idea of using old buildings. The commercialisation of nostalgia was behind this creation of a pastiche of Rana glory that now hosts Nepalese artifacts stores, pashmina outlets and a contemporary Nepalese art gallery, and some eateries and lounges offering international cuisine and drinks – attractive to wealthy Nepalese, tourists and expatriates working in Nepal.

16.1.3 The Garden of Dreams

Today, Kaisher Shamsher Ranas’s “Garden of Dreams” (“Swapna Bagaicha”) in Kathmandu, built in the 1920s, is a “tranquil oasis” in the midst of Kathmandu’s hectic pace and an enduring legacy of the Rana aristocracy. After Rana rule, the garden fell

into neglect and decayed. The stately garden paths were overgrown by weeds. Originally the garden area was twice as big, but members of the family sold off a section to developers. Lok Bhakta Rana and his mother donated the remaining 1.5-acre section to the Nepalese government in the mid-1960s. The government, however, allowed the garden to fall into disrepair. The western part fell prey to the urban expansion of the tourist quarter Thamel and three pavilions were demolished.

In the late 1990s, the Austrian architect Götz Hagmüller made the effort to renovate the garden. The garden has been reactivated with the support of the Austrian Development Aid and in collaboration with the Ministry of Education, HMG Nepal and executed by the Austrian non-profit organisation Eco Himal. A number of elements were added, utilising latent vestiges of its existing layout and architecture. An amphitheatre (fig. 148) has been created for cultural programmes, and two of the historical pavilions have been converted: The *Varṣā*-pavilion in the southwestern corner of the compound was transformed into a Viennese lounge bar in 2007, redesigned by Götz Hagmüller. The *Vasanta*-pavilion was turned into a tea salon run by the Dwarika Hotel. The rotunda has been reconstructed as a new focal point and new fountains and pergolas were complemented. Statues of white elephants and wooden benches in the Art Deco style were reconstructed after historic photography. As a cultural heritage landmark of Kathmandu, the garden is destined to be an attraction for locals and tourists, who are given the opportunity to walk in the footsteps of the Ranas and their extravagant lifestyle.

16.2 The Renaissance of Classicism

At the beginning of the 21st century, the Indian style bungalows that set the trend for residential buildings after Rana rule have again been continuously superseded in Nepal by a revival of neoclassical architectural forms. Upper class villas in the Kathmandu Valley are built akin to the style known as “Punjabi Baroque” in Northern India. Neoclassical styles are also chosen to adorn the modern urban architecture and “gated communities” of the upstarts in the cities of Bangkok, Delhi, Kiev, Manila, Peking and elsewhere. In this Nepalese renaissance of classicism, European forms are used from a global construction kit of the wealthy. The tympanum and classical orders behind high walls are distinctive signs of the Nepalese bourgeois living standard as well as a representative gate and guard to watch the compound. In Nepal, porticos or the acanthus

capital, both substitutes for globally accepted European classic design, are found at private residences as well as banks and restaurants, cinemas and shopping malls. During Rana rule the colonnades of the palaces were characterised by white shafts and black capitals. As a relict from the past, the new capitals today are often painted black. The proportions have been changing and the columns aspire synchronically to the heights of buildings. Pilasters of early 20th century houses frame the façade in each storey, or span the first and second floor. The abandonment of the symbolic order of the Newar house and the loss of the definite number of three floors allow the design of columns in a truly colossal order, stretching across three or more storeys. They underline the vertical extension of Newar cities.

Modernity can be understood as the awareness of the newest developments, a process of emulation and borrowing. From the middle of the 19th until the middle of the 20th century, a blend of neoclassical and indigenous forms characterised Nepalese modern architecture: The Newars gave architectural responses to the Rana palaces that, in turn, had been inspired by the colonial architecture in India. Today, Nepalese neoclassicism is referred to as cultural heritage while there is nostalgia with a reference to Nepalese history. There are classic forms produced as goods in bulk that contrast and, at the same time, intermingle with contemporary modern mirror glass and cement. In this case, the classic forms are reconsidered as modern while Nepal is once more following an Asian and global trend.

APPENDIX

Residential Buildings in Patan

Vajracharya House (ca. 1911) at Mikhābāhā

The Vajrācārya house at Mikhābāhā is around 8.50 metres in its length and more than ten metres in its height (fig. 576). It is provided with a roof terrace and an additional staircase with flatroof.²⁹³ The façade is characterised by its dark red brickstone, plastered fasciae and slender half-columns that frame each storey and are set in front of a rustication on the first and second floor²⁹⁴, while a diamond-pointed rustication is imitated by plastered bricks.²⁹⁵

Two doors are located on the ground floor, one in the centre and one at the left side, while there is a shop-opening²⁹⁶ on the right. The groundfloor is plastered by cement in its upper half. Above the two doors and the shop-front on the groundfloor the façade opens with three room-high windows on the first floor. The wall sections between the windows are embellished by four votive plaques as is the part of the wall above the central door. An elaborately carved central window, *sājhyāḥ*, is found on the second floor, flanked by two windows in the vertical axis of the door alignment. At the external walls there are two votive plaques. The windows on the third floor are aligned in the axes of the ground and first floor however the openings are lower than those of the other floors.

²⁹³ Personal talk with Gunamāyā Vajrācārya, the present owner, on 3rd October 2004. She owns the family house in the third generation, the family being a member of the Mutale Clan (Bubahā Sangha). According to Gunamāyā Vajrācārya, who was 84 years old when I met her, the house was erected in 1911. It was built by her grandfather whose name may have been Ratna Ras Vajrācārya and she cannot remember the name of the *nāyaḥ*. Her father, Vācaspati Vajrācārya, her grandfather and great-grandfather used to be ayurvedic doctors at the Rana court.

²⁹⁴ At present, the façade testifies to a recent reorganisation on the right side of the ground floor level. The disposition of the door and window openings was originally symmetrical on both sides of the central axis. The third door was replaced by a shop opening. The main entrance and the left door each provide access to a passage to the courtyard. The courtyard façade opens with an arcade on the ground floor.

One single room, as wide as the façade, is found on the bay that turns towards the street on the first floor of the house. The room is let to a family which uses it as sleeping and living room. Above this room, the second storey today is subdivided into two rooms, one room behind the left window and *sājhyāḥ* and the other room behind the right window. A wooden panel divides the two rooms. It is provided with a door that connects the rooms. Except the second storey, the house suggests the traditional Newar groundplan with two longitudinal bays and the disposition of the rooms on the bay that turns towards the street can be seen on the façade. The kitchen is located on the third floor, the dwarf storey. Here, the windows are framed by plaster.

²⁹⁵ Ride side: Cement, moulded in elliptical shape, replaces the original pot-like element. The shaft of the half-column seemingly hovers above the first floor and in front of the rustication. The front elevation of the façade made in 1992 and comparison with the situation on the left side provides information about the original state of repair: The vase replaced the base of the half-column of the first floor borne by the central pilaster strip on the ground floor.

²⁹⁶ The shop opening is made of a big frame. The opening is subdivided into two by a plain pillar in the centre.

The house is built on a plinth. Each door opening is framed by a double wooden frame, not including the threshold, and is around 1.45 metres high. Both the lintel and the massive threshold protrude horizontally above the pillars into the wall with which they are flush. A slender, moulded batten is fixed at the lintel. It is characterised by the 2 x 3 times carved on both sides, a typical feature of Newar doors and windows. *Khvaḥsī*²⁹⁷-reliefs resembling oval pearl-like décor are carved at the angles of the inner door frames. The pillars of the external frame are adorned by carved vases in their lower parts (fig. 579). A vase consists of a pedestal, an oval waist and a torc (*nāḥgvaḥ*) and a neck and another slender torc. From a calyx rise four slender petals of a stylised lotus flower. Above the vase-design the angle-shaft is rounded off.²⁹⁸ The painting of the stucco plaque above the central door only survives in fragments – four of formerly five Buddha depictions (*pañcabuddha*) (see chapter *Further Thoughts on the Votive Plaques*).

The moulded and plastered fascia between the ground floor and first floor is painted white and strongly contrasts with the brick-lined wall. Before the fascia was mantled with stucco – spreaded with a float and moulded – the brick ashlar were worked with a mason's hatchet to achieve a rounded-off form.

Today the left side of the ground floor is framed by a pilaster strip with three shafts plastered with cement. There is no surviving counterpart at the right side any more.

The three windows on the first floor are framed by two wooden frames. The external frame lays flush with the wall and is moulded. A third slender, flowering frame is fixed on each inner frame. Whereas the same floral design is carved in the flowering frames of the outer windows the one of the central window is carved in a bud-like pattern. The balustrade almost fills the lower half of the window opening and consists of eight vertical iron slabs, a wooden rail and a horizontal iron slab. In each window the two casements are subdivided by two horizontal mullions so that there are three vertically arranged panels. The upper panels are filled with window glass.

The shape of each of the votive plaques resembles a stylised profile of a lotus blossom. The painting on the external plaque on the left side of the façade is in a bad state of repair – only a white and multi-armed figure is recognisable. On the second plaque we find the depiction of the holy site of Svayambhunāth (see chapter *The*

²⁹⁷ (new.) *khvaḥsī*: „walnut“.

²⁹⁸ The three-dimensionality of the door elements is strengthened by the stepped alignment of the elements of the pillars and lintel.

Nepalese Tradition of Topographical Painting), the third plaque depicts the pyramidal motif of Hari-hari-hari-hara-vāhana Lokeśvara (see chapter *The Omnipresence of Amoghapāśa (Avalokiteśvara, Lokeśvara)*). Harita Tārā²⁹⁹ (“green Tārā”), standing within a naively painted landscape, is depicted on the last votive plaque on the right side of the façade.³⁰⁰

The half-columns resemble a baluster column (see chapter *The Baluster Column and its Propagation in the Architecture of the Mughals and in Nepal*) yet the shafts are not shaped in the form of a baluster. They are set in front of the imitated rustication and the lower part of the rustication and half-column was plastered with cement recently. On the right side of the façade a vase and a band of *desivā*-leaves, abstracted from the acanthus leaf, survive as fragments (see chapter *Acanthus Capital*). The shafts are characterised by their entasis and a double torc adorns the shaft below a festoon. A stylised female stucco head “replaces” a capital above the garland and adds the notion of a caryatid to the interpretation of a baluster column (fig. 578). A snake-like ornament arises above the head and to each side of the latter there is a volute. On top of the volute the fascia is bent to right angles and replaces the impost. Where the fascia is partly demolished we are given information about its construction: The cornice protrudes in three layers of worked brick and is covered by plaster. There is no fascia on the second floor; instead, the window frames reach to the lower side of the roof beams.

The cross-sill and the lintel of the central *sājhyāḥ* on the second floor protrude sideways into the wall and batter in two steps. The bricks are laid around the timber frame. The three vertical openings of the *sājhyāḥ* are achieved by two vertical muntins that subdivide the big frame into regular sections. The four window pillars are moulded and step backwards. Including this main frame each opening has three frames while an extra flowering batten is fixed between the external and inner frame on the middle frame: The batten of the central opening of the *sājhyāḥ* is provided with a décor that reminds one of floral buds that pullulate from a corrugated tendril. The carvings of the outer sections resemble half-opened buds that end in volutes. A tiny flower design with nine petals adorns the middle of the vertical battens. From this flower the ornamental band runs in different directions.

The design of the inner frame – a half-relief of small lotus leaves – is similar at all three sections while a change in the direction takes place in the middle of all battens.

²⁹⁹ New. *tārā*, “star”.

³⁰⁰ Below the throne, several birds are depicted, among them a peacock. An elephant and two female figures dressed in *saris* stand next to a rectangular basin or well and point towards Harita Tārā.

The three-dimensional effect achieved by the backstepping frames is forced by the carvings. In its lower quarter each window opening of the *sājhyāḥ* is subdivided by a crossbar that is flush with the vertical muntins that portion the window into three sections. They all are embellished by flower décor.

The inner frame set in the horizontal parts of each lower quarter is decorated by a band of stylised walnuts (*khvahiṣi*). The carved panel depicts figurative reliefs: The panel of the central window opening of the *sājhyāḥ* presents a female dancer in S-shaped pose (fig. 580).³⁰¹ She is depicted like a half-divinity (*yakṣiṇī*), in the Newar tradition, and stands on a tendril that arises U-shaped and forms two ringlike tendril-frames (*gasi*) around a peacock and a monkey on each side of the figure (fig. 581). The monkeys in the outer circles face the dancer and hold a fruit structured by small diamonds.³⁰² The peacocks face the monkeys but glance towards the dancer. Out of their beaks they spout a lotus blossom, resembling the *patralatā* motif and differing from the long and tapering leaves of the tendril.

The reliefs of the outer sections of the *sājhyāḥ* present similar animal- and tendril motifs: One tendril grows from a cup with leaf décor and lotus-leaf frieze (*palehaḥ*) placed in the middle of the wooden panel. It symmetrically forms a circular frame around a gazelle and a dog and branches several times. The longitudinal blossoms that sprout parallel to the tendril are orientated on the lotus blossom (*patralatā*) and are characterised by their one-sided profile formed of several round crown-like bulges that often end in volutes. The dog with its open mouth wears a dog collar and indicates a move towards the gazelle, which glances towards the dog.³⁰³

In each of the three window sections another horizontal frame is set above the presented reliefs. Its pillars cut across the actual frame format and rise up to the window opening, parallel to the inner window frame. Their ends are formed like a fin and the motif is repeated in the pillars' bas-reliefs. A round timber is part of the balustrade and is set into the lower part of the pillar extension.

³⁰¹ The right leg is bent behind the straight left leg. The upper part of the body is flexed sideways and the right arm of the figure is raised, positioned above the head. The scarf and the pleated *sari* make a counter motion to the bent leg and animate the scene. The dancer is decorated with earrings, necklace and bangles.

³⁰² The scene depicted must be regarded in a Buddhist context; the mythic monkey holds a jackfruit.

³⁰³ Due to the motifs of the dog wearing a dog collar and the deer – a gazelle – and their disposition the scene could depict a hunting scene (*śikar*). Dogs were taken to hunting trips by the Nepalese aristocracy by the end of the 19th century. However, most probably the scene originates from a Buddhist context. The gazelle is the symbol for the turning of the wheel of Buddhism. In this regard, the gazelle rather is being protected by the dog than being chased.

Each of these three horizontal frames is decorated by a band of small and stylised lotus leaves and frames an open-worked figural wooden relief with tendril design (ca. 60 cm x 15 cm). A leaf-like cup from which grows a blossom or leaf with three bulges and symmetrically arranged tendrils with flat leaves are located in the middle of the central relief. On each side of the cup the tendrils intertwine with dragon figures (*malaḥ*) that have a snake-like body and leaf-like tag. They lacerate their mouth and spout fire or stick their tongue out.

The reliefs of the outer sections show a similar design: In their centre, too, there is a leaf-like cup from which arises a leaf or tree with five bulges. The tendrils' leaves and blossoms are slender, and a gazelle springs away from the cup.

A slightly protruding wooden slat with floral or foliated design is fixed at each upper crossbar of these frames.

The three single-leaf shutters of the *sājhyāḥ* are subdivided by a crossbar in four similarly sized parts that are framed by a band of lotus. In the middle of the panels the décor is characterised by a double-moulded rectangle. Its corners are bevelled and in its middle there is a four-leaved blossom (*svā*). From the convex rounds counter-sunk lines lead to the panel's edges. The shutters can be folded towards the inside of the house.

In contrast to the *sājhyāḥ* the two outer windows on the second floor are not completely room high, and resemble the construction on the first floor. Their frames are carved in the same floral stile (*bilari*) as the ones on the first floor. There are eight carved shelves that form the balustrade and are set separately in a rectangular wooden frame are decorated by floral ornaments (*svāphvaḥ*). In front of its upper crossbar a protruding slat is fixed suggesting a beam. The window openings can be closed by double-winged louvred shutters.

The left votive plaque on this floor is in bad state of repair. It depicts a white female figure holding a rosary (*akśamala*) in her right hand and three little figures. The right votive plaque on the second floor presents a female figure with green skin standing on a lotus pedestal (*padmāsana*). It is the scene of Buddha's birth showing Buddha as a tiny figure falling from his mother Māyādevī's side. The three little figures on the painting only survive as fragments and may be identified as Brahmā, Indra and Sthavara (cf. chapter *The Birth of Buddha Śākyamuni*).

Where the fascia is bent to right angles between the first and second floor there is a plinth carrying an oval-bellied vase. It is adorned by a floral stucco band of *desisvā*-leaves as on the first floor and the shaft has an entasis. The columns are interpretations

of the baluster column yet they are not shaped baluster-like and the shaft arises from a cup that rather resembles a vase than a pot (fig. 577).

The upper ashlar is crowned by a fascia that is bent to right angles and forms the torc of the half-column. Right below the torc the shaft is embellished by a band of half-circles. Above the torc the half-column is crowned by a rather huge acanthus capital.³⁰⁴ A cambered entablature is bent to right angles above the decorated ashlar. The rustication, the half-columns and their capitals on the second floor merely serve to decorate the façade but have no structural function since the ceiling joists hover above them instead of being borne by them.

The brick-tiled canopy that protrudes³⁰⁵ orthogonally to the façade is borne by nine of originally ten slender wooden struts.

The plastered window openings on the third floor are partly filled by a little wooden balustrade and a horizontal iron slab. The shutters are double-winged and can be opened to the inside.

The façade of the Vajrācārya house at Mikhābāhā resembles that of a characteristic Newar house, due to the *dātiapā*-brick used to blend the façade, the plinth, the typical narrow doors, the votive plaques or the ornately carved *sājhyāḥ*. However, a European vocabulary made of stucco is taken up into the vernacular design, such as the pilaster strips, rustication, caryatides and oblong and upright window format.

Shakya House (before 1934) in Guitaṭol

The Shakya house in Guitaṭol (see chapter *In Remembrance of the Nāyaḥs of Patan*) is a three-storey building with an additional dwarf storey and measures around 5.5 metres in length and 8.00 metres in height (fig. 582, 583, 585). The house's painted, red brick façade and eaves face a spacious courtyard and its gable roof is provided with a lucarne. From the perspective of the viewer the residence is attached at the left side to an outer wall of Guitabāhī. The original arrangement of those rooms directly attached to the facade, one room on each floor, remains.

On the ground floor, the Shakya house opens with a tripartite shop front and an additional door. The rest of the façade is characterised by a symmetrical alignment of

³⁰⁴ Height of the acanthus leaves: ca. 30 cm. They are provided with a stem and their leaf apices are rolled to volutes. Obviously the design of the acanthus capitals was realised by different hands.

³⁰⁵ The beams protrude over the façade and are used as structural elements of the canopy.

window openings and façade design. On the first floor, there are three room-high windows with decorative wrought-iron balustrades. A tripartite wooden bay window protrudes from the wall at the centre of the façade on the second floor. The bay window is protected by a canopy that is covered by corrugated iron sheet. A slender window opening with a wrought-iron balustrade is located at both sides of the bay window. The lucarne is found in the dwarf-storey under the rooftop right above the bay window. Its roof is flush with the front of the bay window and is borne by four vertical pillars. Plastered corner pilasters embellish the façade in each storey.

The ground floor is dominated by the wooden arcade of the shopfront with three double wing doors and the double wing door at the right side. The central opening of the arcade is wider than the outboard ones. In each case a wooden threshold is set between the columns.

The columns are only carved at their right side and the design optically subdivides them into three sections. The undecorated middle part is the longest. After the lowest sixth of the shafts small volutes are carved into the columns above which there are beads. Another bead is found in the top sixth of the shaft above which are two small volutes.

Between the square shafts and the lintel of the shopfront there are wooden capitals (*metha*). In each case the battering cantilevers protrude sideways above the freestanding columns. The capitals of the two outermost columns are only provided with a single cantilever. The cantilevers are shaped in the form of waves at their lower side. The façade and the pillar construction are not quite flush but the frame is set a little bit rearwards. The two inversely arranged cantilevers do not meet in a peak but leave much space inbetween them where a slender fillet is fixed under the lintel – a single square timber.

The two wings of each door are subdivided into four fielded panels and the right opening of the arcade was recently walled up and plastered with cement. In its centre a square horizontal opening with a transverse iron bar is found.

The door and lintel at the right side of the façade are a little bit lower than the pillar construction and its pillars stand on a wooden threshold. This door has two wooden frames and its lotus décor in the lower part of the external frame now is highly weathered.³⁰⁶ The two door wings are each subdivided into two raised and fielded

³⁰⁶ A comparison with an old photograph taken decades ago testifies that this alignment corresponds to the original façade design.

panels. The lintel is set into the noth of the pillars. A slender, plastered wall strip detaches the lintels of the ground floor openings from the fascia that slightly protrudes from the wall.

The ground floor pilasters that frame the storey also slightly protrude from the façade and are today plastered with cement. They consist of a base and a shaft that is adorned by a slender band above the base. At the capital zone of the right pilaster the cement indicates the form of a Doric capital whereas there is no such thing at the left side.

All three windows on the first floor are framed by a double frame painted in delicate pink. At the inner frame a slender bar is additionally fixed. The iron balustrade, soldered to form rhombs and volutes is painted in turquoise colour and has a wooden rail.³⁰⁷ The window shutters open to the inside and are each subdivided into a taller lower panel and two square panels of window glass set above each other.

The vertical windows are framed by a whitewashed stucco frame that slightly protrudes from the façade. Small wooden consoles protrude from the vertical parts of the central window's frame. Together with the consoles at the inner frame parts of the two external windows they bear the bay of the second floor.

In the zone of the sill the stucco window frames are decorated by small stucco pedestals on which there are volutes. In the zone of the lintel the facade is in each case embellished by a small stucco spandrel.

The brick façade between the windows on the first floor was painted red and the joints were underlined with black colour. A simple stucco band runs on the first floor above the windows and is also part of the frame where delicate arabesques are carved into the plaster. The fascia is alternately decorated by dentilation – ten small blocks – and a plain part. Above this frieze a protruding frieze resembles a Lesbian cymatium. It was moulded in two layers, the first consisting of a mixture of rice flower (*jākicū*) and white clay (*tākucā*) of a rough quality and the second made of lime plaster.

The pilasters on the first floor are in a bad state of repair and the décor is almost gone. The shaft presents traces of four yellow painted flutes next to which a fragment of a shorter and wider flute is found in each case. A small festoon decorates the shaft above the central flutes. A torc separates the shaft and the capital. The latter is embellished by a *mezzo-rilievo* in form of an angel's bust (fig. 584). The colour is almost gone but there

³⁰⁷ According to the present house owner, Bekhāratna Shakya, the iron balustrades were given as a present from Krishna Shamsher because they were left over from the Rana palace Śītal Nivās. Yet, at least at the main façade, there are no similar balustrades found at the palace nowadays.

are remainings of black-coloured hair. It is in each case a smiling female angel with breasts and shoulder-length hair. They wear a necklace, several bangles and a bracelet with flower décor around each arm. Their arms are bent and in their hands they hold flowers or blossoms. The Composite capitals of this floor are adorned by acanthus leaves framing the angels. The central stem of the leaves resembles a belt of beads at which hang bell flowers. Instead of being provided with an abacus, the fascia with the dentilation and Lesbian cymatium bends to right angles.

On the second floor the wall sections are reduced due to the five window openings. In the centre the tripartite wooden bay window protrudes widely from the façade. It is made of a big frame separated by two pillars.

Each section is subdivided by a transverse wooden bar in the lower fifth and an inner frame is set in both parts. A moulded and raised panel is set into the lower part. The corners of the raised panel are bevelled and counterbored tines lead to the outer corners of the panel.

An additional frame is set into the inner frame of the grand window opening. Its upper dunnage bar functions as the balustrade due to the vertical wooden slats that are positioned in a row. The single slats of this miniature breast (*dekota*) are sawn.³⁰⁸ An additional batten is fixed at the upper bar of the balustrade's frame.

The small pillars of the balustrade go beyond the format of the frame. They are decorated by a small bas-relief, are bevelled and end in volutes. A wooden bar is set between these vertically protruding pillars and there is another transverse bar in the middle of the pillars of the inner frame.

The bay is in a bad state of repair. The slender sides consist of a simple wooden frame with a panel in the lower third. Above this panel there is a miniature balustrade. The window shutters resemble Venetian blinds and can be opened to the inside of the house where they can be fixed at the ceiling. They are optically subdivided by a dibble.

Small wooden consoles are nailed onto the bay's four vertical pillars and bear the canopy. In the eaves zone there is a wooden frieze of round arches.

Next to the bay window the slender windows with a simple wooden frame and an iron balustrade with a wooden bar are single leaved and designed as are those on the first floor. They are embellished with a stucco frame. Its vertical and horizontal elements

³⁰⁸ Miniature breast of the central opening: Each slat is open-worked in form of an ellipse framed by wave-like elements. Miniature breast of the side openings: The centre of each slat is open-worked in form of a drop.

intersect in the corners. There is a small trapezoid key stone and a plastered segment-gable stretches above it.

On the second floor, too, the pilasters are in a bad state of repair. On the right pilaster it becomes obvious that the base was preformed in brick, and stucco flutes survive in fragments. A stucco panel with crenellated ends remains at the corner pilaster. A decorative, neoclassical vase positioned on a pedestal decorates the panel as a *basso-rilievo* in its lower part (fig. 586). A sickle-shaped ornament embellishes the pedestal and its ends resemble the lotus design of the *patralatā* motif with volutes. Creases are scratched in the belly part of the vase with foliated handles. Reeds radiate from the vase and are partly hidden by flowers.

Similar flowers are furthermore found on the capitals on the second floor. The flowers split in their lower part and are shaped as volutes in *basso-rilievo* while acanthus adorns the corners of the capitals. The abacus protrudes in three layers.

Above the bay window beam ends that are the ends of the ceiling beams and the floor of the lucarne protrude from the wall at right angle to the façade. They visibly protrude from the bay window.

The canopy above the bay window is borne by two wooden struts that lay on short consoles next to the bay. Similar consoles are found on the left stucco pilaster and the wall next to the right pilaster.³⁰⁹ However, no struts remain.

The lucarne has around the same length as the bay window. Four pillars bear its roof and form three sections. The balustrade is made of iron bars. The lucarne is provided with a big gable that is mantled with sheet-metal. The lucarne's roof slightly protrudes from the gable and is embellished by a decorative sheet metal ornament with flower décor beneath the eaves and roof edge.

On both sides of the lucarne there is a wall half as high as the pillars. The walls are plastered and whitewashed while in the centre there is an unrendered rectangular part with bevelled corners.

Wooden struts protrude from the upper, plastered part and bear the iron sheet that functions as the roof. Below the eaves of the roof there is a wooden bordure in the shape of ogee arches.

³⁰⁹ The external consoles bearing the roof struts on the second floor are not aligned symmetrically. Furthermore, the left console protrudes from the decorated pilaster. This situation leads to the question of the builder's order when he erected the second storey and roof.

Several neoclassical motifs are taken up on the façade of this Shakya house in Guitaṭol. Besides the framing of pilasters, their stucco décor and the room-high windows with the plastered window frames testify to a highly European form language. The lucarne with its open pillar construction is outstanding. However, the craftsmen also relied on familiar forms, especially concerning some details such as the Newar shop front or the appropriated motif of the angel.

Residential Buildings in Bhaktapur

Joshi House (after 1934) in the Locality of Bolāchē

The four-storey Joshi house presents three brick façades and – seen from the front – on its left side, another building is annexed. Its main façade with the entrance turns to a courtyard that is accessible from three directions through narrow passages.

The storeys are optically divided by protruding brick cornices. Two pilasters with capitals on each floor level frame the front. Except the ground floor, the façade is symmetrical. Only on the first and second floor is axuality strictly kept through the vertical and horizontal alignment of the three vertical windows (fig. 589).

The ground floor opens with a door on the left side and two horizontal rectangular windows. This floor was possibly modified and may thus not present the original state of repair. The door and the central window are located in the same vertical axes as are the windows of the two following floors. The outer window on the right side is set off the axis to the middle of the façade. On the fourth floor level the centre of the facade is underlined by a triple window. A little window with upright format is found on both sides of the triple window. These windows share the vertical axes of the outer windows on the first and second floor. The roof is supported by nine wooden struts including those at the corners.

Today's ground floor façade is mainly plastered by cement. Only the right side and the corner pilaster's ornamentation exhibit bricks. On the unrendered part, the ends of the ceiling beams are visible, in between which are placed three layers of binders. The cornice between the ground floor and first floor is made of two layers of brick that protrude in steps. Whereas the lower level is made of a slender format, the upper one is trimmed but has the same format as the bricks used for the façade. The traces of the mason's axe are clearly visible. The embellishment of the pilasters is also made of

trimmed bricks. The décor is set together from two bricks that bear volutes on the pilasters' outer sides passing into a rolling part that splits. The resulting two ends create volutes, turning to the pilaster's centre.

The wooden window parapets on the first and second floor are carved in a decorative manner and in each case consist of five carved slats. The masonry between the windows is provided with a certain rhythm by the open scaffold holes, two per section in the vertical axis. The pilasters are aligned on a rectangular base and are provided with a slender, trimmed bead and an extraordinary capital. This capital, based on the classical Ionic capital, was created of eight layers of differently trimmed bricks (fig. 590). The two lower layers divide the capital torc-like from the shaft. On each of the corners of the lowest layer there is a small volute that was trimmed off the end of the end of the binder. Above, the original format of the brick was slanted. The outer ends introduce the volutes. Following an untrimmed layer, two layers of trimmed bricks protrude diagonally. The following layer of untrimmed brick is decorated by a round volute on each side. It was trimmed of bricks and was set brad-like into the capital's corners. The abacus found above the capital is made of two step-like protruding layers that were both trimmed on their corners and are cambered. The cornice is made of two layers of bricks that protrude from the wall in steps, as on ground floor level. A frieze-like row of bricks, with runners and binders taking turns, is located underneath the cornice. The ends of the binders are trimmed, resulting in small kidney-formed ends.

The second floor differs from the first floor especially in the décor of its pilasters and the ornamentation below the cornice. A décor made of two trimmed and cambered bricks with volutes instead of a bead adorns the shaft above the base. The torc is trimmed like the bead on the pilaster on the ground floor. The capital consists of a layer of untrimmed brick, followed by a layer of sloping, trimmed bricks and finally of a layer whose décor reminds one of the running-dog motif. A frieze of the same décor is found below the cornice. However one brick of the capital was provided with two volutes, so that there are three, one in each corner of the capital and one in the middle. The lower layer of the abacus is slanting and the above one is thinner than the ordinary brick format. At the corners, the bricks are shaped pagoda-like, slightly turning upwards.

The window breasts are made of simple wooden bars. The tripartite window is set in a big rectangular frame and its sill protrudes into the wall. The pilasters are embellished in a simple manner. Besides base and bead they bear capitals with inclined trimmed bricks and abacus. The struts, carrying the protruding roof, are bearers of floral decoration.

The Piya House (ca. 1934) in the Locality of Tulāchē

The four-storey Piya house is situated at a corner, next to the Nārāyaṇa Temple in the quarter of Tulāchē. The façade catches one's attention, being a masterpiece of neo-baroque style embellishment entirely made of brick (fig. 591, 592). The first picture which comes to one's mind is that of a European miniature Baroque house which has not been dressed by plaster yet. Though plastering the house's front had probably never been the intention of the owner. The only thing which definitely locates this building as Newar Architecture is the repetitive shop front found on the ground floor. Unusually, it has four openings instead of an odd number as it is common in Newar buildings. The house's main characteristics are the gables above each window of the first floor and the round and broken gables above each window opening of the second floor.

On the first floor, round gables with keystones, both worked in bricks, are supported by corbels above the windows. Gables similar in design are located on the second floor. On the main façade the vertical middle axis is however emphasised by the decoration of the gables – a triangular gable in the first and a round, broken gable with covings on the upper floor – and furthermore, by the delicate pillars framing the window in the middle of the first and second floors. Compared to the façade of an ante-20th-century Newar house which is organised by walls with only low doors and small horizontal openings for windows, the façade under discussion has come close to a punctuated façade.

Gone are the magnificent Newar wood engravings and with them the iconological programme. They were replaced by the ordinary vertical window format with balustrades made of rods and rather simple wooden folding shutters. At the same time the use of glass is denied.

The Piya house as it is described above is unique in Bhakatapur. Of course, there is no scarcity of brick buildings in the city core, reaching from only a few ante earthquake temples and houses to the majority of post earthquake buildings. But the sophisticated

abstraction from a plastered European neo-baroque house to the “naked” hybrid brick building as it is makes the Piya house unique. Brickstone, the traditional building material of the Newars, was developed from the ordinary rectangular³¹⁰ to an open variety of forms for which the facade provides the best example. New forms were thus invented with familiar materials.

³¹⁰ Varying length of runners between 19 and 20 centimetres and heights of 4 to five centimetres and 13 centimetres lengths of binders.

List of British Residents in Nepal

1816 J. P. Boileau
1816-1829 Edward Gardner
1829-1831 Brian Houghton Hodgson (1st time) (b. 1800 - d. 1894)
1831-1833 Thomas Herbert Maddock
1833-1843 Brian Houghton Hodgson (2nd time) (s.a.)
1843-1845 Henry Lawrence (b. 1806 - d. 1857)
1845-1846 John Russell Colvin (b. 1807 - d. 1857)
1846-1850 C. Thoresby
1850-1852 J.C. Erskine
1852-1867 George Ramsay
1867-1872 Richard Charles Lawrence (b. 1817 - d. 1896)
1872-1888 Charles E.R. Girdlestone
1888-1891 Edward Law Durand (b. 1845 - d. 1920)
1891-1899 Henry Wylie (b. 1844 - d. 1918)
1899 A.M. Muir
1899- 1901 W. Loch (b. 1847? - d. 1901)
1901-1902 T. Pears
1902-1905 Charles Withers Ravenshaw (b. 1851 - d. 1935)
1905-1916 John Manners Smith (b. 1864 - d. 1920)
1916-1918 Steuart Farquharson Bayley (b. 1863 - d. 1938)
1918-1923 Frederick O'Connor (b. 1870 - d. 1943)

List of Rana Buildings

| Name of Building | Date of Construction | Engineer |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|---|
| Nārayanhiti Darbār | 1847 | |
| Thāpāthali | 1850s | |
| Golo Baithak | 1860s | Ransur Bisht? |
| Lal Darbār | 1885-93 | Kishwor N. Rana |
| Seto Darbār | 1885-93 | Joglal Sthapit (“Bhajuman”), Kishwor N. Rana? |
| Jawalakhel Darbār | 1890 | |
| Bir Hospital | 1890 | Kumar N. Rana, Kishwor N. Rana |
| Ānanda Niketan | 1892 | Kumar N. Rana |
| Ghantaghar | 1894 | Kishwor N. Rana |
| Agni Bhawan | 1894 | Kumar N. Rana |
| Kaishar Mahal | 1895 | Kishwor N. Rana |
| Phora Darbār | 1895 | Kishwor N. Rana |
| Śrī Mahal | 1896? | Kumar N. Rana |
| Char Burja | 1896? | Kumar N. Rana |
| Tangal Darbār | 1896 | Kumar N. Rana |
| Singha Darbār | 1901-1903 | Kumar N. Rana, Kishwor N. Rana |
| Gaddi Baithak | 1908 | Kumar N. Rana |
| Babar Mahal | 1913 | Kumar N. Rana |
| Garden of Dreams | 1920s | Kishwor N. Rana |
| Śītal Nivās | 1923 | Kishwor N. Rana |
| Lakśmi Nivās | 1925 | Dilli Jang Thapa?, Kumar N. Rana?, Kishwor N. Rana? |
| Dharma Darbār | | Kumar N. Rana |
| Sundarijal Arsenal | | Kumar N. Rana |
| Nārayanhiti Darbār (extension) | | Kumar N. Rana |
| Nagarjun Darbār | | Kumar N. Rana |
| Śanta Bavan | 1936 | |
| Nārāyan Bavan | 1938 | |
| Kalimati Darbār | 1940 | |

List of European Engineers who visited Nepal between 1881-1923

| | | |
|---------|--|---|
| 1881 | Mr. Mills and Mr. White, engineers | inspection of the Residency buildings and to preparation of estimates, etc. |
| 1881 | Superintendent Engineer Mr. B. R. Fainimore | inspection of the Residency buildings |
| 1889 | Hon. L. M. St. Clair, engineer | on duty with the Nepal Government in connection with waterworks project |
| 1890 | Henry Elworthy, engineer from Calcutta | |
| 1893 | Major P. A. Weir, engineer | on duty in connection with building works in progress at the Residency |
| 1909 | Mr. B. Pontet, electrical engineer | service under Nepal Government |
| 1908 | Mr. Searight, engineer | inspection of the Residency buildings |
| 1910 | Mr. T. E. Lynch, engineer | erection of the electric plant at Pharping |
| 1910 | Mr. R. C. Wodgson, engineer from the Champaran division | inspection of the Residency buildings |
| 1913 | Mr. H. H. Stevens, engineer of the Tribeni Canal | inspection of the Residency buildings |
| 1915/16 | Mr. F. A. Betterton, engineer | inspection of the Residency buildings |
| 1917 | Mr. H. Wardle, engineer from Champaran division | inspection of the Residency buildings |
| 1920 | Mr. A. E. Marshall, engineer | inspection of the Legation buildings (Residency buildings) |
| 1921/22 | Capt. G. F. Hall, M.C., former Chief Engineer of Bihar | inspection of the Legation buildings (Residency buildings) |
| 1923 | Mr. F. A. Betterton, engineer | inspection of the Legation buildings (Residency buildings) |

GLOSSARY

- Acala*: “The Steadfast”; “King of Liberating Knowledge”.
Adibuddhas: the five transcendental Buddhas Vairocana, Akṣobhya, Amitāba, Ratnasambhava and Amogasiddhi.
āgama: the chapel of a Buddhist monastery, room for esoteric gods.
āgaḥṭāḥ: crossties.
akṣamālā: rosary.
Akṣobhya: Buddha
Amātya, Amatya: ministers.
ankuśa: iron hook.
apā: brick.
apsara: winged celestial garland-bearing figure.
aṣṭamaṅgala: the eight auspicious signs.
aṣṭamāṭṛkā: the eight manifestations of the mother goddess Durgā.
Āvāle (New. Avaḥ): brickmakers.
avatāra: the incarnation of a deity.
Ayah: native nanny in colonial times.
āypā: rectangular roof tiles.
bagh: garden.
bāhā/bahī: Nepalese name for Buddhist monasteries of Nepal.
baigaḥ: the attic floor of a Newar house.
bajra: plaster.
Bārāhi (or *Kāṣṭhakār*): name for the carpenters in Patan.
bardali sājhyāḥ: vertical tripartite bay window.
bārḥā pikāegu: the taking outside of a Newar girl after her menarche ceremony; the ceremonial climax of this rite of passage.
bārḥā taegu: the menarche ceremony for Newar girls; a rite of passage.
bātuapā: stepped brick.
Bhairava: the fierce manifestation of Śiva associated with annihilation; one of the most important deities of Nepal, sacred to Hindus and Buddhists alike.
bhaugāḥ: “cat-holes”, roof openings for light and ventilation.
bhawan: palace.
Bodhisattva: Buddhist who follows the path of complete Buddha-hood in order to save all beings.
buddhamārgī: name for Newar Buddhists; lit. “those who follow the path of the Buddha”.
bhutū: the kitchen of a Newar house.
Byāghīnī: “Tiger Daughter”, derived from the tiger-headed Vyāghravaktrā, a Buddhist *ḍākinī*.
byāhā: the marriage.
caitya (New. *cibhaḥ*): Buddhist votive structure.
caturmahārājas: the four guardian kings.
chē: house.
char kaya: simple roof-like section.
chēḍi: ground floor of a Newar house.
Citrakār, Chitrakar (New. Pū): painters.
cok: “square”; courtyard.
cvakulā: the lintel of the secondary frame of a window.
cvatā: second floor of a Newar house.

dātiapā: burnt brick with a red scumble on its front side; used for sacral and public buildings and for the façades of wealthier builders.

Dāgol (New. Dāgu, Jyāpu): caste subgroup of farmers (in Kathmandu).

ḍākinī: in Hinduism a witch, attending on Kālī; in Buddhism (especially in Tibetan Buddhism) a woman of supernatural powers, sometimes depicted as angel or witch.

Darbār, *Durbar*: term for a ruler's court in India and Nepal; it may be either a feudal state council for administering the affairs of a princely state, or a purely ceremonial gathering, as in the time of the British Empire in India.

dhāraṇī: magical formula or incantation, often existing of random syllables; lit. "that which is borne", its recitation is considered to create supernatural power.

dharma: Buddha's doctrine: truth, teaching, virtue.

dharmaśala: lodging facilities for pilgrims.

dugudyah: lineage deity, ancestral god.

dhvāja: banner.

degahjhyāḥ: blind window common in temples.

desisvā: "flower of India" pattern.

Dewali: festival of light.

ḍhokā (New. *dhvākhā*): gate, door.

Dhyahlā (New. Pwah/Pohryā, Nep. Pode): sweepers or fishermen who may be the temple guardians of non-iconic shrines.

digī: council hall of a Buddhist monastery.

dune: "inside" the city, or house, or courtyard.

dyah: deity.

dyahchē: house for the iconic manifestation of a deity (māṭṛkrā, Gaṇeśa, Bhairava).

dyah taegu: annual festivals.

eka: the battens of a grill window that run vertically.

gandharva: celestial spirit, the personification of the sunlight.

Gaṇeśa: widely revered as the "Remover of Obstacles" and more generally as "Lord of Beginnings", patron of arts and sciences, and the god of intellect and wisdom.

galli: narrow street.

Garuḍa: sun-bird.

ghaḥ: brass pitchers for water.

gaḥjhyāḥ: blind window.

ghāṭ: embankment of a river.

Gupta period: time between 200-600 A.D. in India.

Gurkha, *Gorkha*: people from Nepal and northern India who take their name from the 8th century Hindu warrior-saint Guru Gorakhnāth; Gorkha District is one of the 75 districts of modern Nepal; Gurkhas are best known for their history in the British Army's Brigade of Gurkhas and the Indian Army's Gorkha regiments.

gvāgaḥcā: beaked corner eaves tiles on hipped roofs and cross-corner projecting roofs.

hāchēbāhā: the bearing jambs of the secondary frame of a window.

haṃsa: gander.

Hari Hara: union of Śiva and Viṣṇu.

Hastakār (New. Sikaḥmi): caste the subgroup of carpenters.

hiti: public step-well.

ihī: initiation ritual for a Newar premenstrual girl, mock marriage with the Bel fruit.

jag: the foundation of a Newar house.

jālī: grillwork of a window.

jāt: colloquial Newari, non-honorific names.

jhyāḥ: window.

jhyāḥkvatāḥ: apron plank.

Jyāpu: caste subgroup of farmers.
Joṣṭ, Joshi: caste subgroup of astrologers.
kaḥmi: craftsman
kasimvaḥ: upright lotus leave on bricks.
kasu sāṅhyāḥ: *inclined* tripartite bay window.
kaḥsimvaḥapā: walnut motif.
kalaśa: ritual vase containing water.
kamaṇḍalu: vessel.
Kāpālī (New. Jugi, Nep. Kusle): death specialists, musicians and tailors.
karma: the good deeds.
Karmācāryas (New. Ācāḥju) Śaivite Tantric priests.
Kau: blacksmiths.
khaḍga: sword.
Khadgī, Khadgi (New. Nay, Nep. Kasāī): caste subgroup of butchers, milksellers and drummers.
khaicā: Bamboo baskets to keep potatoes and vegetables inside; they are hung outside below the eaves of a Newar house.
kinnari: (winged) celestial spirits.
kīrttimukha: “halo-face”, a fierce demon face, often with horns and hands grasping snakes.
Kot Massacre: the bloody coup in 1846 when Jang Bahadur Kunwar from the Thapa clan shot his uncle Prime Minister Mathabar Singh Thapa and scores of nobles and royal courtiers; after the massacre Jang Bahadur was appointed Prime Minister of Nepal.
Kṛṣṇa: eighth *avatāra* of Viṣṇu.
kurtī: traditional blouse.
Kuśāṇa period: time of the Kuśāṇa Empire (ca. 1st-3rd centuries) of Ancient India; at its cultural zenith, circa 105-250 A.D., it extended from what is now Afghanistan to Pakistan and down into the Ganges river-valley in northern India.
kūsuru: face of a mythical animal.
kvakhalu: the bearing frame of a window with sill.
kvapuapā: roof-like tiles that cover the ridge.
kvāpāḥḍyaḥ: the shrine of a Buddhist monastery.
lal: the colour red.
Lakṣmī: goddess of wealth, prosperity, purity, and generosity; the embodiment of beauty, grace and charm.
Licchavi period: the time between 300 CE and 879 CE in Nepal with a dynasty.
māapā: fired brick.
Madhya: the middle world.
Mahāyāna: one of the two main existing schools of Buddhism and a term for classification of Buddhist philosophies and practice.
Mahākālī: “Great Kālī”; goddess, no. 7 of the Mother Goddesses.
mahal: palace.
Maharaja: Sanskrit for “great king” or “high king”; its use is primarily for Hindu potentates (ruler or sovereign).
Maharjan (New. Jyāpu): caste subgroup of farmers in Patan.
malaḥ: dragon.
makara: aquatic monsters.
Manandhar: oil pressers.
Mangal Bazaar: Darbār Square in Patan, locally known as “Maṅgala”.
maṇḍala, mandala: Sanskrit “circle”; symbolic depiction of the universe.

Mantras: one or multi-syllable expression, magic formula.

Malla period: the centuries between 1200 and 1769 in Nepal: Early Malla time (1200-1381) and late Malla time (1382 – 1769).

mātā: “middle layer”, first floor of a Newar house.

maṭh: Hindu sanctuary.

mayura (Skt.): peacock.

mhaykhā (New.): peacock.

mistri: local mason.

moha: projecting roof profile with slanting and throating edge.

mokṣa: deliverance.

Mughal Empire: Muslim imperial power which began in 1526, ruled most of the Indian subcontinent by the late 17th and early 18th centuries, and ended in the middle of the 19th century.

mūbāhā: jambs of the bearing frame of a window.

mūdra: hand gesture.

mūtāgāh: lintel of the bearing frame of a window.

nāga: snake.

nāḥgvaḥapā: snake pattern with quarter-round profile.

Nāmasaṅgīti: a form of Avalokiteśvara; an independent god who is the emanation of Vairocana; the personification of a text often recited at monasteries.

nāyaḥ: head of a group.

Nakarmi (New. Kau): caste subgroup of blacksmiths.

nani: spacious courtyard.

Nāpit (New. Nau): caste subgroup of barbers.

Nawāb: originally the provincial governor or viceroy of a province or region of the Mughal Empire; later a title for Muslim nobles.

Newar: name of the population of the Kathmandu Valley, an ethnic group; the Newars make up more than half of the population of the Kathmandu Valley.

Newari: Tibeto-Burman language grammatically and linguistically; mother tongue of the Newars.

Nepali: official language of Nepal.

Nizam: Urdu “Administrator of the Realm”; since 1719 the title of the sovereigns of Hyderabad state, India.

padma: lotus flower.

pākhā: the eaves of a Newar house.

palehaḥ: lotus motif.

palesvā: lotus flower.

Pandit: local scholar.

pāri: Persian angel type.

pāśa: noose.

pasūkājhyāh: window with five openings.

Paśupatināth: “Lord of the Cattle”.

patal: underworld.

pāṭī: arcade, public meeting place.

pikhālākhū: stone, generally carved in form of a lotus flower; situated in front of each house; it absorbs impurities and ritual waste and receives a share of household feasts (New. *bhvay*).

pine: “outside” the city, or house, or courtyard.

piṭha: seat or altar.

Prajāpati: caste subgroup of potters.

Pradhān: caste subgroup of administrators.

pradakṣiṇāpātha: processional route.
puṇḍrakalāśa: the sacred pot.
Purohit: house priest.
Rādhā: Kṛṣṇa's mistress.
Rājopādhyāya (New. Brahmū, Dyaḥbhāju): Newar Hindu Brahmin, or house priest.
Rājibhaṇḍārī: caste subgroup of royal storekeepers.
Rājkarṇikār: caste subgroup of sweetmakers.
Rāma: the seventh *avatāra* of Viṣṇu.
Rana: name of the old Rajput maharajas of Mewar in Udaipur, India; title of the Nepalese rulers from around 1850 until 1951.
Raṇjītkār: caste subgroup of dyers in Bhaktapur.
ratna: jewel.
saethu: "hair curls", anthropomorphic expressions for the design details of the primary jambs of windows.
sājhyāh: tripartite window/bay window.
śakti: energy of a god in its personified form, the female counterpart of any god.
Śākya, *Shakya* (New. Bare): caste subgroup of goldsmiths, artisans and shopkeepers.
Śākyamuni: "the wise of the Śākya family", name for the historical Buddha Siddhārtha Gautama.
salabhañjika: goddess of the Buddhist sacred grove with crossed legs grasping a tree branch with her extended arm.
saṃskāra: rite of passage.
saṃvat: calculation of time.
saṅgha, *saṃgha*: congregation, monastic order.
Sanskrit: the language of scripture and liturgy for Buddhists and Hindus; the closer a word is to the Sanskrit language, the more honorific is its usage.
Sarasvatī: the goddess of learning; her attributes are a *vīṇā* and her vehicle, the gander (*haṃsa*).
śāstras: collection of rules of general building principles.
Siddhārtha Gautama: spiritual teacher (c. 563 CE to 483 CE) in the northern region of the Indian subcontinent who founded Buddhism; also known as *Śākyamuni*.
siguthī: funeral association.
sikhara: temple with a spire-like crown above a square sanctuary.
Shilpa-Śāstra: general building principles as subject to Vedic sources.
Śilāpatras: stone inscriptions.
Śilpakār: caste subgroup of carpenters in Bhaktapur.
siṃha: lion.
siṃhamukha: lion face.
Siṃghīnī: "Lion Son", derived from the lion-headed Siṃhavaktrā, a Buddhist *ḍākinī*.
Sītā: Rāma's wife.
Śiva: major Hindu god; the destroyer or transformer.
Śiva-Śakti: personification of the energy of Śiva.
śivamārgī: name for Newar Hindus; lit. "those who follow the path of Śiva".
Sompura: masons of western India.
Śreṣṭhas: (New. Śeśyah): caste subgroup of administrators.
sthapati: masons of eastern and southern India.
Sthirobhava-vākya: lit. "May-this-house-endure-sentences"; a text which used to be recited by a priest at the consecration ceremony of a newly built house.
Sūrya: the sun god.
svakhaṇakī: three-legged iron nail.
svarga: the upper world; Indra's paradise.

Taleju: the sovereign's protective divinity.

Tāmṛakār, *Tamrakar* (New. *Tamaḥ*, *Tamot*): caste subgroup of copperworkers.

Tañḍukār (New. *Khusaḥ*): Buddhist caste subgroup of farmers and musicians, serving for priests for butchers.

Tārā: the epithet of Buddha's mother, *Māyā*; in *Mahāyāna* and *Vajrayāna* Buddhism the name of a goddess who is usually regarded as the Śakti of Avalokiteśvara or of Amoghasiddhi, but often also as the Śakti of Ādibuddha and the different Tathāgata (as a group); White *Tārā* is *Sitatārā*, green *Tārā* is *Śyāmatārā* – they are the gracious forms of *Tārā*.

tasbirjhyāḥ: “picture-frame window” or “window like a picture.

Tathāgata: name of the historical Buddha; the term also denotes the five transcendental Buddhas (*Adibuddhas*).

teka: the weft battens of a grill window that run horizontally.

Thakuri period: the time between 879-1200 in Nepal.

thar: honorific, Sanskrit-derived name that describes the religious function or the traditional profession of a caste and is used as a surname by most Newars.

tikā: perforated batten (grillwork).

tikājhyāḥ: “pointed window”, window with wooden lattice work.

tikājhyāḥ-bā: the jambs of the tertiary frame of a window.

tikājhyāḥ-mā: sill and lintel of the tertiary frame of a window.

ṭol (New. *tvāḥ*): quarter of a town, locality.

torāṇa: semi-circular decorative tympanum over the main entrance of a shrine.

trimūrti: the Hindu trinity of *Brahmā*, *Śiva* and *Viṣṇu*.

trīratnaḥ: the Three Jewels.

tū: the local well.

tunāḥ: roof strut, uncarved.

va: “teeth”, the indented frieze above the window opening.

vāhana: vehicle.

vajra: diamond sceptre or jewel.

Vajrayāna: Tantric Buddhism and of *Mahāyāna-Buddhism*.

Vajrācārya, *Vajracharya*: Buddhist house priest (New. *Gubhāju*), initiated monk who are householders.

Vajrāyoginī: Tantric form of *Durgā*.

Vairocana: a Buddha who is the embodiment of *Dharmakaya*; the universal aspect of the historical *Gautama Buddha*.

Vastu-Śāstra: general building principles as subject to *Vajrayāna* and *Mahāyāna* Buddhism.

vihāra: Sanskrit name for Buddhist monastery (*bāhā*).

vidyādharis: flying, garland-bearing celestial spirits (often wingless).

vīṇā: stringed instrument.

Viṣṇu: supreme Hindu god.

Vyañjankār (New. *Tepay*): caste subgroup of gardeners.

Wakil: diplomatic delegate.

yakṣa: gnome-like caryatides carved at the base of columns or at the base of roof brackets.

yakṣiṇī: supernatural, dancing half-divinity.

yoginī: female deity or demom in the retinue of *Durgā*; possesses magical powers.

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THE NEOCLASSICAL RESIDENCES OF THE NEWARS IN NEPAL
TRANSCULTURAL FLOWS IN THE EARLY 20th CENTURY ARCHITECTURE OF THE
KATHMANDU VALLEY

Volume II
Figures

vorgelegt von
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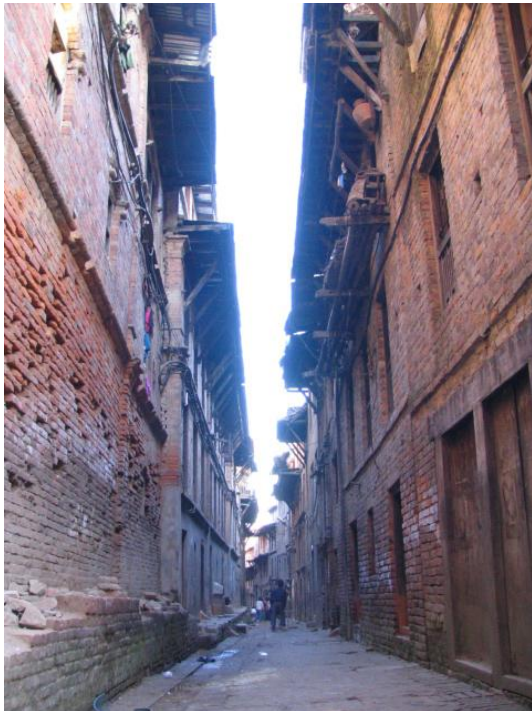


Fig. 1
A typical view of a lane in Bhaktapur: The lanes are lined by multi-storey houses. The overhanging eaves almost cover the narrow space.



Fig. 2
Bhaktapur, Yaḥsimkhel: The public space is widely used as workplace. During the rice harvest in October, the squares offer the space to dry and winnow the rice. October 2006.



Fig. 3
Patan, courtyard in the vicinity of Triratna Simbāhā in the locality of Hakhā: Early 20th century houses enclose the semi-public courtyard where Buddhist *caityas* and a *dharmadhātumaṇḍala* are located, washing is pegged out and male residents meet to play cards. November 2007.



Fig. 4
Patan, locality of Svatha: Symmetrical courtyard-façade of a renovated Shrestha house from early Shah period. It is built of brick and wood although there are no signs of a European form language yet.

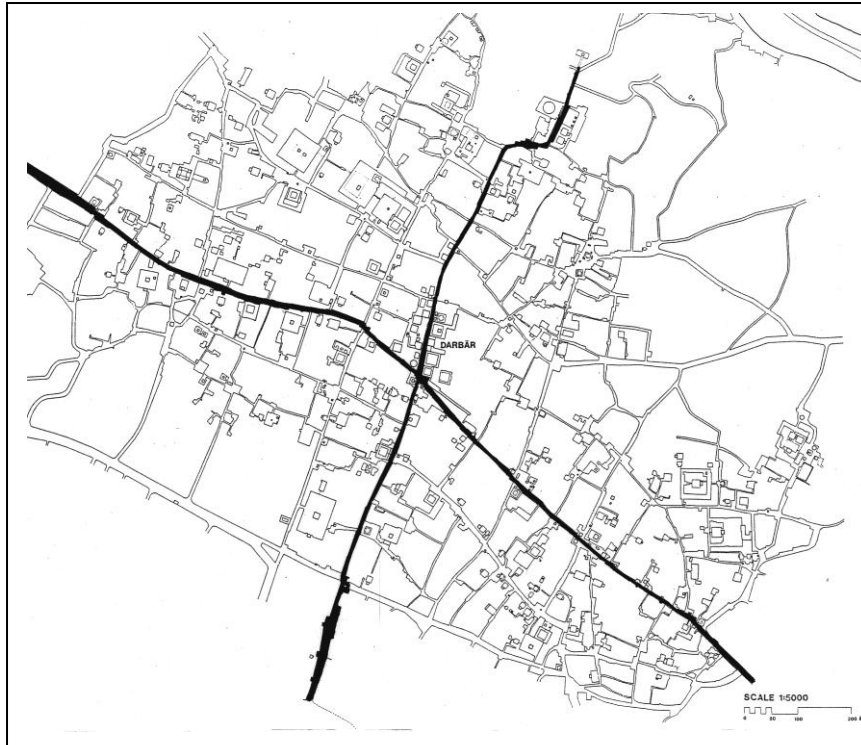


Fig. 5

In Patan, two main streets run axial from north-south and east-west and intersect in the city's heart, the place of the old palace, the Darbār Square or Mangal Bazaar. The streets widen in irregular ways and become small squares which are the centres of each quarter (*tol*). Numerous courtyards in Patan are enclosed by Buddhist monasteries (*bāhā, bahī*).

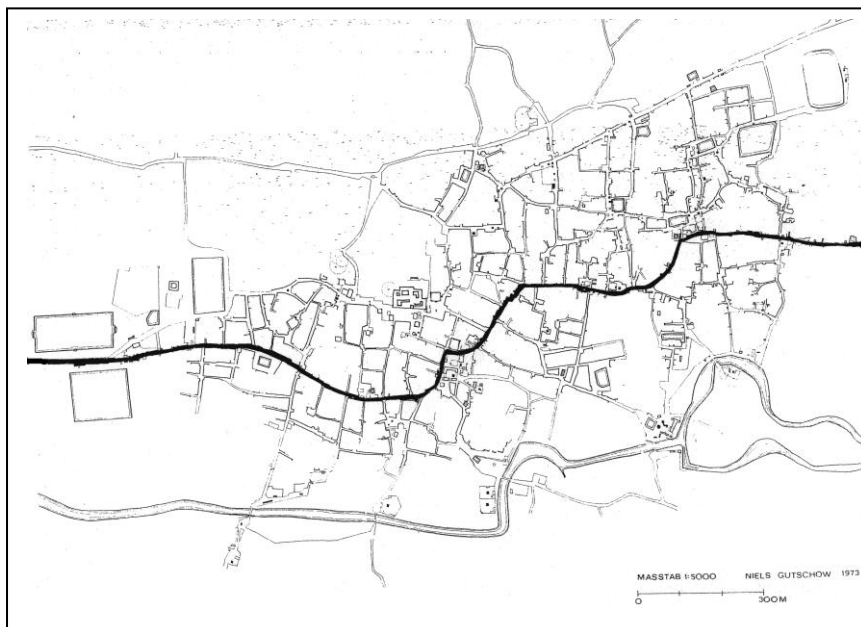


Fig. 6

The main road which leads through the town from east to west has a double-ogee form. Here and there it opens up to squares with temples.

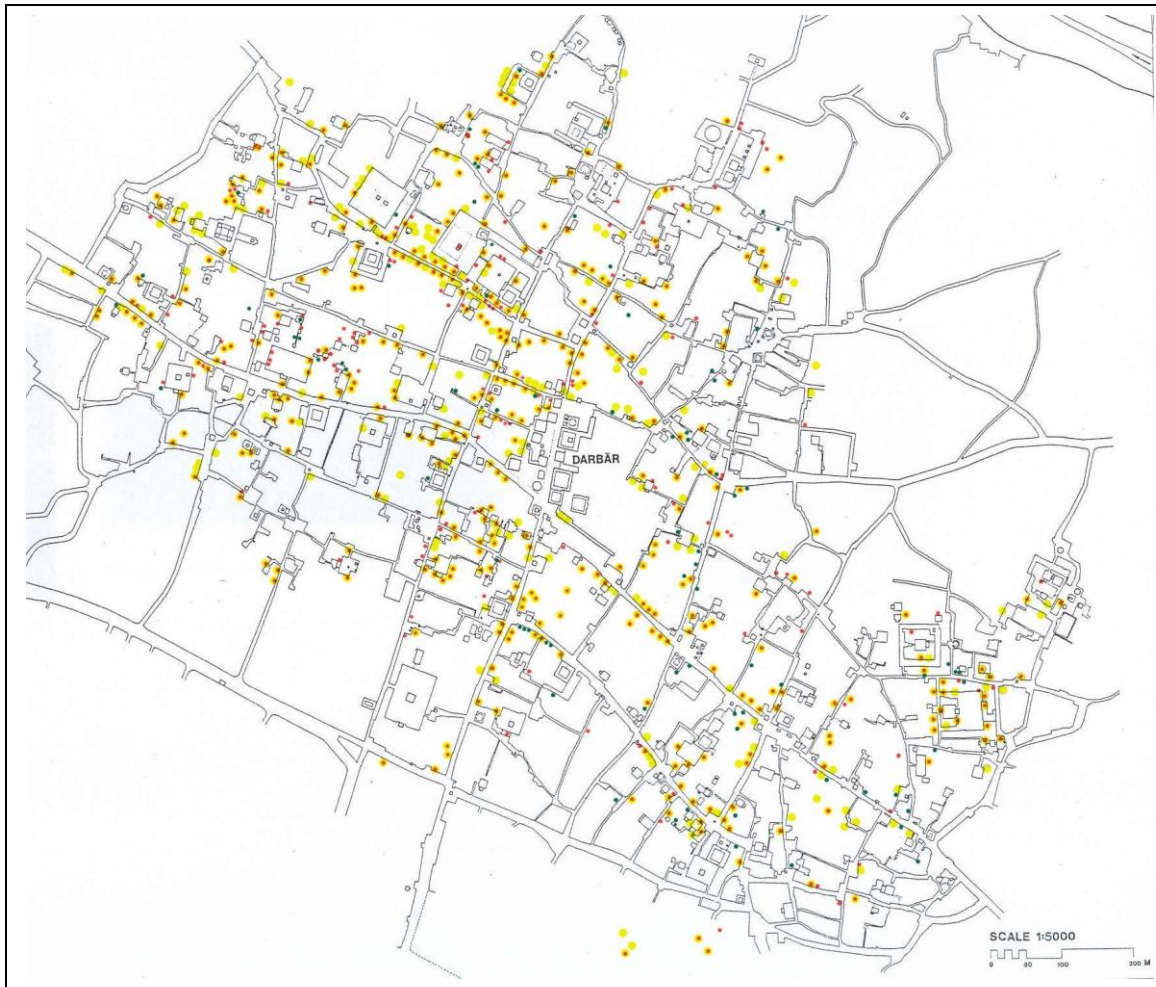


Fig. 8

Patan: Distribution of houses with neoclassical features in October and November 2006. The city owes its *genius loci* to the large number of early 20th century houses with brick-and-plaster façades and stucco décor. Out of a total of around 660 of the houses with neoclassical features, 340 exhibited brick-and-plaster façades. Only 180 houses were completely covered with lime plaster; 140 houses belonged to the group with brick-lined façades. Only in rare cases, façades were plastered with cement.

- brick-and-plaster façade
- brick façade
- plastered façade
- façade, plastered with cement recently

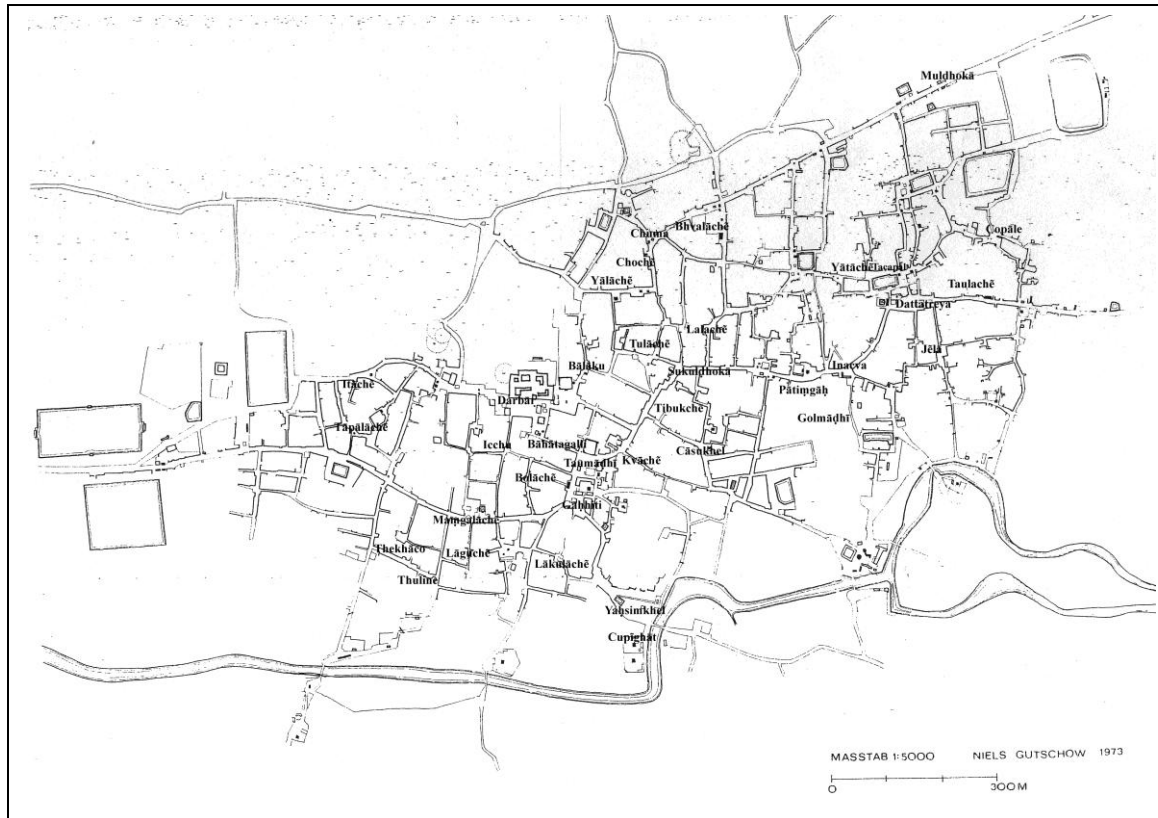


Fig. 9
Bhaktapur: Some place names.

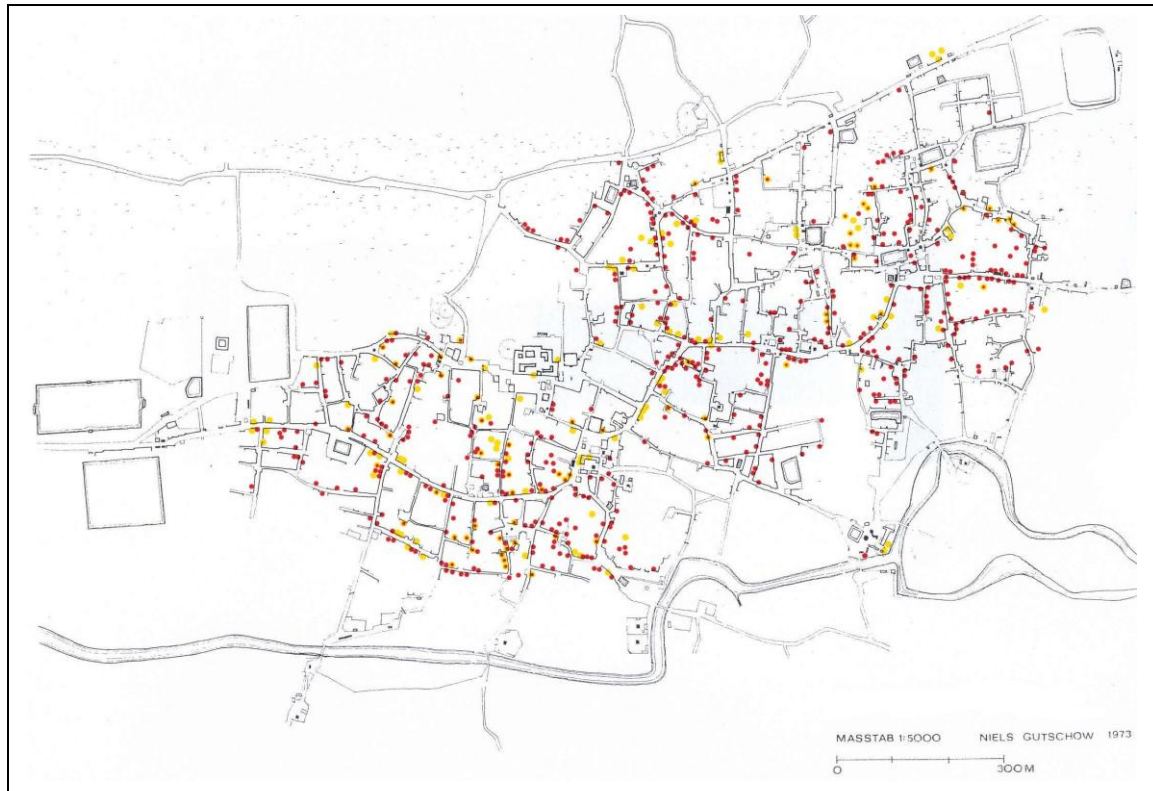


Fig. 10
 Bhakatapur: Distribution of houses with neoclassical features in October and November 2006. More than 600 residences altogether survive and are witness to a hybrid architectural language. The biggest group of houses has a brick-lined façade, around 460 buildings. Another group with almost 80 members consists of the houses with brick-and-plaster façades. Around 70 houses form the third group and present fronts completely fettled with lime plaster.

- brick-and-plaster façade
- brick façade
- plastered façade

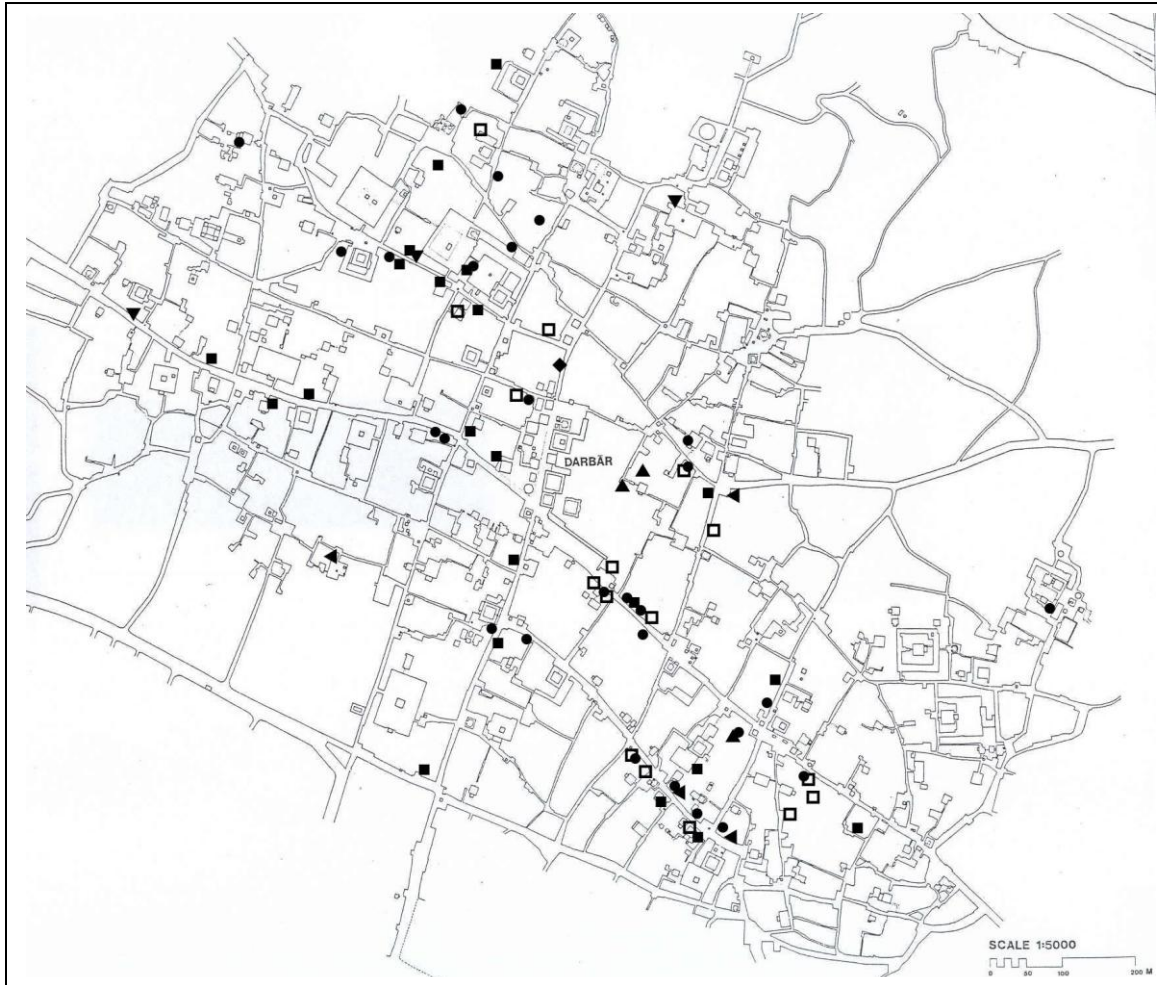


Fig. 11
Patan: Distribution of certain motifs characteristic for the
Newar neoclassical style.

- lion mask
- mascarón
- peacock
- angel

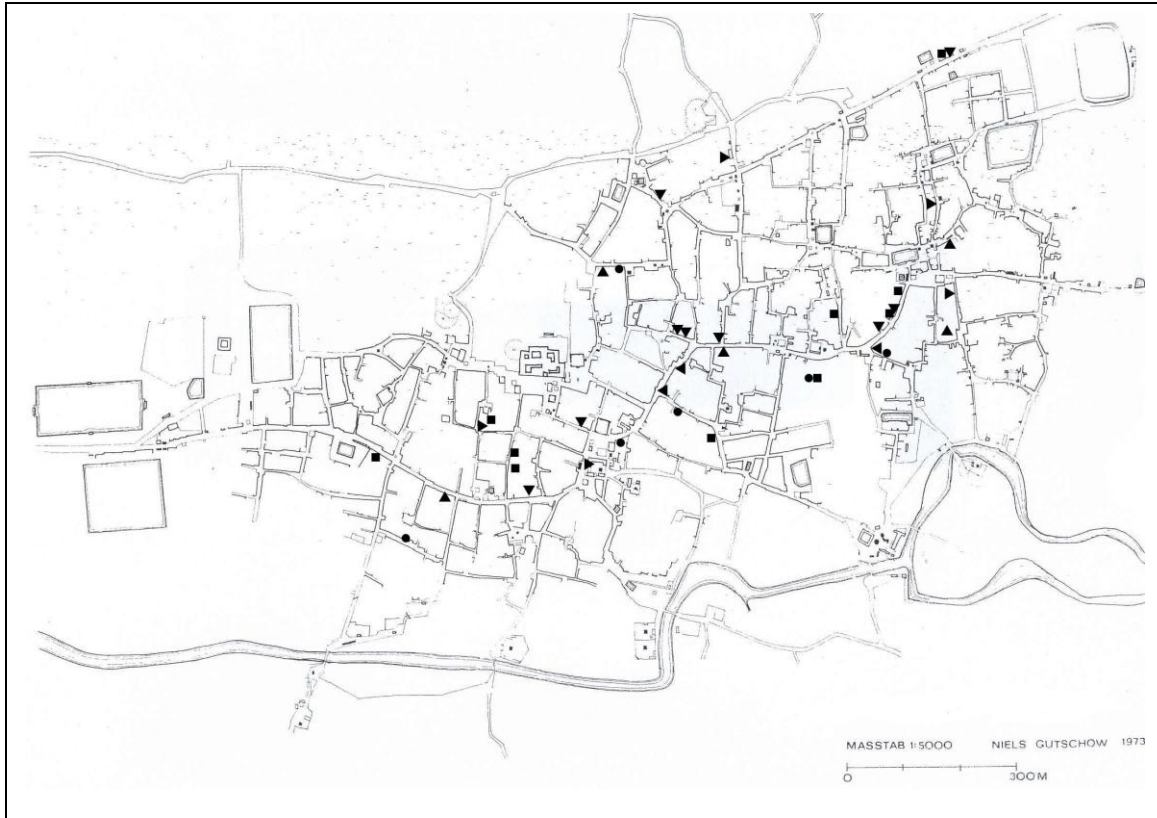


Fig. 12
Bhaktapur: Distribution of certain motifs
characteristic for the Newar neoclassical style.

- lion mask
- peacock
- angel

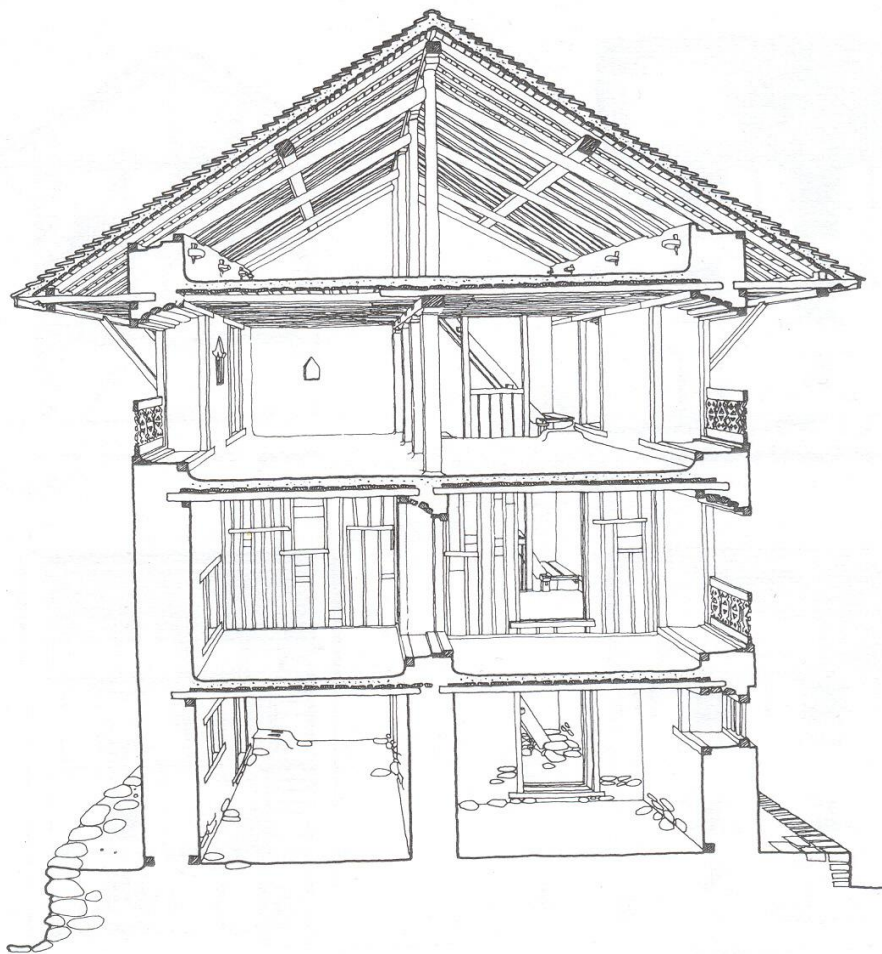


Fig. 13

Fig. 13-14

The longitudinal and cross section illustrate the spatial partition of a Newar house. It is structured by three longitudinal brick walls which result in two bays. They can be subdivided by wooden dividers or brick walls that may be replaced by a row of wooden columns in the second floor or in the dwarf storey under the roof where the kitchen is located. Wooden joists bridge the gap between the longitudinal walls and bear the floors covered by clay floorings. The floors are connected with each other through steep stairs.

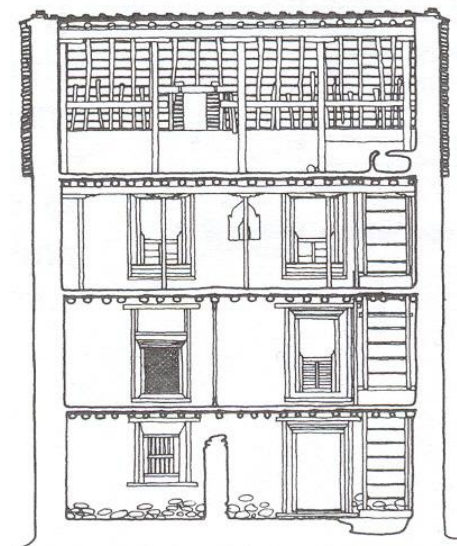


Fig. 14

The figures are taken from Alstrup, Inge and Avnby, Freddy: *Bungmati. En Landsby i Nepal*. København 1974, pp. 95, 107, drawn by Jørgen, Ussing Helsingør.

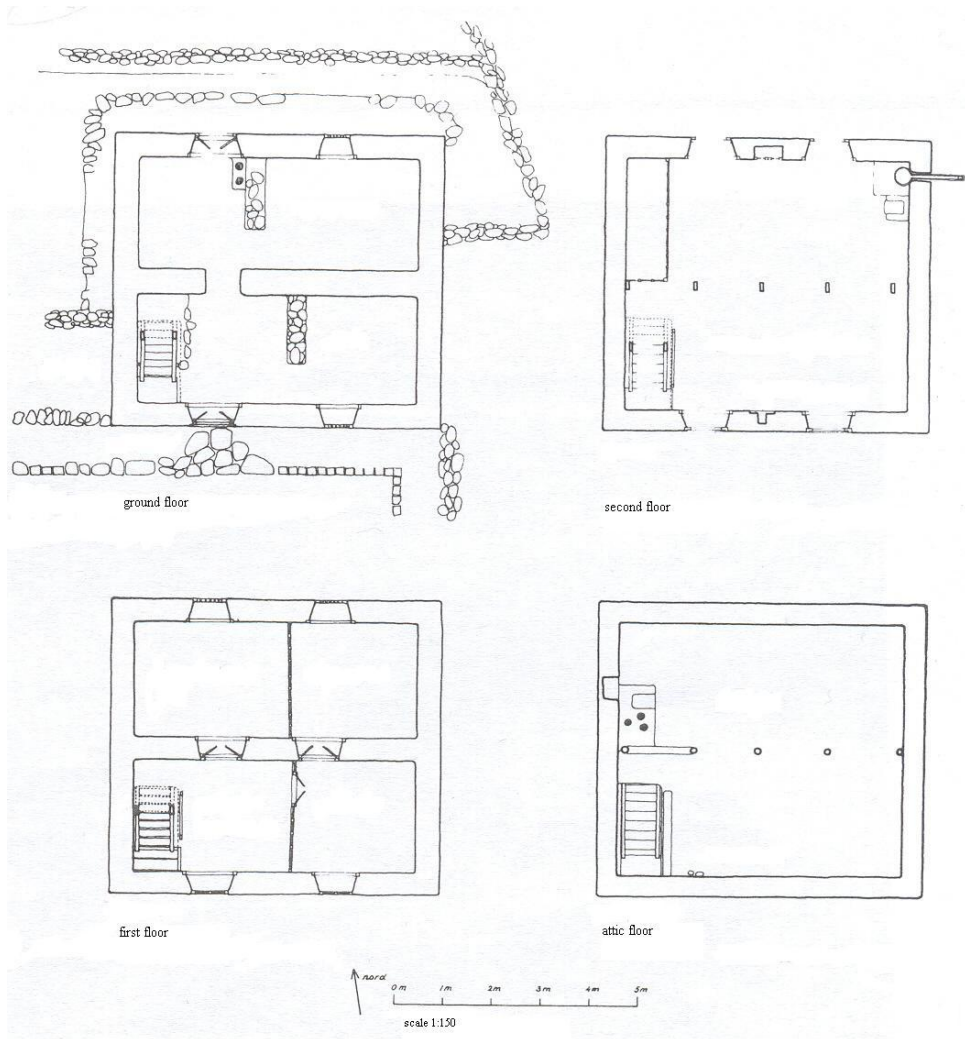


Fig. 15

The function of the floors of a Newar house follows an established order:

The ground floor (*chēḍi*) provides for store rooms, shops or workshops. Occasionally, sheep are kept.

In the first floor (*mātā*), often subdivided into smaller single rooms, the sleeping rooms are located.

The living- and representational rooms are located on the second floor level (*cvata*). The latter appears as a wide and spacious room because the longitudinal middle wall is often replaced by a row of pillars.

The kitchen (*bhutū*) with pillars supporting the ridge beam is in the attic floor (*baigaḥ*) where there also is the household chapel.

The figure is taken from Alstrup, Inge and Avnby, Freddy: *Bungmati. En Landsby i Nepal*. København 1974, pp. 118, drawn by Jørgen, Ussing Helsingør.



Fig. 16
A lotus flower carved in stone, *pikhālākhū*, is situated in front of each house. The stone, which absorbs impurities and ritual waste, receives a share of household feasts (New. *bhway*).



Fig. 17
On new moon in late October or early November a decorated strip of red clay connects the stone with the threshold to invite the deity Lakṣmī into the house to ensure affluence and wellbeing (below). Photos October 2006.

Fig. 18
Vegetables like pumpkins are kept in bamboo baskets (*khaicā*) that are hung outside below the eaves together with drying chillies. Photo November 2007.





Fig. 19
Bhaktapur: Late 19th century capital made of one piece: The capital is characterised by the diminution of its cantilever and is typical for Newar load-bearing constructions. A pair of fish (*suvarnamatsya*), one of the eight auspicious signs (*aṣṭamaṅgala*), adorns the cube, while the cantilevers are embellished by lotus scrolls. A plate is set between the shaft and the capital. The shaft is adorned by the Newar interpretation of the acanthus motif (*desisvā*) below corner volutes (*sāythū*) and a torc (*nāḥgvaḥ*).



Fig. 20
Bhaktapur: The part of the ground floor that turns to the street or courtyard opens up with a row of wooden pillars. The pillars and capitals may be decorated by a great variety of patterns. The cube at an early 20th century house has the shape of a mythical animal (*kūsuru*) and the cantilevers are carved in the shape of dragons (*malah*). Auspicious symbols are painted on the lintel.



Fig. 21
Patan, Cakabahi: The Tamrakar house built in the late 1930s presents a shop front with reduced design. The capitals are of one piece.



Fig. 22
The façade of a Newar house is either built of burnt brick, *māapā*, (above), or *dātiapā* (right) with a red scumble on its front side.



Fig. 23
The *dātiapā* with a red scumble on its front side is a conical veneer brick that produces flush joists.



Fig. 24
Patan, Gujībāhā: The threshold and lintels are special characteristics of the Newar way of construction: They project beyond the jambs and remain visible in the wall. The frame with long wooden sills and lintels bears artistic carvings and the lintel's dentil (or teeth) pattern that presents an uneven number of trapezoids is considered to be an auspicious symbol.



Fig. 25
Patan, Gujībāhā: A half-relief depicts a tiny *caitya* in the centre of a window cornice. Three-legged iron nails (*svakhaṇakī*) are nailed into the wood. They are regarded to be auspicious signs meant to propitiate the demons and affirm the wellbeing of the household.

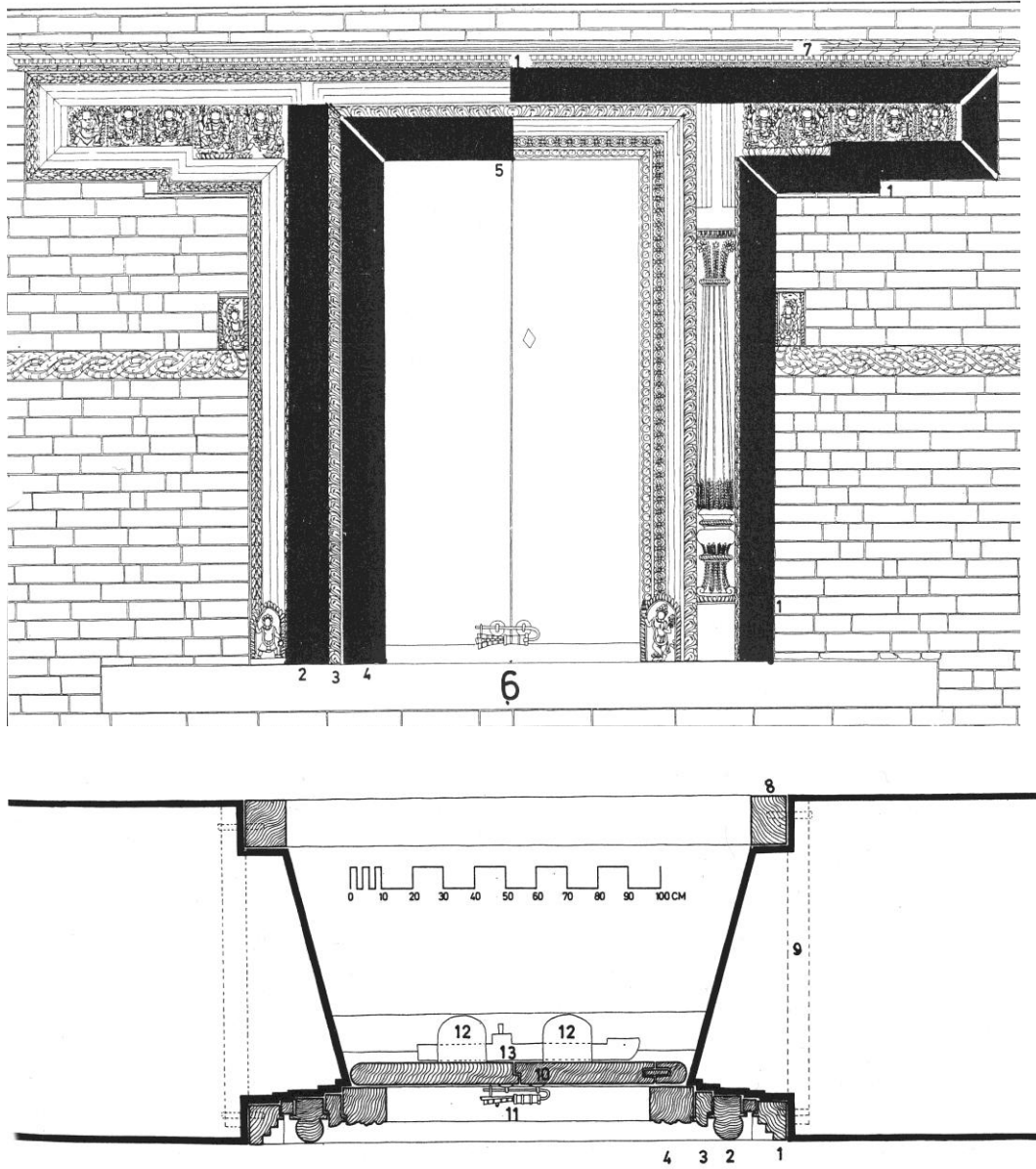


Fig. 26
Nuvākoṭ: Structural analysis of a door of Gārathghar, ca 1800.

- | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. <i>purātva</i> | 7. <i>pagadi kulā</i> |
| 2. <i>hāchēbāhā</i> | 8. <i>ducūbāhā</i> |
| 3. <i>nāḥgvaḥ</i> | 9. <i>āgaḥtāḥ</i> |
| 4. <i>mūbāhā</i> | 10. <i>khāpā</i> |
| 5. <i>mūtāgāḥ</i> | 11. <i>sātāḥ</i> |
| 6. <i>kvalukhā</i> | 12. <i>bagah</i> |
| <i>lukhākharu</i> | 13. <i>khagah</i> |

Drawing taken from: Gutschow, Kölver, Shresthacarya: *Newar Towns and Buildings. An Illustrated Dictionary Newārī-English*. Sankt Augustin 1987, p. 225.

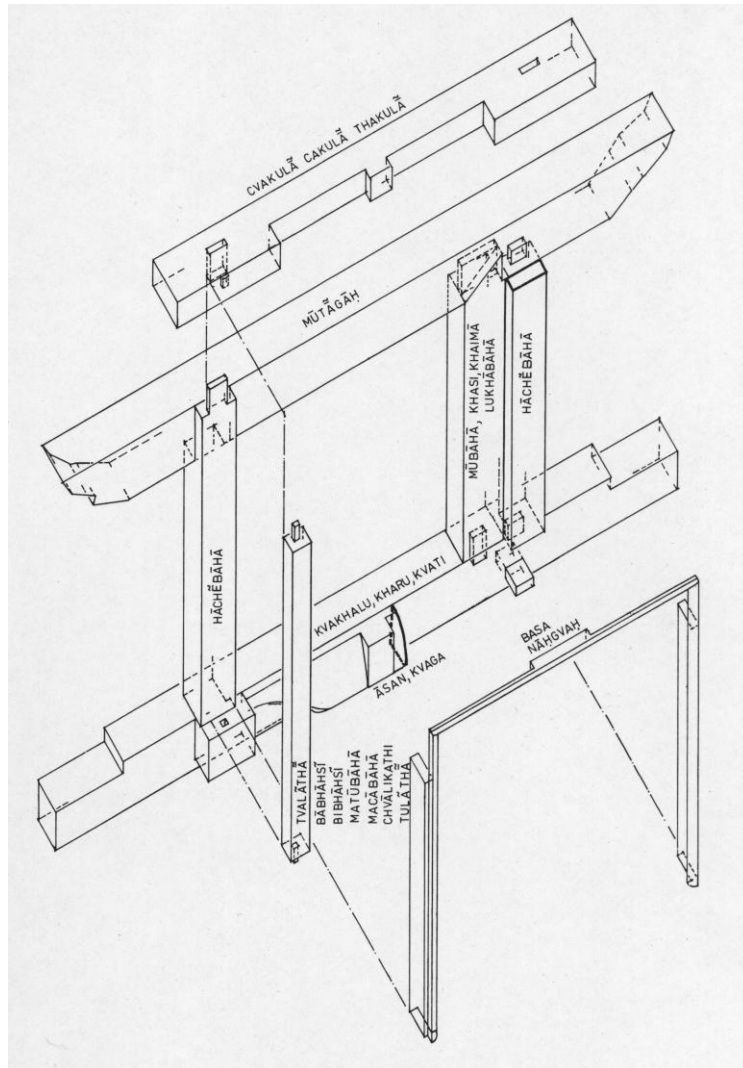


Fig. 27

Structural elements of a Newar window with an external and an inner framework. The two frameworks were made separately and were joined before starting the masonry. Primary bearing frame with sill (*kvakhalu*), lintel (*mūtāgāh*), and the jambs (*mūbāhā*); secondary frame with the bearing jambs (*hāchēbāhā*), sill (*āsan*) and lintel (*cvakulā*); tertiary frame consisting of sill and lintel (*tikājhyāh-mā*); extra decorative frame placed between the jambs of the primary and secondary frames.

Drawing taken from: Gutschow, Kölver, Shresthacarya: *Newar Towns and Buildings. An Illustrated Dictionary Newārī-English*. Sankt Augustin 1987, p. 199.



Fig. 28

Bhaktapur, Sukulḍhokā Maṭh: A protruding layer of carved timber underlines the floors of the Hindu sanctuary. The *dātiapā* appears moulded with lotus leaves alternating with bells, walnut design (*khvaḥṣī*), snake pattern (*nāhgvaḥapā*) and lotus leaf design (*palehaḥ*). Above the grill-window the bricks form a projecting roof-like cornice with slanting and throating edges. The crossties (*āgaḥtāḥ*) are visible in the wall below the window and exhibit figurative carved ends.

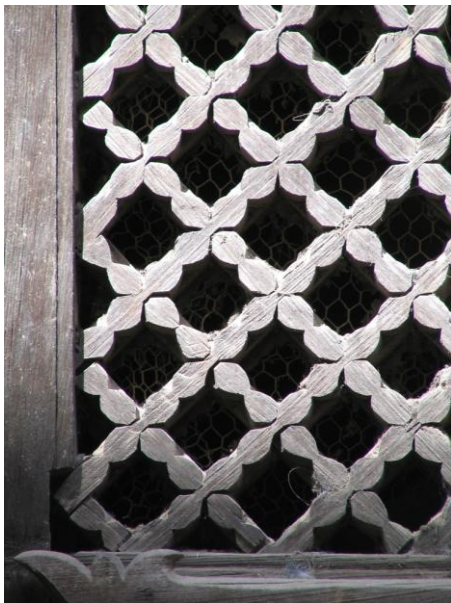


Fig. 29

The warp and weft battens match and are flush with each other.



Fig. 30

The technique of achieving the lattice work of a lattice window (*tikājhyāḥ*) can be compared with the technique of weaving: The battens (new. *eka*) are used like a warp and are open-worked in regular intervals. The weft battens (new. *teka*) are shifted at right angle to the warps and have cut-outs on their surfaces at the intersections with the warps.



Fig. 31, 32

Bhaktapur: Large windows, either tripartite (*sāḷhyāḥ*) or with five openings are located in the second floor of a Newar house, the living room. They bear rich carvings and constitute the most decorative element of a façade. As a bay window, a *sāḷhyāḥ* can protrude from the wall borne by the protruding ceiling joists above the first floor. The lattice work is set in an extra frame that is movable and can be opened to the inside and to the top. A wide and low sill is located behind the window.



Fig. 33
Patan, Sundari Cok (1647): The impressive entrance boasts a great iconographical programme. The doors are decorated by auspicious symbols.



Fig. 34
The doorway to Mul Cok, Patan, is framed by a pair of blind windows that are designed as eyes and turn the façade into a face.



Fig. 35
Beside the rectangular roof tiles (*āypā*) the roof-like *kvapuapā* cover the hip-ridge.
The corner-eaves tiles may be embellished on their cusp by the head of a rooster.



Fig. 36
Roof openings for light and ventilation (*bhaugāḥ*) are covered by specially-moulded, round tiles. The firing with rice straw was only possible on the roof level, because the smoke could easily escape through these so-called “cat-holes”.

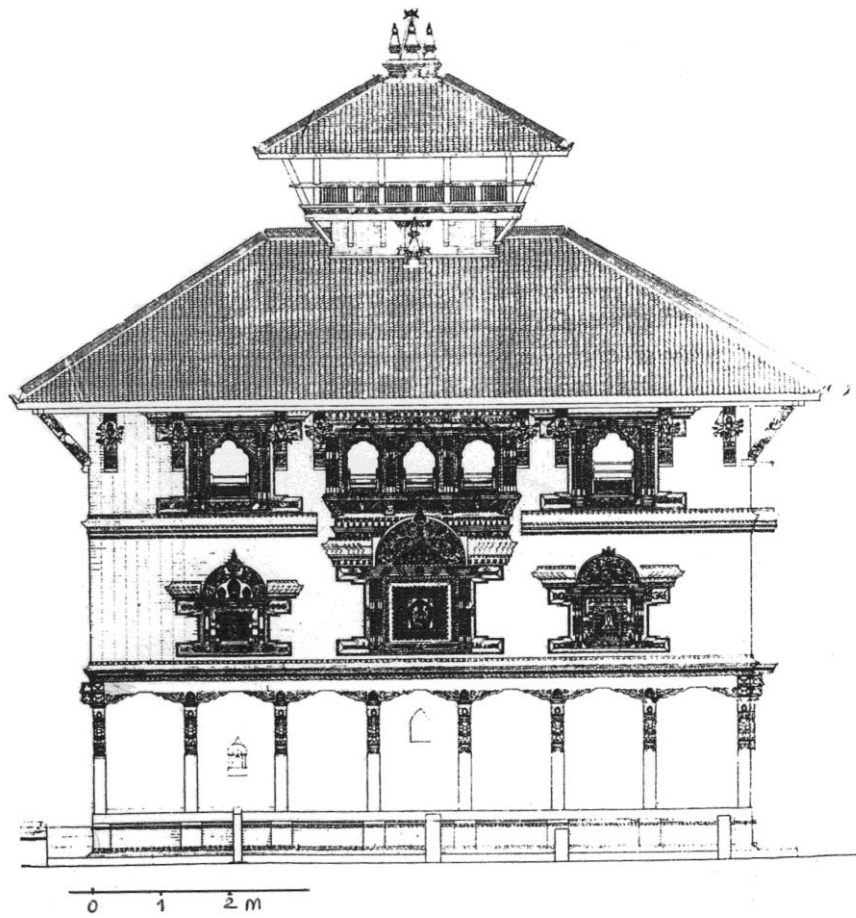


Fig. 37
 Bhaktapur, Mahākālī Dyahchē in Bhvalāchē, ca. first half of the 18th century.
 (Drawing taken from Bhaktapur Development Project, taken from Parajuli (1986: 94)).

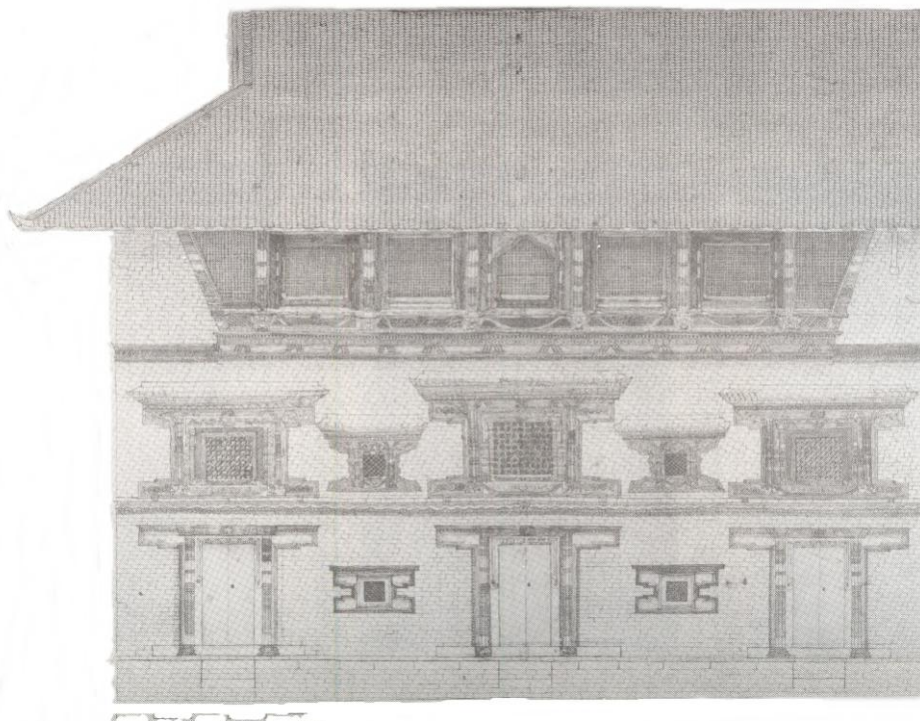


Fig. 38
 Bhaktapur, Sukuldhoka Math, first half/middle of the 18th century.
 (Drawing taken from Bhaktapur Development Project, taken from Parajuli (1986: 273)).

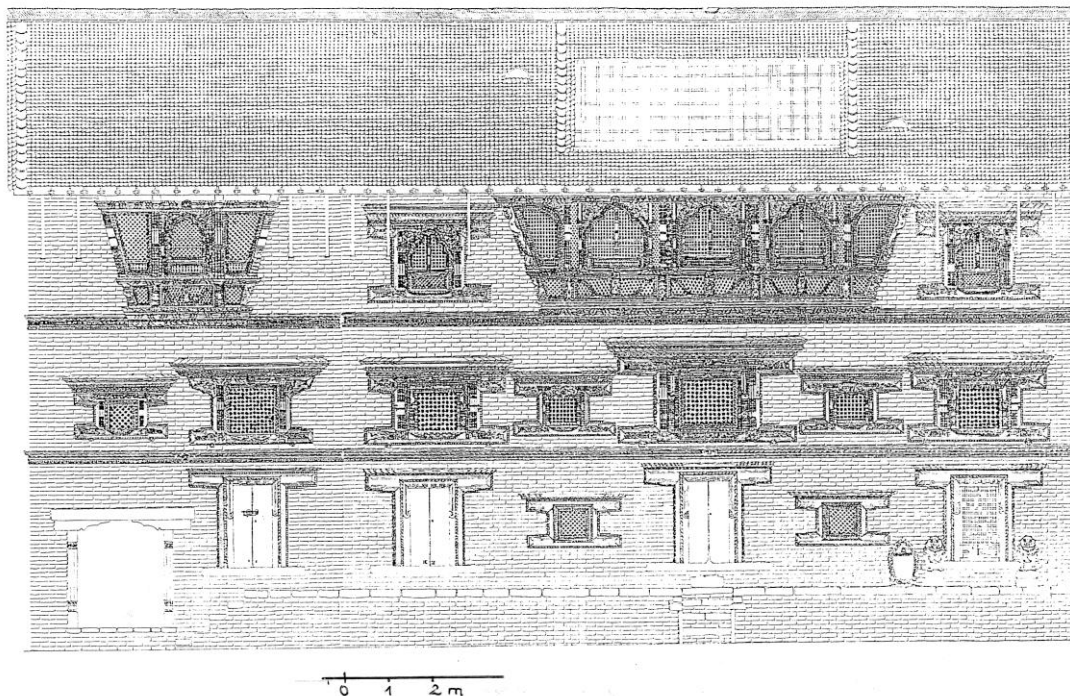


Fig. 39
 Bhaktapur, Kvathu Math in Tacapāl, (1748).
 (Source: Archive of Niels Gutschow, drawn by Surendra Jošī (1979)).

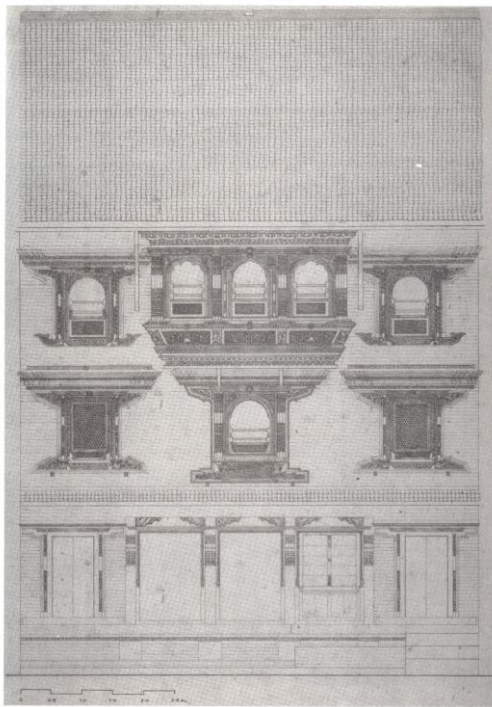


Fig. 40
Bhaktapur, Banepali house, second
half of 18th century.
(Drawing taken from Bhaktapur
Development Project, taken from
Becker-Ritterspach 1982, fig. 208).

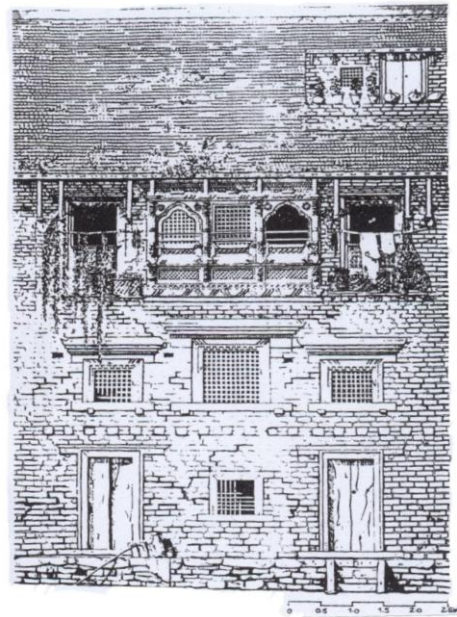


Fig. 41
Bhaktapur, house in Taulachē.
(Drawing taken from
Bhaktapur Development
Project, taken from Becker-
Ritterspach 1982, fig. 209).

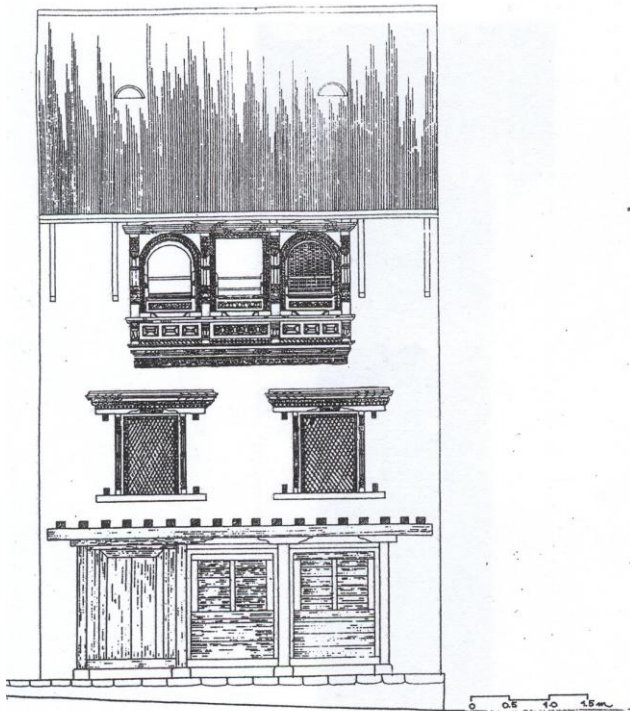


Fig. 42
Bhaktapur, house in Lalachē
(Haus K. P. Mool).
(Drawing taken from Bhaktapur
Development Project, taken
from Becker-Ritterspach 1982,
fig. 207).

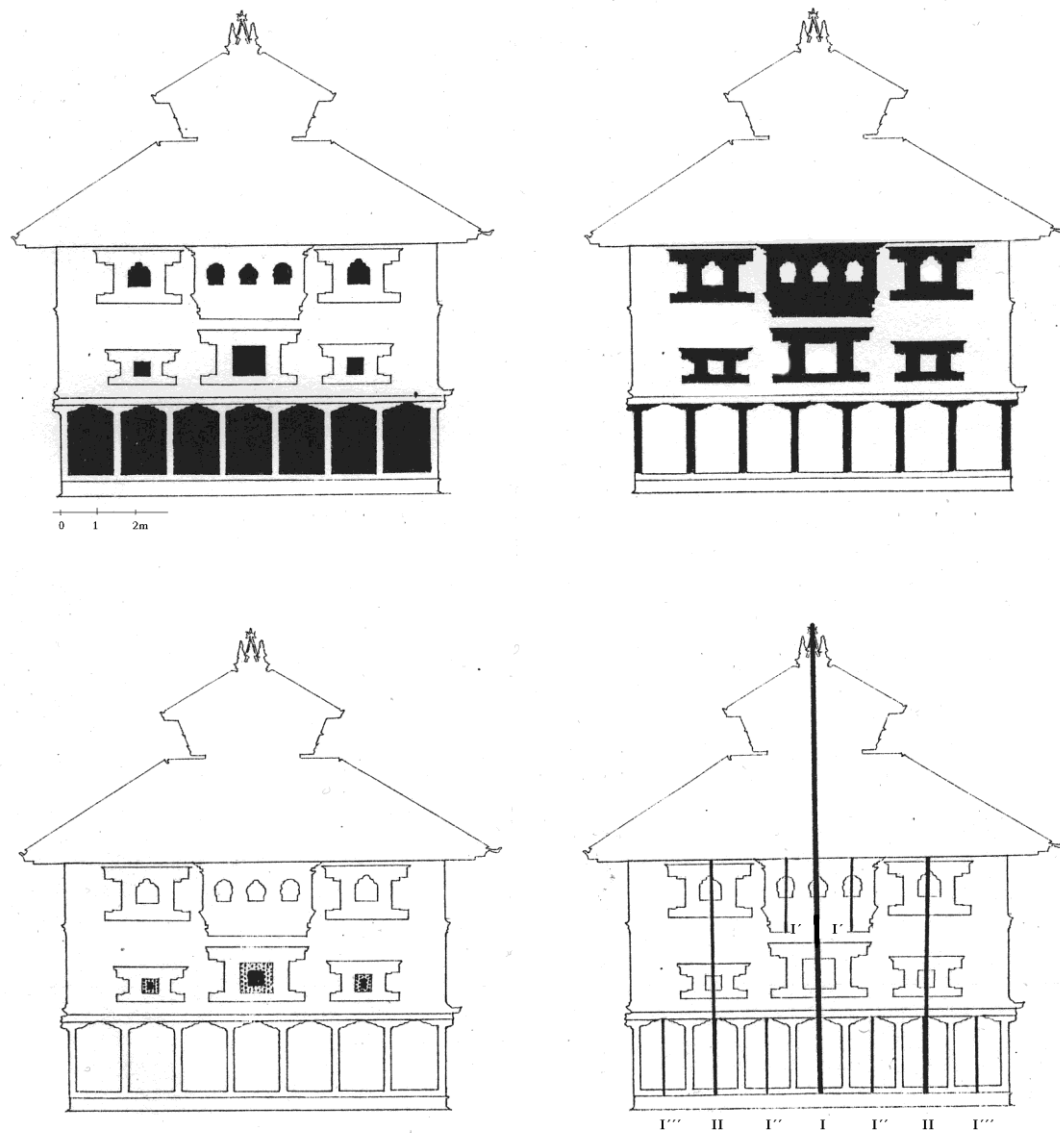


Fig. 43

Bhaktapur, Mahākālī Dyahchē in Bhvalāchē, ca. first half of the 18th century.

(Drawn after drawing from Bhaktapur Development Project, taken from Parajuli (1986: 94)).

The ground floor opens in seven sections, an open balcony. In the first and second floor there are impressive horizontal windows with only small openings. In the first floor the openings are reduced by the fixed grill of the windows and are furthermore the bearers of iconographic figures, situated in the centre of the latticework. The grills in the second floor are movable. Altogether, there are six different forms of openings.

The façade underlies a pyramid-like order. There are four axes on either side of the centre.

The centre (I) is echoed by the two outer windows in the second floor (I') and ground floor openings (I'', II and I'''). This pattern is repeated in the secondary axis (II) and the openings in the ground floor (I'' and I''').

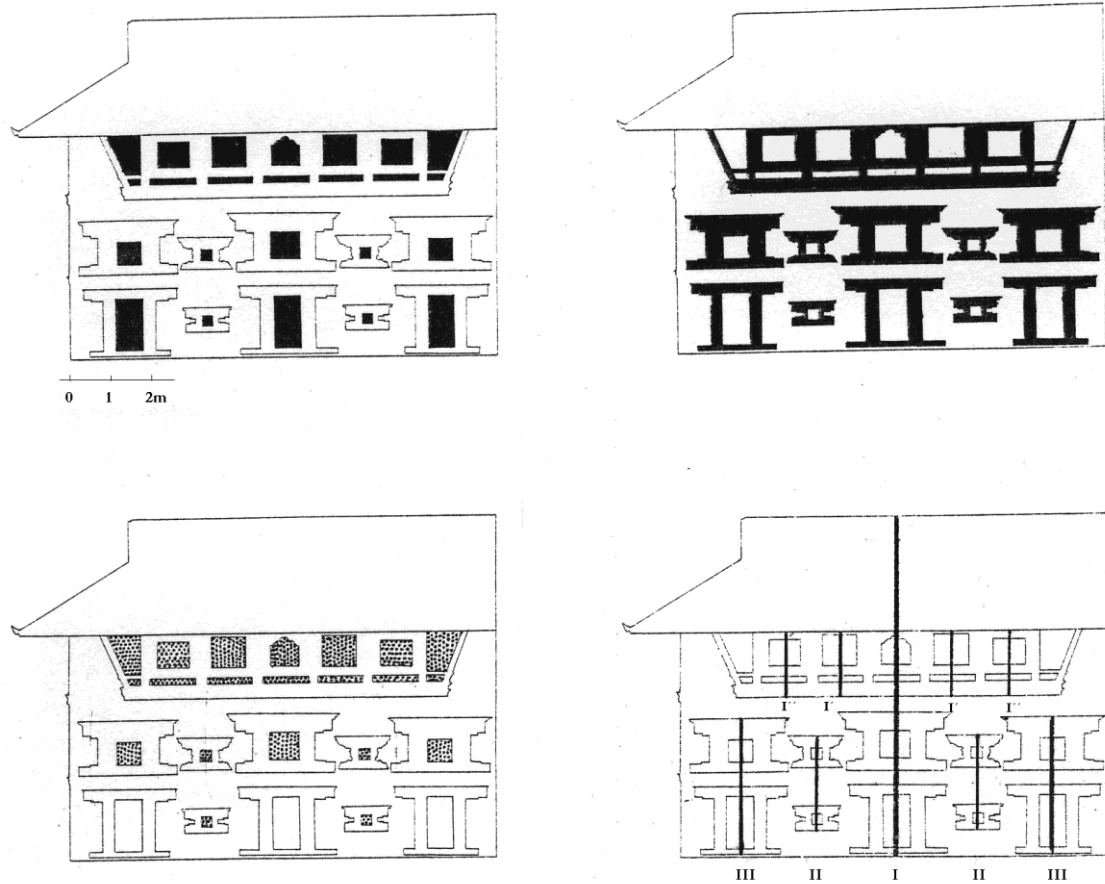


Fig. 44

Bhaktapur, Sukuldhokā Maṭh, ca. middle of the 18th century.

(Drawn after drawing from Bhaktapur Development Project, taken from Parajuli (1986: 273)).

The façade presents the very image of a musical structure with the regularly changing alignment of larger and smaller doors and windows. There is a variety of ten different forms of openings. The sizes of the massive doors and windows do not tell much about the actual opening. The symmetry is strictly kept from the central axis (I). The alignment of the doors and windows results in four axes (I', I'', II, III) to both sides of the centre (I). Whereas the windows in the ground and first floor bear fixed grillwork and provide little light, five of the seven window grills in the second floor can be moved.

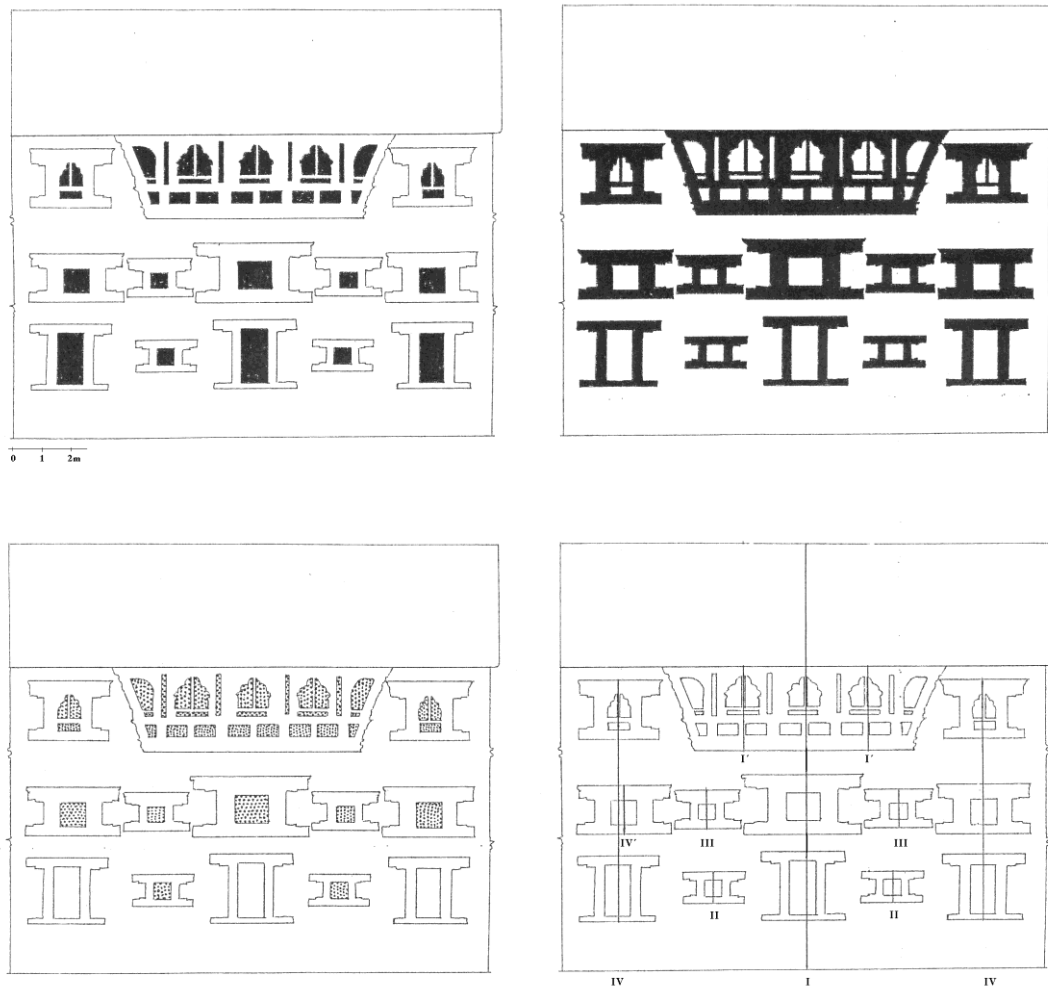
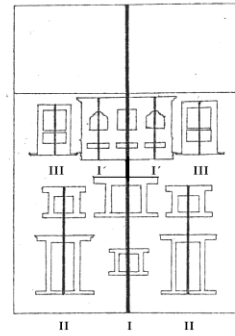
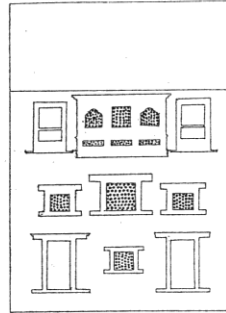
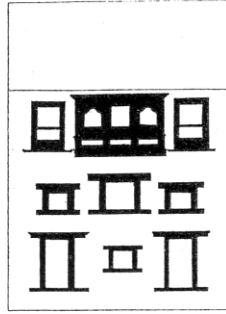
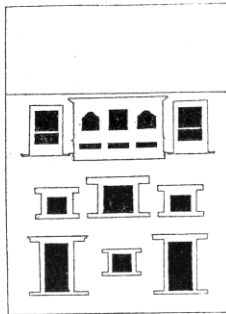
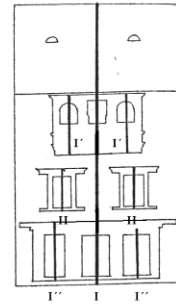
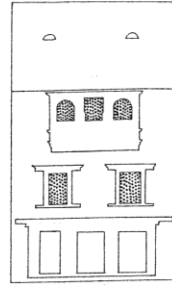
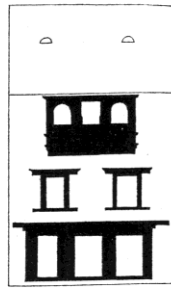
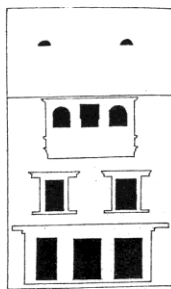
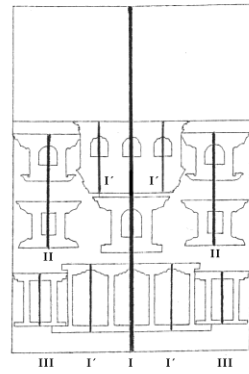
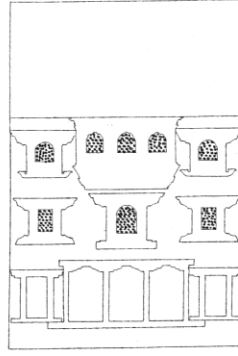
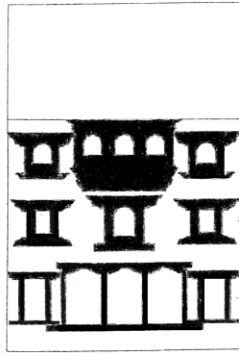
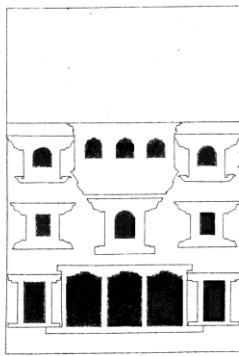


Fig. 45
 Bhaktapur, Kvathu Math (1748).
 (Drawn after drawing by Surendra Joshi (1979)).

The openings of different size are not arranged in a horizontal line but are positioned on different levels of the façade while symmetry is kept from the vertical middle axis (I). There are two additional lattice-windows that frame the bay window of the second floor. The vertical alignment of the windows is staggered. As a result, there are six vertical axes (I, I', II, III, IV, VI'). All windows except in the second floor are openings with a fixed grill (*tikijhyāh*).



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Fig. 46

Bhaktapur, Banepali House, second half of the 18th century. (Drawn after drawing from Bhaktapur Development Project, taken from Becker-Ritterspach 1982, fig. 208).

There is an almost completely open ground floor with reduced door frames and two separate doors that frame the triple door. All windows tend to the upright format and in the second floor each window opening has a latticed apron plank. The window frames remain the decorative element and there are seven different kinds of openings. While the two outer windows in the first floor are fixed lattice windows that let little light and air through, all other grill windows can be opened – a real invention because the first floor can be illuminated. The different vertical axes are staggered: There are four axes on either side of the central axis (I): two different ones (I', III) in the ground floor, one in the second floor (I'') and another one (II) shared by the first and second floor.

Bhaktapur, House in Lalachē (Haus K. P. Mool). (Drawn after drawing from Bhaktapur Development Project, taken from Becker-Ritterspach 1982, fig. 207).

The number of three and two openings takes turn from floor to floor (including the cat-holes of the kitchen floor) on the slender façade. In the staggered alignment of openings a pyramid order is reflected while emphasis is put on the centre of the façade (I). There are three different outer axes (I', I'', II) on both sides to the centre (I) in each floor. In the ground and second floor emphasis is put rather on the door and window frames than on the comparatively small openings – however, the frames are less ornamental. Compared to the small window grills in the second floor, that can be removed, the larger upright windows in the first floor are characteristic fixed latticed windows and provide little opening. The façade presents a reduced number of four different openings.

Bhaktapur, House in Taulachē. (Drawn after drawing from Bhaktapur Development Project, taken from Becker-Ritterspach 1982, fig. 209).

There is a balanced alignment of the door and window openings. There are two doors and a small grill window in the ground floor and three lattice windows in the first floor. The trinity evoked by the three openings and one axis (II) besides the centre (I) in the ground and first floor is replaced by two different kinds of axes (I', III) on both sides of the central axis in the second floor. There, a *sājhyāh* with movable lattices and grilled planks that let little light and air through is framed by two oblong windows. In the first floor, the three windows vary in size but their sills are aligned on the same horizontal level. Although the windows in the ground and first floor are fixed grill windows there is a tendency to enlarged window openings due to the reduced frames and the upright window format of the two outer windows in the second floor. They are almost room high and are provided with a wooden ceiling. Their frames are smaller than that of the *sājhyāh*. They are positioned so that neither the sill nor the lintel shares the same level with the triple window.

Next page:

Fig. 47

In the beginning of the 20th century, the idea of the lattice window was widely translated into a latticed yet vertical opening. Another step to the Western window was the furnishing of the oblong grill with crossbars. Even where the lattice is abandoned, the panels (*jhyāhkvatāh*), continued to be used as bearers of mythical icons.

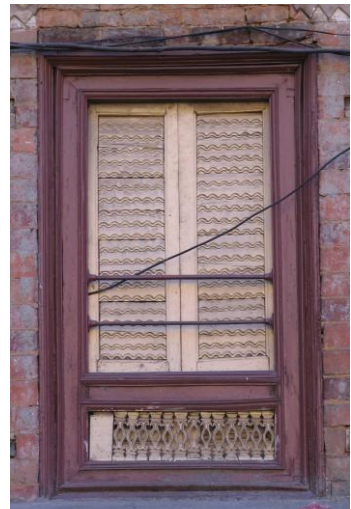




Fig. 48
Kathmandu, house near Hanuman Dhoka: The pilasters are embellished by arabesques and angels, Mughal lotus arabesques frame the windows.

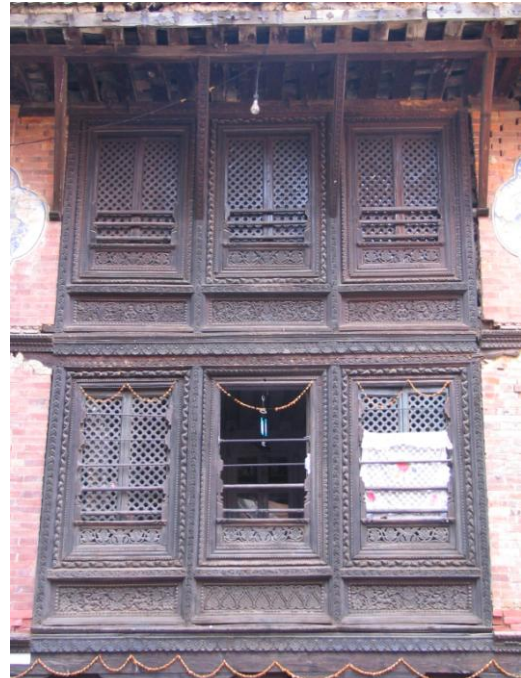


Fig. 49
Patan, house in the locality of Saugah: Ornate window frames in the Mughal manner.

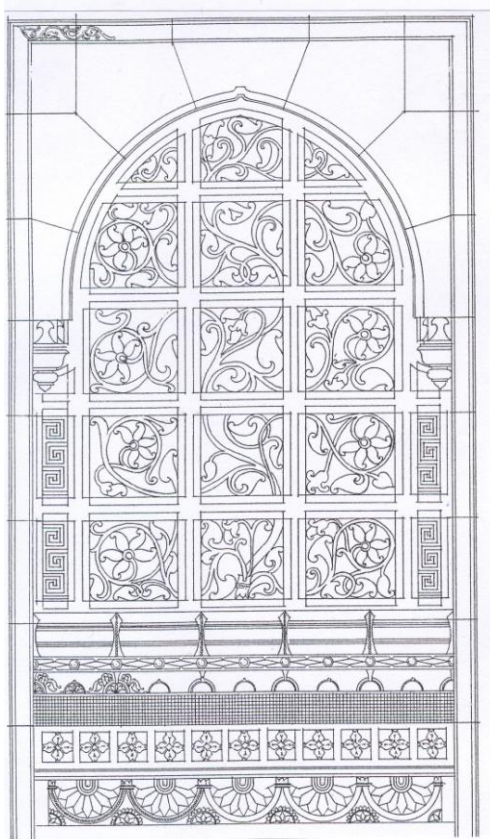


Fig. 50, 51
Claude Batley, *The Design and Development of Indian Architecture* (1934). A Detail from Plate 18 "A Mohamedan Window – From the Daya Halima's Tomb, Ahmedabad" shows the elevation of a rear window with an arabesque window frame.
Source: Collection of Niels Gutschow.

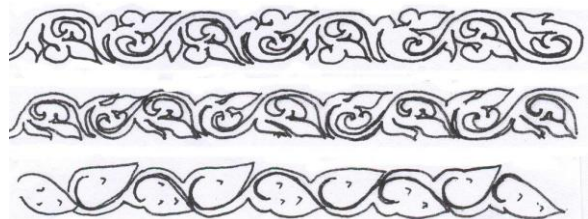


Fig. 52
Frames resembling Mughal patterns adorn the wooden windows of early 20th century houses of the Newars as the pattern details of the house in Saugah show.



Fig. 53, 54

Patan, house in the Saugah locality (previous page): Detail of the two three-sectioned windows in the first and second floor. The pictures show different frame patterns that resemble Mughal design.



Fig. 55
Traditional motifs on carved planks include mythical icons, such as peacocks.



Fig. 56
The motif of the dragon (*malah*) is often found on carved planks.



Fig. 57
Celestial beings (*apsaras*) typically adorn wooden apron planks of the late 19th century.



Fig. 58
The sun-god *Sūrya* and his horses (here with four horses) are traditionally depicted on apron planks.



Fig. 59
Foliage and floral design like acanthus on carved apron planks is a late 19th century invention.

Next page:

Fig. 60
The introduction of the European open window widely replaced the Newar lattice window. Multipart wooden carvings resembling iron bars took the place of the lattice in a fixed frame: A range of patterns is found, floral and geometric, Art Nouveau and vernacular. In Patan a special pattern, a bud-like floral element with a calyx, became popular.

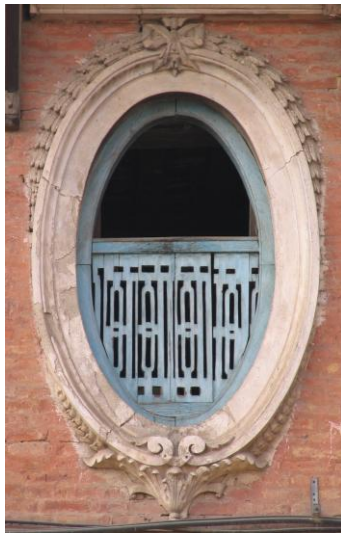




Fig. 61
Patan, house at
Nāgbāhā.



Fig. 62
Patan, house at
Yanamugaḥ.



Fig. 63
Patan, house at
Nāgbāhā.



Fig. 64
Patan, house at
Bhīchēbāhā.



Fig. 65
Patan, house at
Bhīchēbāhā.

Fig. 61-65

With the introduction of new architectural Mughal and European design, proportions and important representational elements of the façade changed. Characteristics such as the open ground floor, the symmetrical alignment of doors and windows, or the gable roof were yet retained because the spatial configuration of the Newar house remained unchanged. General building principles remained valid and the resulting design was regarded as auspicious: three windows (*sājhyāḥ*) under the eaves were considered to represent the Three Jewels (*triratnaḥ*) Buddha, Dharma, and Saṃgha.



Fig. 66
Kathmandu, South wing of Lam Cok at Basantapur Darbār (ca. 1860): European and Mughal window forms realised as blind windows with crossbars, trefoil and Moorish multifoil arches meet on the façade of an early Rana palace.

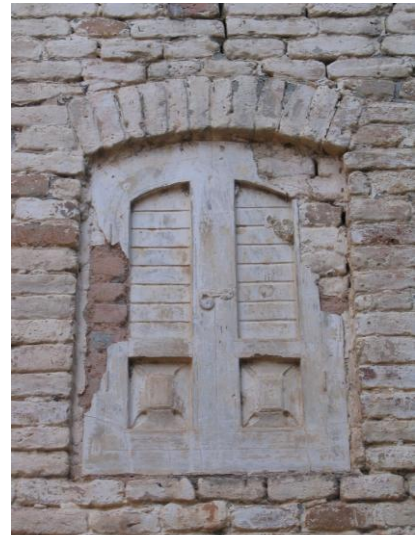


Fig. 67
Sankhu: A blind window resembles European wooden shutters modelled in stucco and “lockable” with a padlock.

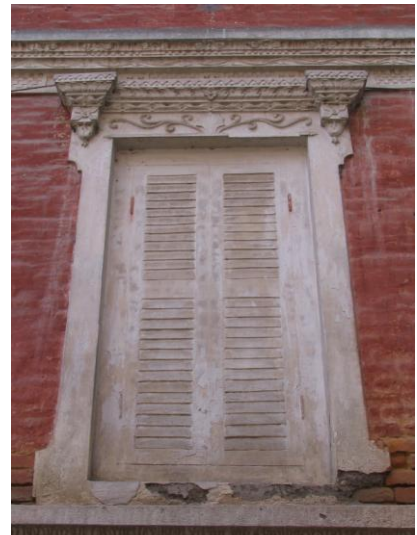


Fig. 68
Patan, Vālakhu: An oblong opening with outside hanging shutters at first glance this window turns out to be a blind window with a neoclassical frame.



Fig. 69
Bhaktapur, Darbār, Lal Baithak (c. 1870): The façade combines the Mughal design of the blind windows with a re-used Malla-period arcade in the ground floor.



Fig. 70
Detail of Lal Baithak: A Moorish multifoil arch spans a Europeanised Newar lattice window with crossbars. The upper storey was dismantled after the earthquake in 1934.



Fig. 71
Bhaktapur, Copāle: Two blind windows shaped as a Tudor arches flank the central door and underline the symmetry of the house.

Fig. 72, 73, 74
Bhaktapur, Kvāchē: Wooden miniature blind window (*dyahjhyāḥ*). Instead of being closed by an apron plank the bust of a deity looks out.
Bhaktapur, Chochē: The Mughal-style blind niche with an ogee arch and with a stucco frame in the first floor is the focus of the façade.
Bhaktapur, Tāpālāchē: Neoclassical blind windows in the first and second floor are rendered while god-holes (*dyahpvāḥ*) are left for the passage of spirits.

Fig. 75-76

Bhaktapur, Cochê. Drawings by Anil Basukala (December 2006).



Fig. 75

Front elevation of a brick-and-plaster house, as seen from the street: The façade opens up in the ground- and second floor in particular: Two shop fronts with three openings each are framed by a pair of doors, a scheme, repeated in the second floor. Unusual accentuation of the vertical central axis by a Mughal-style blind niche with an ogee arch and with a stucco frame in the first floor.

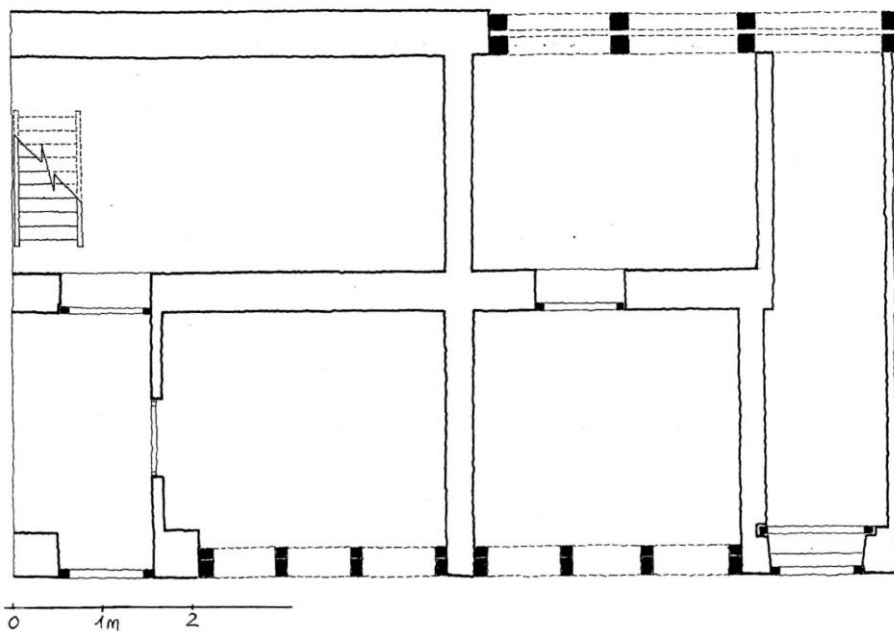


Fig. 76

The ground floor (*chêdi*) presents a rectangular ground plan. The front with the two shop openings (*dalā*) turns toward the street while the other side opens with an arcade towards the courtyard. The Newar house is structured by three longitudinal brick walls on both sides of the eaves and along the ridge line, which result in two bays subdivided by brick walls. The ground floor provides for store rooms, shops or workshops.

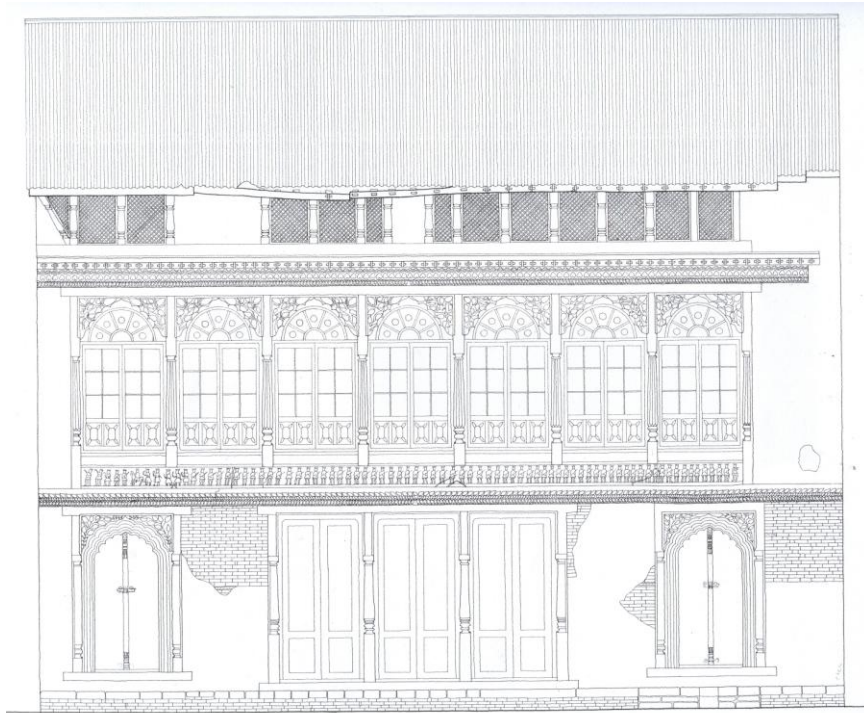


Fig. 77-80
Kathmandu,
Paltanghar house in
Asan (1775, renovated
1833).

Fig. 77
Source: Kathmandu
Valley Preservation
Trust, drawing by
Suhil Rajbhandari
(undated).



Fig. 78, 79
It is one of the most important
representatives for the early
intermingling of Newar, Mughal,
and European elements such as a
grand *piano nobile* level with
window glass, fanlights, multi-
foil arches, and foliated
spandrels in timber.



Fig. 80
The building is also known as
“Soldier’s House” due to the
frieze of stucco soldiers along
the top of the ground floor.



Fig. 81
Bhaktapur, Bolāchē: Multifoil
arches borne by neoclassical
consoles are translated into
brick.



Fig. 82
Wanabāhā, Patan: The gateway presents
a Mughal multifoil arch enclosed by a
neoclassical blind arch with trapezoid
keystone and framed by Corinthian
pilasters.



Fig. 83
Patan, Caki: An ogee arch,
characteristic for Islamic
architecture, is found above the
portals of an entrance gate.
Neoclassical pine cones beside.

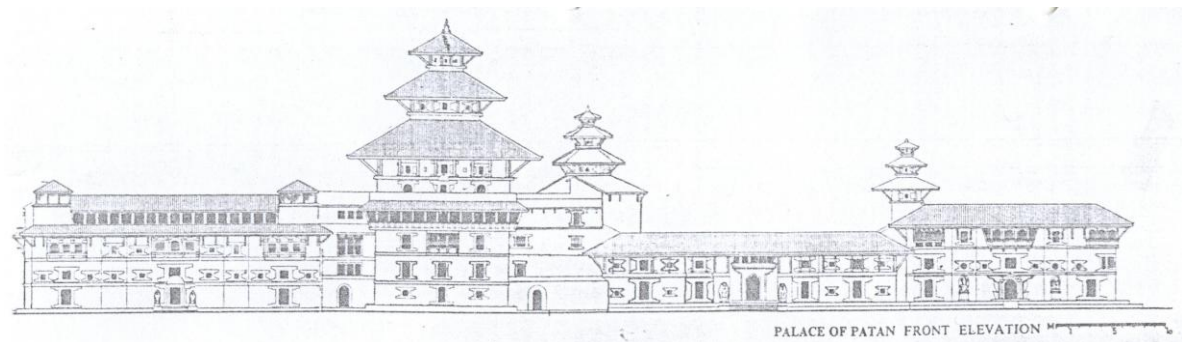


Fig. 84

Patan, Darbār Square: Three annexed courtyards of the former palace (from left to right): Mani Keśav Nārāyaṇ Cok (now houses the Patan Museum), built under Yog Narendra Malla in 1733-34; Degutale temple; Mul Cok, the main courtyard, was built by Śrī Nivas Malla in 1668 who also built the annexed southern courtyard, Sundari Cok (1647). In the centuries predating the period of Shah and Rana rule Malla kings resided and governed in their palaces (New. *layaku*). They did not differ much in style, construction and height from the houses of the Newar people. Just as the houses the palace wings were not higher than three storeys and were dominated in height by the temple of the goddess Taleju, the sovereign's protective divinity. Both the palaces and houses were built of unrendered brick and ornate wooden windows.

Source: Kathmandu Valley Preservation Trust.



Fig. 85

Patan, Darbār Square, seen from South. The Krishna Temple is found on the left, situated in front of Taleju Ghanta, Shankar Narayan Temple and Vishveshvara Temple. The edge of Sundari Cok, Mul Cok, and the Degutale temple are located on the right.

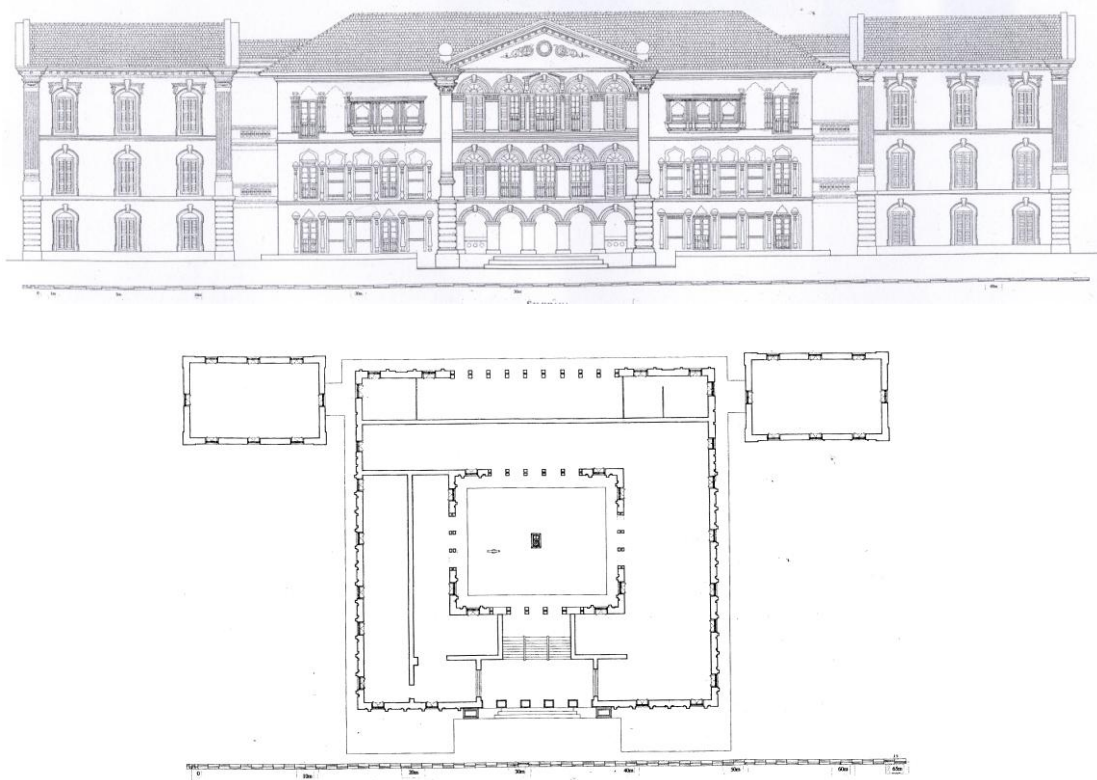


Fig. 86

Kathmandu, Silkhana (1819) at Chaunni: The structure was built for Bhimsen Thāpā. The rear and side elevations (West and North) retain their original façade composition with alternating timber openings and blind niches, both framed by shallow, foliated arches and fine examples of timber cypress columns are also extant. Additional storeys and side wings have been added to the building. Within a renovation under Bir or Chandra Shamsher in the first half of the 20th century, the principal façade was rebuilt in a neoclassical style and neoclassical wings were added after the earthquake in 1934.

Source: Kathmandu Valley Preservation Trust, drawings by Sushil Rajbhandari (1994).



Fig. 87

Kathmandu, Bagh Darbār (1805), built under Bhimsen Thāpā: As an entirely new complex of residential, religious and service buildings with garden architecture, ponds, and agricultural land, it was built outside old Kathmandu. The novelty of this suburban palace complex was matched with the dazzling white of the lime plaster and the Mughal and European forms.

Source: Kathmandu Valley Preservation Trust.

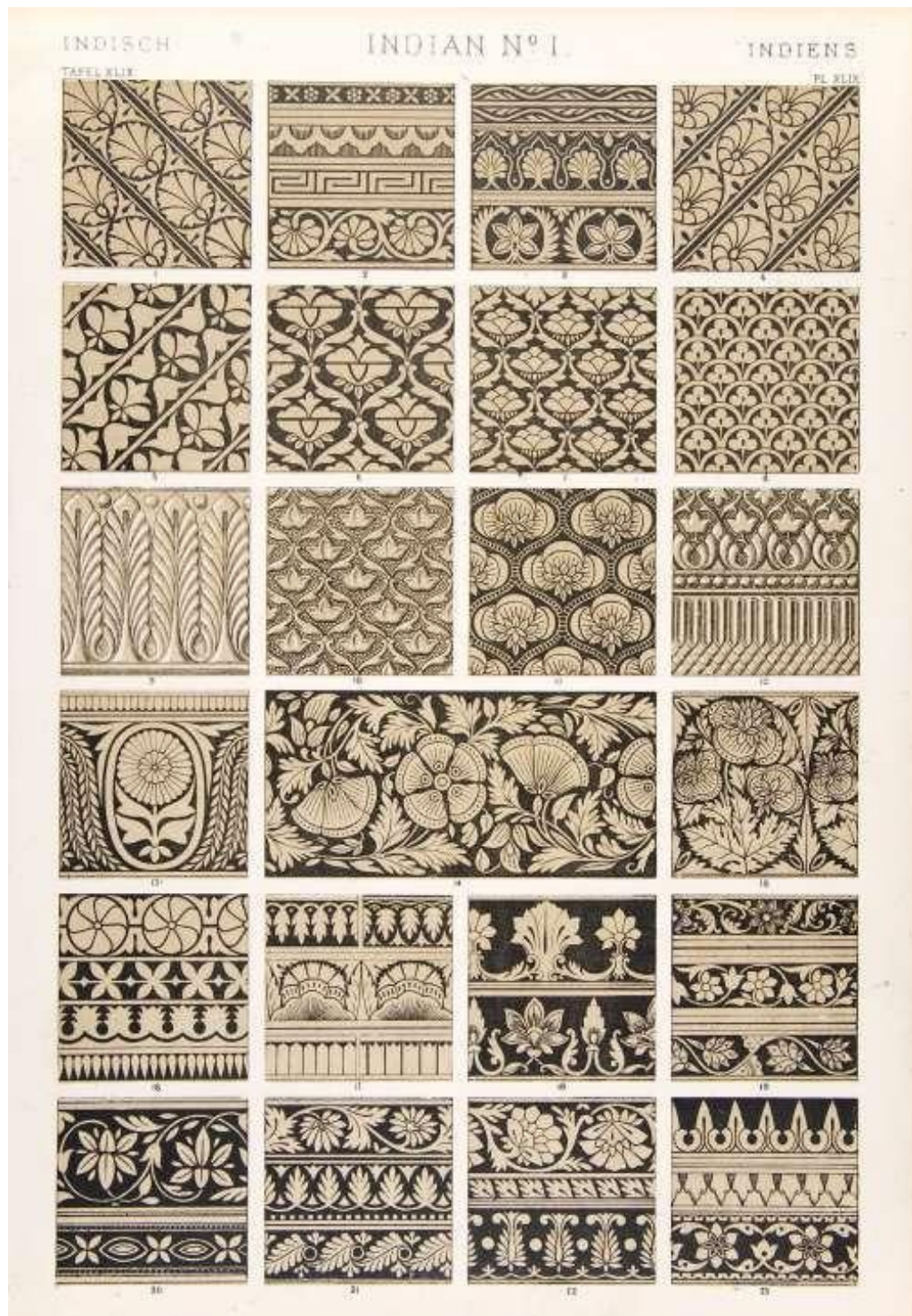


Fig. 88
 Owen Jones: *The Grammar of Ornament* (1856). Indian patterns.
 The first edition was published in 1856 with just 100 plates. The
 second edition (1868) contains 112 chromolithography colour
 plates.

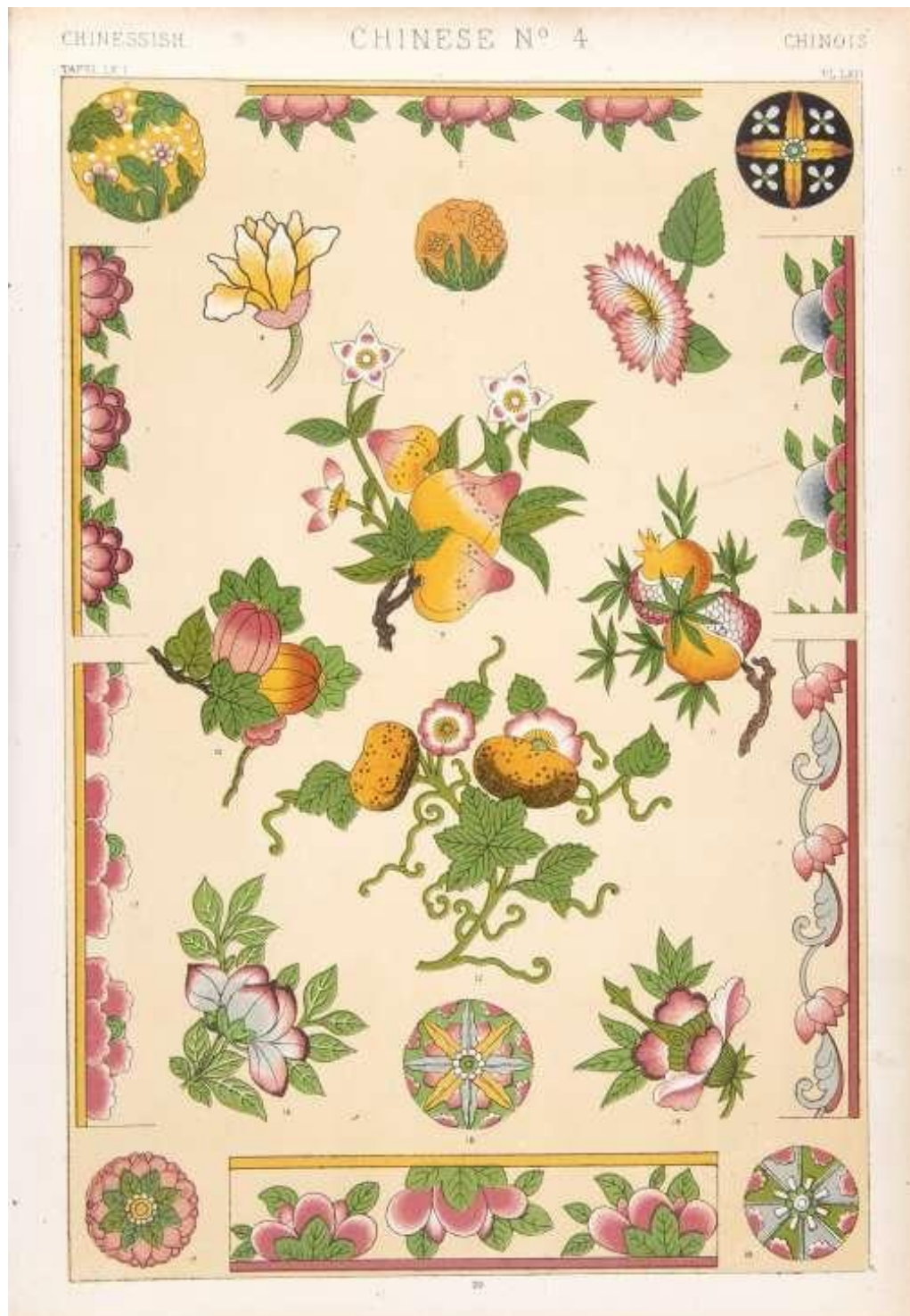


Fig. 89

Owen Jones: *The Grammar of Ornament* (1856). Chinese patterns. The first edition was published in 1856 with just 100 plates. The second edition (1868) contains 112 chromolithography colour plates.

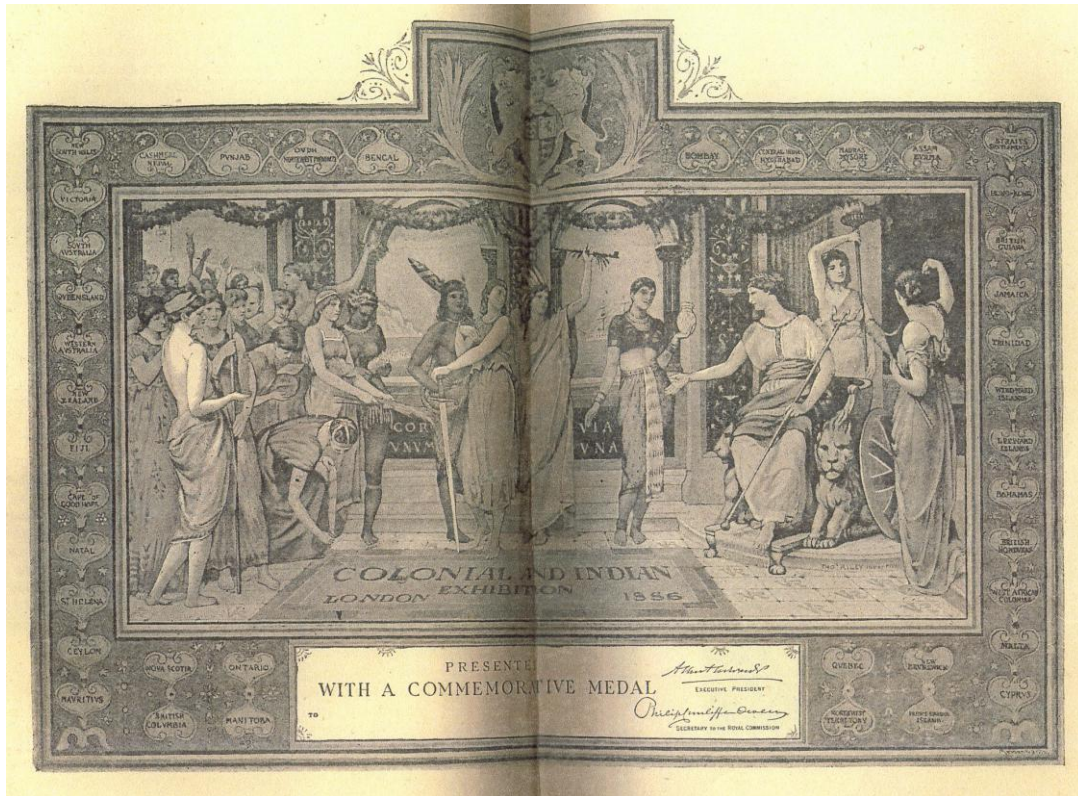


Fig. 90

“Commemorative Diploma” from the “Colonial and Indian Exhibition” (1886), London. Published in the *Report of the Royal Commission for the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, London, 1886*. London 1887, p. 103: The allegory of Britannia seated to the right, supported by Commerce and Industry, is receiving the Colonies, each of which is represented by a single female figure. Surrounding the picture is a decorative border. At the top, on either side of the Royal arms, the names of the chief provinces of India are listed – among them “Cashmere – Nepal” (second from left). At the bottom we find the principal divisions of Canada, and on either side, the British Colonies. Nepal presented 26 exhibits.

Source: University Library Heidelberg.



Fig. 91

“Garden of Dreams” (1920s): Nepalese interpretation of Nike, the Greek goddess of victory. She was remodelled in plaster as Lakshmi, the Hindu goddess of wealth. While the styling, dress and triumphant posture tend to be characteristics of Nike, the lotus she holds in her right hand and the coins spilling from her other hand are symbols of Lakshmi’s purity and fortune-bringing kindness.



Fig. 92
Kathmandu, Singha Darbār.



Fig. 93
Kathmandu, Kaisher Mahal:
Lion bronze, probably from
Europe or British-India.



Fig. 94
Patan, Ukubāhā: Two different pair of lions,
Newar and European-style, guard and present
the entrance. Newar stone lions traditionally
are posted in front of the entrance to a *bāhā*,
temple or Malla palace.



Fig. 95
Kathmandu, Kaisher Mahal: European fountain.

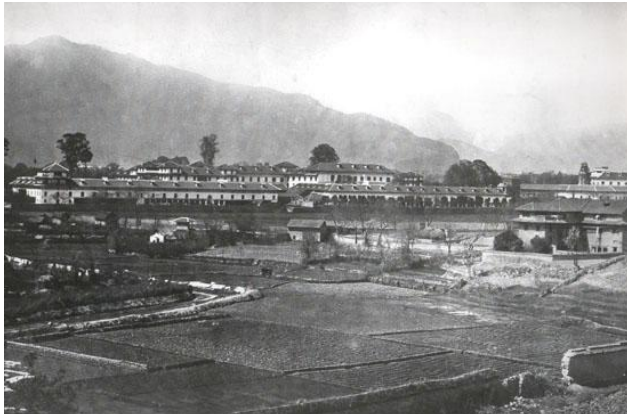


Fig. 96
Kathmandu, Nārayanhiti Darbār built for Rana Uddip Singh (1847).
Source: Kathmandu Valley Preservation Trust.

Fig. 97- 99
Nārayanhiti: Three views of the South wing (1890-1920) show major remodelling and additions:

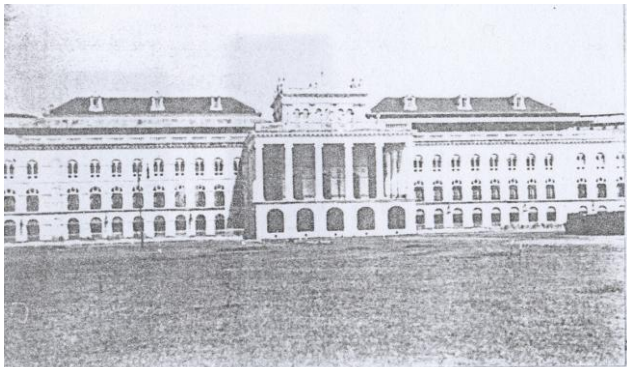


Fig. 97
Remodelling of two rather simple astylar buildings by adding a colossal, colonnaded porch which links them. It was crowned by a rectangular tower and was the focus of a three-storey gallery. The screen included medievalising features, e.g. round arches that related to current Calcuttan Victorian architecture. The connected buildings are covered by hip roofs with three gable windows.

Fig. 98
Between 1890-1910, towers were added on either side of the two wings.

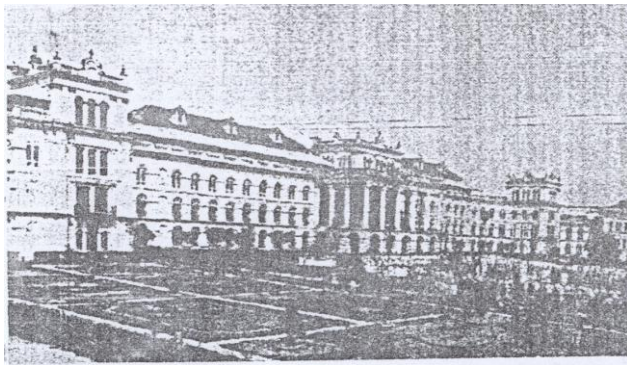


Fig. 99: Photo from the 1920s. The towers were removed and the two pairs of buildings were covered by a continuous ridged roof. A semi-circular gallery based on the design of the Government House in Calcutta was added to Nārayanhiti, but only at one corner of the building. A split, double staircase, also found at Kedleston Hall, England, was another addition to the building.
Sources: Kathmandu Valley Preservation Trust.



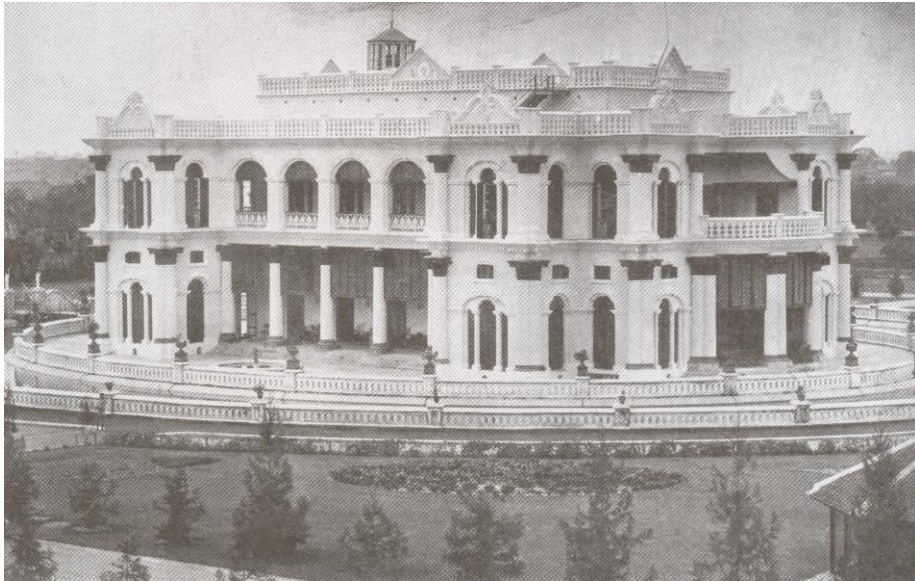


Fig. 100
Phora Darbār (1895) now lost: The palace was erected for Bir Shamsheer by Kishwor Narsingh Rana. It was unique in its design, resembling an ancient Greek temple that was surrounded by a moat and accessible by a bridge.
Source: Kathmandu Valley Preservation Trust.

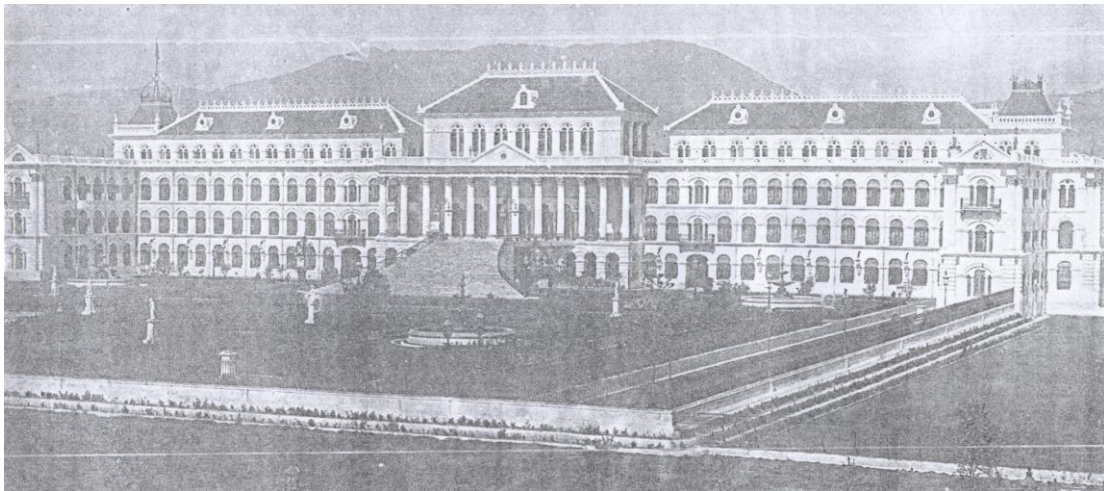


Fig. 101
Seto Darbār (1893), Kathmandu, now lost: The “white palace”, just like Narayan Hiti, may have been partially modelled after the Government House in Calcutta where Bir Shamsheer had represented the Nepalese government and seen the splendid architecture of the Raj. Indeed its monumental marble steps that led to the central portico with its colonnades resemble the entrance of the Government House. The central building housed the Great Assembly Hall and had neo-Gothic windows with tracery. *Serlianas* in the first and second floors of the wings on either side of the central edifice interrupt the steady flow of round arches.
Source: Kathmandu Valley Preservation Trust.



Fig. 102
Kolkata, Government Building (Raj Bhavan) designed by Charles Wyatt (1803).
Photo January 2009.



Fig. 103
Kolkata, Collectorate (ca. 1900).
Photo January 2009.

Fig. 104-105

Kathmandu, Lal Darbār (1890).

Sources: Kathmandu Valley Preservation Trust, drawings by Sushil Rajbhandari (1996).

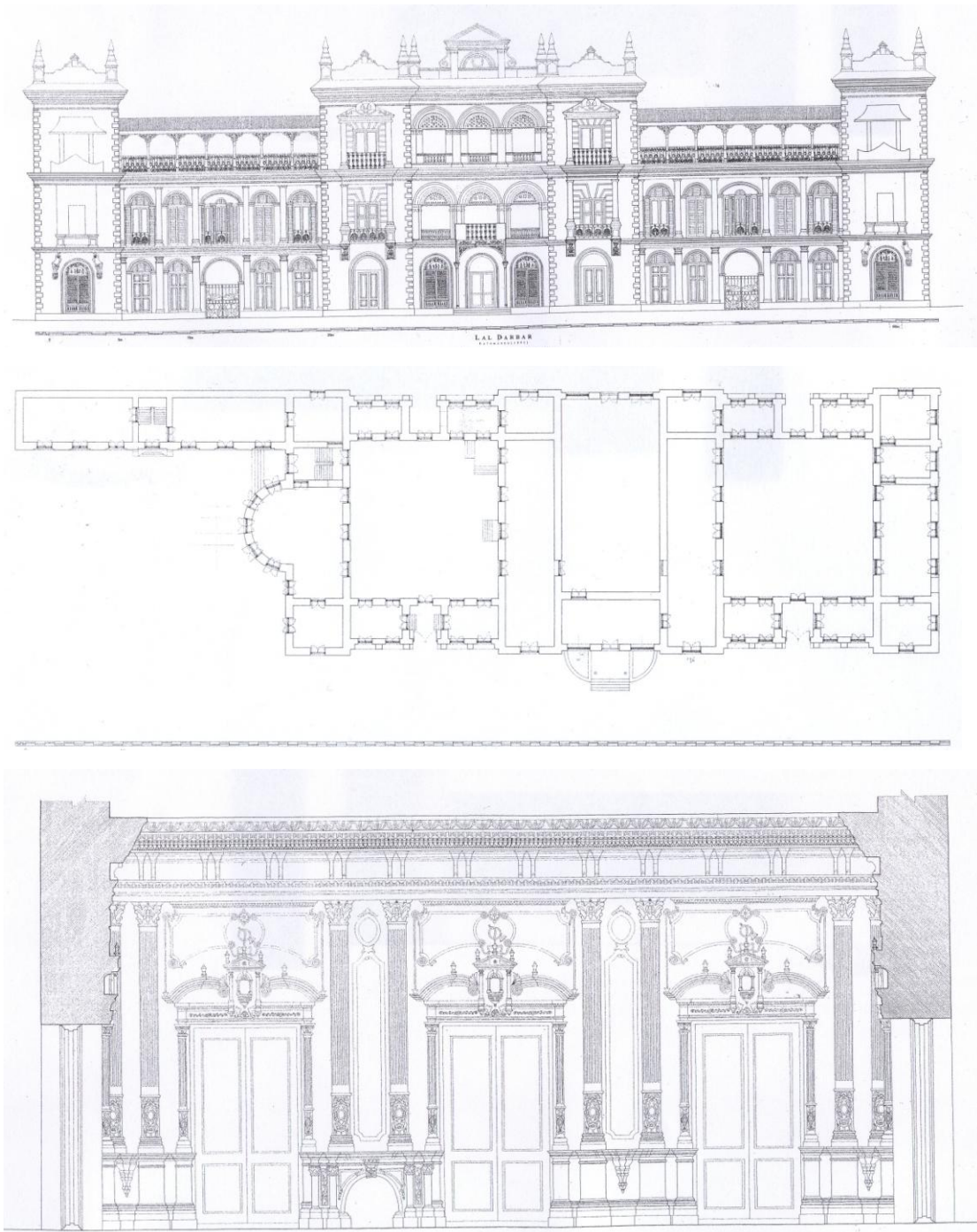


Fig. 104, 105

Principal South elevation and groundplan of the ground floor: The Palace was built for Rudra Shamsher and renovated in the 1970s. The former palace wing of exposed brick today is part of the hotel “Yak and Yeti”. A *serliana*, itself a copy of antique triumphal arches, is found recalling Renaissance structures. White plaster work resembles rustication that contrasts to the red-toned brick façade.

Elevation of the ballroom: Some rooms still mirror Rana glory.

Fig. 106-110
Kathmandu, Lal Darbār (Photos 2007).



Fig. 106
Façade, seen from North.



Fig. 107, 108
Caryatides and atlantes made of multipart stone are the only figurative ornaments at the façade of Lal Darbār. Acanthus design embellishes the console. In contrast to the Renaissance revival, the sculptures resemble Art Nouveau design.



Fig. 109

The main entrance of this central part of the Lal Darbār palace wing is presented with a canopy, borne by a cast-iron frame, made by Macfarlane & Co, Glasgow.



Fig. 110

Detail of the frieze rail with its grotesque pattern with foliated scrolls and bird motif by Macfarlane & Co, Glasgow.

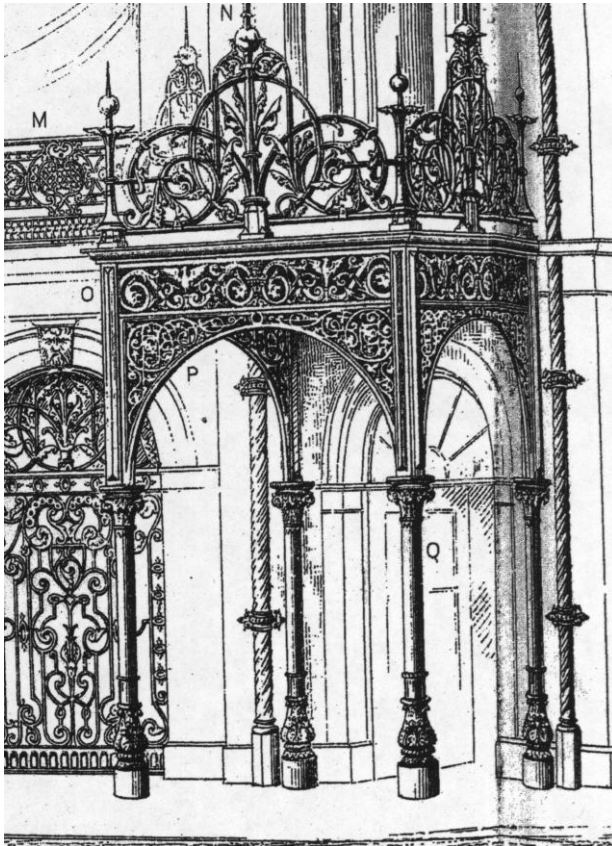


Fig. 111

Walter Macfarlane & Co: *Examples Book*. Glasgow (1876): A detail of Plate XXII presents a multipart cast-iron canopy. The frieze rail Nr. 154 of the catalogue with its grotesque pattern with foliated scrolls and bird motif and the spandrels matches the one at Lal Darbār in Kathmandu. The pillars resemble those registered as "Lamp Nr. 30, 15'" of the firm's *Illustrated catalogue of Macfarlane's castings, etc.* 6th edition. Glasgow 1882.
Source: British Library London.

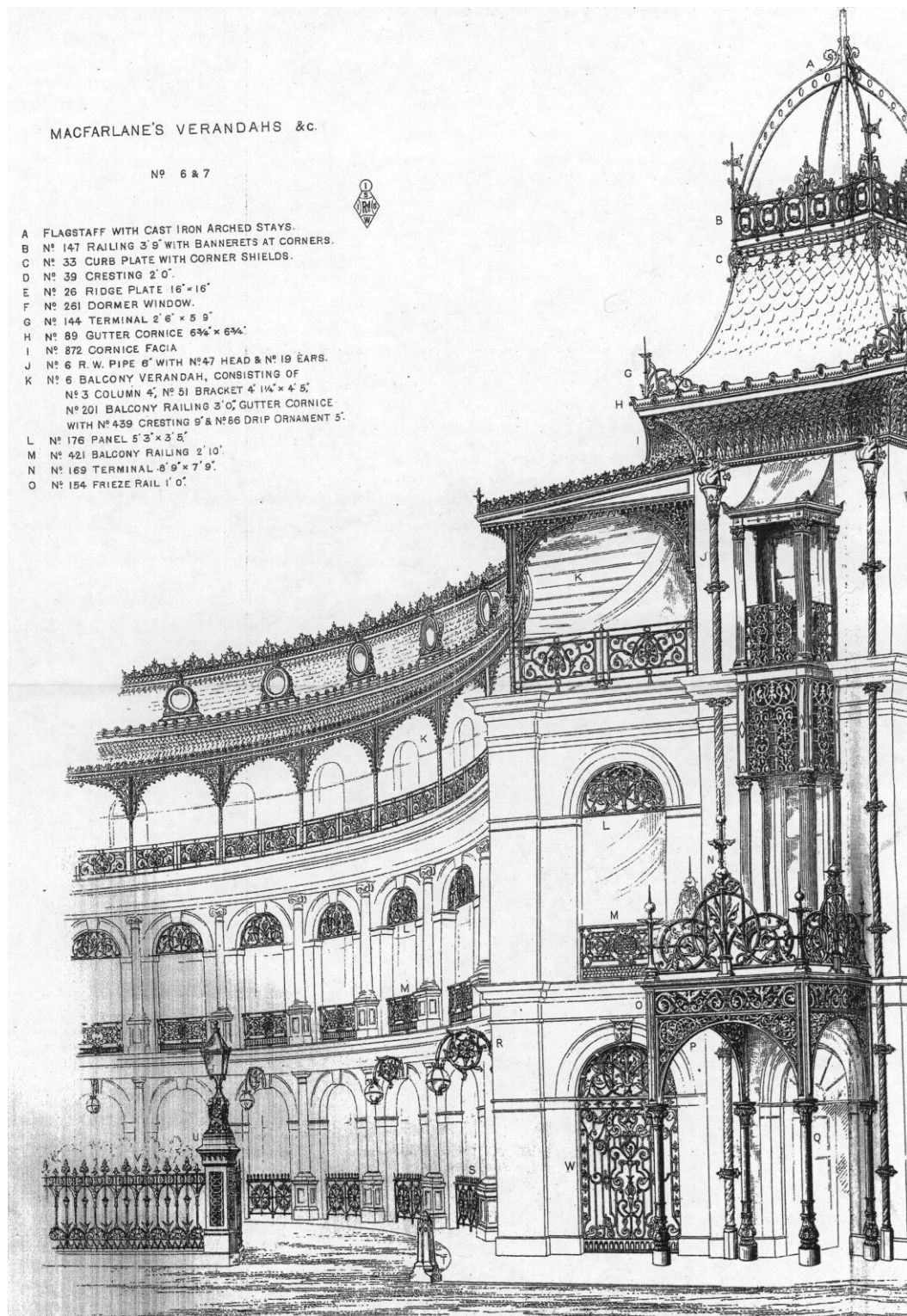


Fig. 112

Walter Macfarlane & Co: *Examples Book*. Glasgow (1876): Plate XXII titled "Macfarlane's Verandahs &c. Nr. 6 & 7" promotes a variety of cast-iron products exhibited on a fantasy façade. The multifoil arches on the second floor exemplify the adoption of "oriental" building forms into British architecture that were also designed for the Indian market. Source: British Library London.

Fig. 113-116
Patan, Ananda Niketan (1892).



Fig. 113
The palace was built by the brothers Kumar and Kishwor Narsingh Rana under Bir Shamsheer Rana for his wife and son Ananda. Aspiring pilasters with composite capitals accentuate the *piano nobile*. A decorative frieze with garlands marks the height of the storey.



Fig. 114
Mascarons and a *svastika* frieze adorn the wall in the *piano nobile*.



Fig. 115
Details of the façade: Classical urns replace the gables above the outer windows.



Fig. 116
At the gable of Ananda Niketan two winged female figures are depicted Nike-like in a Greek style victorious pose resembling the marble image of “Nike of Samothrace” (ca. 200 CE) in the Louvre in Paris. They present a *Śrī yantra* that unmistakably sets the figures in an Asian context.



Fig. 117, 118
The façade blends European design such as Corinthian capitals that are painted black (a Nepalese specialty), with Mughal lotus arabesques. Similar patterns were propagated in Indian patterns books.



Fig. 119
The former neoclassical palace was named after Juddha Shamsheer's son. It was converted into the high-class Hotel Shanker in 1964. The façade was widely kept intact. Rana ambience is given in the "Darbār Hall", formerly a princely Rana ballroom, with its neoclassical interior design and antique chandeliers.



Fig. 117-122
Kathmandu, Agni Bhawan (1894).

Fig. 120, 121, 122
Darbār Hall: The interior decoration is a joyful and colourful medley of European, Newar and Mughal design.



Fig. 123, 124

Kathmandu, Ghantaghar bell tower (1894) at Rani Pokhari: It was built for Bir Shamsher and evoked Victorian architecture, neither purely neo-Gothic nor a true Renaissance revival. The four-storey tower was domed tempietto-like. After the tower of Ghantaghar had collapsed in the great earthquake in 1934 it was rebuilt, however it was given a completely new shape. In its present state the building has three tall rectangular windows on three sides. Its present dome resembles Mughal architecture.



Fig. 125

Kathmandu, Dharara (1832): This folly was built under Bhimsen Thapa. There are parallels to the “Ochterlony Monument” or “Shaheed Minar” which was erected in Calcutta in 1828. It was built to commemorate the British East India Company's victory in the Nepal Campaign of 1814 - 1816.



Fig. 126-130
Kathmandu, Kaisher
Mahal (1895).

Fig. 126
The palace was built for Jit Shamsher, nephew of Jung Bahadur Rana, by order of Bir Shamsher. Chandra Shamsher bought the building and gifted it to his son Kaisher. The principal façade presents an eclectic central part with an unusual entrance design, an interpretation of rustication and remarkable oculi.



Fig. 127
Decorative design of the bay window with stucco frame, festoon and balustrade with mascarons.



Fig. 128, 129
Detail of the balustrade on the second floor with mascarons and arabesques.



Fig. 130
The façade exhibits neoclassical ornaments such as scrollwork that were also copied at the houses of the Newars.

Fig. 131-135
Kathmandu, Kaisher Mahal
(1895).

Fig. 131
The three oculi are
embellished by winged
putti. The urns that are
positioned in between the
grilled windows are
reminiscent of the
purṇakalāśa, the Nepalese
treasure vase which is
modelled upon the
traditional clay water pot
with a flat base, round
body, narrow neck and flat
rim



Fig. 132, 133
Details of the oculi
with winged putti
and urns.



Fig. 134
Details of Kaisher
Mahal: Crest-like décor.



Fig. 135
Details of Kaisher Mahal: Consoles
as female figures.

Fig. 136-140
Kathmandu, Kaisher Mahal (1895).



Fig. 136, 137, 138
Details of a palace wing
façade, seen from the “Garden
of Dreams”: Fantasy male
masks, scrollwork cartouches
and consoles with lion masks.



Fig. 139
Window of a palace
wing, seen from the
“Garden of Dreams”.

Fig. 140
Detail of the
principal façade:
Ionic capital on the
2nd floor.





Fig. 141
Kaisher Library in Kaisher Mahal: The columns present a neoclassical melange of Doric fluted shafts and Tuscan capitals.



Fig. 142
Kaisher Library, ground floor with staircase.



Fig. 143, 144, 145
Faux-plasterwork ceiling decoration with floral and geometric patterns.



Fig. 146, 147
The interior decoration boasts European citations such as decorative panels, bas-reliefs with human heads in tondi, chandeliers and bronzes.

Fig. 141-147
Kathmandu, Kaisher Mahal (1895), interior.



Fig. 148, 149

Kathmandu, “Garden of Dreams” (Swapna Bagaicha) built in the 1920s for Kaisher Shamsher adjacent to his palace as a private preserve. Within the garden, a sophisticated ensemble of neoclassical pavilions, fountains, decorative garden furniture, pergolas, balustrades, urns and statues – all based on European models – was found. Originally, there were six European-style pavilions, one for each of Nepal’s six seasons: Fig. shows the Vasanta-pavilion (spring). In the late 1990s, the Austrian architect Götz Hagmüller renovated the garden. A number of elements were added, utilising latent vestiges of its existing layout and architecture. An amphitheatre has been created for cultural programmes. The rotunda has been reconstructed as a new focal point and new fountains and pergolas were complemented.

Fig. 150-155
Kathmandu,
“Garden of Dreams”:

Fig. 150
The idea of caryatides is
taken up to embellish
pediments.



Fig. 151
Niches shelter
neoclassical vases with
mascarons.



Fig. 152, 153
The gable of the *Vasanta*-pavilion combines
classical design with the initial “K” for Kaisher
written in Devanagari. The ridge is crowned by a
female bust with a *tika* on her forehead.

Fig. 154
Caesar Ripa, *Iconologia* (1709): “Force
of Eloquence”. A woman in a decent
habit holds the *caduceus* (Wand of
Hermes). It is typically depicted as a
short herald’s staff surmounted by
wings and entwined by two serpents in
the form of a double helix. In Roman
iconography it was the attribute of the
Greek god Mercury (Roman god,
Hermes), the messenger of the gods.
Source: Penn State University Library.

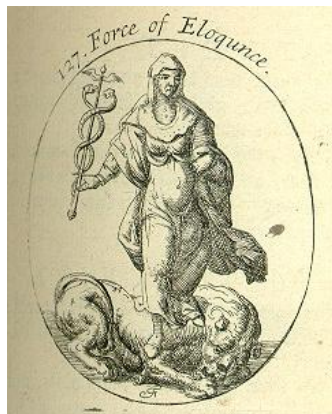


Fig. 155
Once a classical symbol,
the *caduceus* is found in
relief form made of stucco
on Rana architecture such
as the “Garden of Dreams”.

Fig. 156-160
Kathmandu, Singha Darbār (1903).



Fig. 156
The design of the vessels positioned on the gate is a blend of Newar water pots (*ghah*) with European ornaments.



Fig. 157
Neoclassical gateway to the palace.



Fig. 158
A detail of the two iron gates shows the Newar vase of abundance (*purnakalasha*).



Fig. 159
The palace built by Kishwor and Kumar Narsingh Rana under Prime Minister Chandra Shamsher was the largest palace in Asia. It housed most of the governmental offices. Its magnificent four-storey façade, a veneer of arcades in the ground level and colonnades that aspire over the first and second floor – in each case set in front of the windows – gives an exquisitely sense of space.
Source: Kathmandu Valley Preservation Trust.



Fig. 160
The protruding central portico is carried by double Corinthian colonnades with twisted column shafts.



Fig. 161
The Candelabrum exhibited at the Great Exhibition in London (1851) and in the *Art-Journal Illustrated Catalogue* was made by Messrs. F. & C. Osler of London and Birmingham for her Majesty the Queen. A 20-foot fixture was ordered from Osler for Jung Bahadur Rana's palace in 1849, far bigger than the pair of eight-foot candelabra exhibited in Crystal Palace.
Source: University Library Heidelberg.

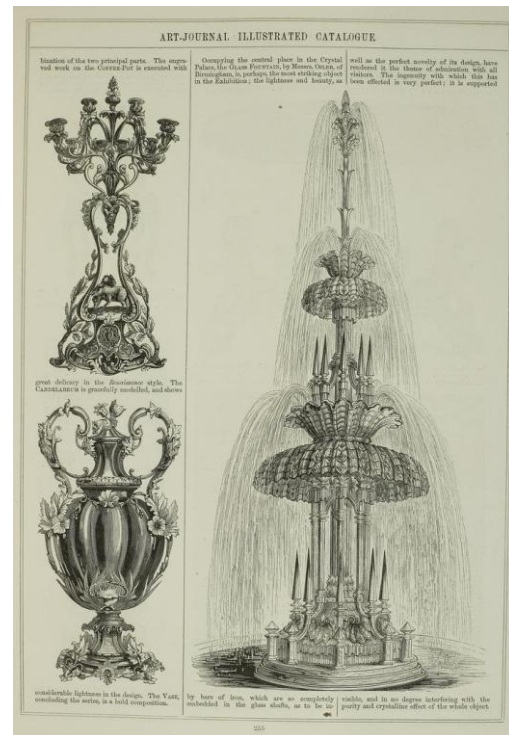


Fig. 162
The Glass Fountain by Messrs. Osler occupied the central place in the Crystal Palace in London (1851). It was considered "the most striking object in the Exhibition; the lightness and beauty, as well as the perfect novelty of its design, have rendered it the theme of admiration with all visitors" (*Art-Journal Illustrated Catalogue*).
Source: University Library Heidelberg.

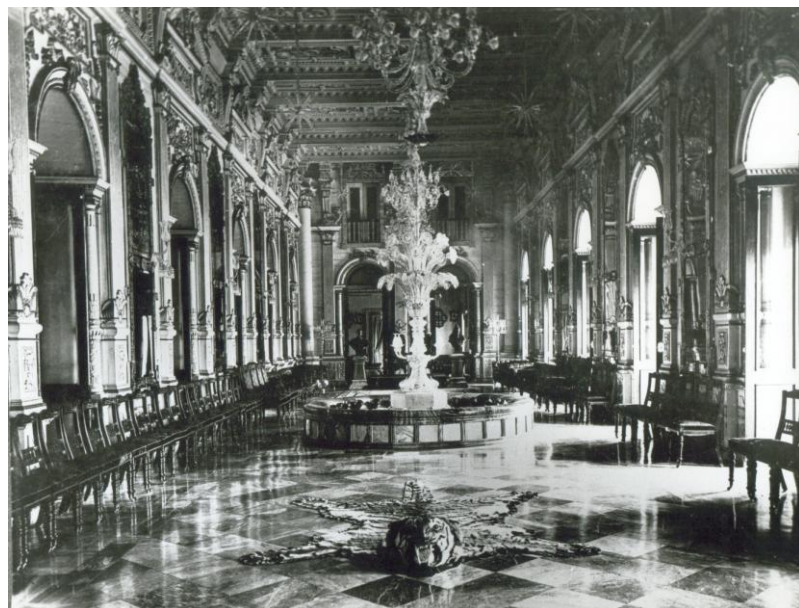


Fig. 163
Kathmandu, Singha Darbār:
An impressive crystal chandelier is placed in the centre of the Darbār Hall.

Fig. 164-166
Kathmandu, Gaddi Baithak (1908).

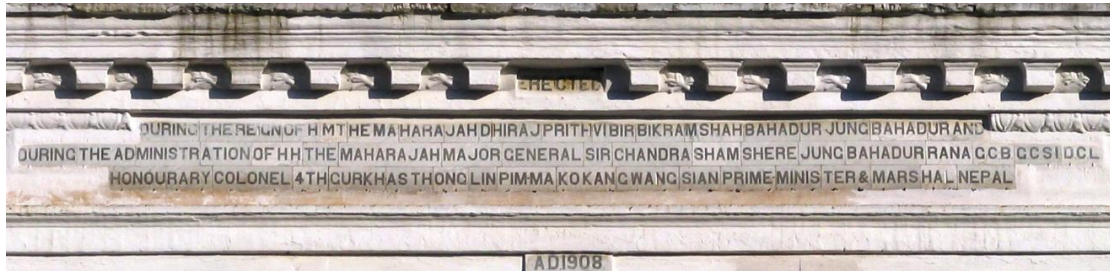


Fig. 164
ERECTED/ DURING THE REIGN OF HM THE MAHARAJAH DHIRAJ PRITHVI BIR BIKRAM SHAH BAHADUR JUNG BAHADUR AND/ DURING THE ADMINISTRATION OF HH THE MAHARAJAH MAJOR GENERAL SIR CHANDRA SHAM SHERE JUNG BAHADUR RANA G.C.B.G.C.S.I.D.C.L./ HONOURARY COLONEL 4TH GURKHAS THONGLINPIM-MAKOKANG WANG SIAN PRIME-MINISTER & MARSHAL NEPAL/ A.D 1908.



Fig. 165
The west façade of the throne hall resembles a triumphal arch, yet the three arches share the same height and the Ionic columns are set in front of the bearing piers. Lidded urns decorate the architrave.



Fig. 166
South façade: Pairs of colossal Ionic columns form the colonnade of the throne hall at Hanuman Dhoka recalling the image of the east façade of the Louvre (late 17th century) in Paris.

Fig. 167-171
Kathmandu, Śītal Nivās (1923).



Fig. 167
The palace suggests a melange of different European styles blended with an explicit concession to Newar design.

Fig. 168
The Egyptian sun symbol adorns the frieze in the second floor.



Fig. 169
The stucco Corinthian capitals of the neoclassical portico testify an elaborate workmanship.

Fig. 170
A pediment in the shape of an obelisk in the niches next to the portico presents a relief of the coat of arms. Above the niche a Newar "halo-face" (*kīrttimukha*) is found.



Fig. 171
Detail of the horned "halo-face" (*kīrttimukha*) with peaked ears and a moustache. It devours two snakes and its hands are shaped like those of a human pointing towards the Nepalese coat of arms.



Fig. 172
Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia* (1709):
Allegory of "Poetry".
Source: Penn State University Library.



Fig. 174
Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia* (1709):
Allegory of "Rhetorick".
Source: Penn State University Library.



Fig. 173, 175
Kathmandu, Śītal Nivās (1923): The stucco
reliefs are the Nepalese interpretations of the
European allegories "Poetry" and "Rhetoric".



Fig. 177
Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia* (1709):
Virtue "Humility".
Source: Penn State University Library.



Fig. 179
Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia* (1709):
Allegory of "Tuition".
Source: Penn State University Library.

Fig. 176, 178
Kathmandu, Śītal Nivās (1923): The
virtue "Humility" or "Patience" and the
allegory of "Tuition" are found on relief
panel as part of the iconographic
programme of the Rana palace.

Fig. 180-183
Patan, Naṭol, Amatya house, main road (after 1934).



Fig. 180

The majestic Amatya house evokes the notion of a Rana mini palace. Gaṇeś Man Amatya, the builder, was a chief caretaker of Juddha Shamsheer's properties. The house was erected under the supervision of the *nāyāḥ* Tuyu Gubhāju of Śrībāhā and under the order of Rana Shankar Shamsheer. The house reportedly evoked the admiration of Queen Elizabeth on her visit to Nepal. The façade is fully plastered and characterised by its colossal half columns and pilasters with plastered rustication. The building is separated into two parts. The left part (seen from the viewer) is the most representative part with stairs and a half-circular balcony in the first floor putting emphasis on the centre of the façade.

Drawing by Sushil Rajbhandari, (1992).



Fig. 181
The Amatya house in 2004.



Fig. 182, 183
Black capitals, a whitewashed façade, cast-iron balustrades and green Venetian blinds – all characteristic of Rana palaces – are represented on the façade of the Amatya house.



Fig. 184
Patan, Naṭol: The design of the cast-iron multipart balustrade with arabesque pattern of an Amatya house (after 1934) is found on many houses in the Kathmandu Valley, for example in New Road, and encouraged the Newars to make copies in timber.



Fig. 185
Kolkata, Chitpur: The very same cast-iron balustrade models are found in India and Nepal. They were brought from Kolkata to the Kathmandu Valley.



Fig. 186, 187, 188
Wooden copies of patterns for cast-iron balustrades:
Patan, house at Gujībāhā (1944).
Patan, house in Calāchē.
Patan, house in Naṭol.



Fig. 189
Patan, Naṭol: Precast iron ceiling of
an Amatya house (after 1934). The
pattern was the model for carved
wooden ceilings.



Fig. 190, 191, 192
The cast-iron pattern was reworked
in manifold examples:
Patan, Būbābā.
Patan, Saugaḥ.
Bhaktapur, Yātāchē (Vajracharya
house).



Fig. 193
Patan, Darbār Square: Cast-iron balustrade elements with bird, sun and flower motifs in scrollwork are found at an Amatya house (1945).



Fig. 194, 195
Similar designs with Rocaille and birds were taken up in the wooden balustrades in the Kathmandu Valley:
Patan, Kutisaugah.
Patan, Cakabahī.



Fig. 196
Kolkata, Chitpur: In India, European patterns were copied in cast iron by diverse companies. The comparison with the balustrade at a house of an Indian merchant from 1922 and the one at the Amatya house in Patan raises the question after the original and copy.

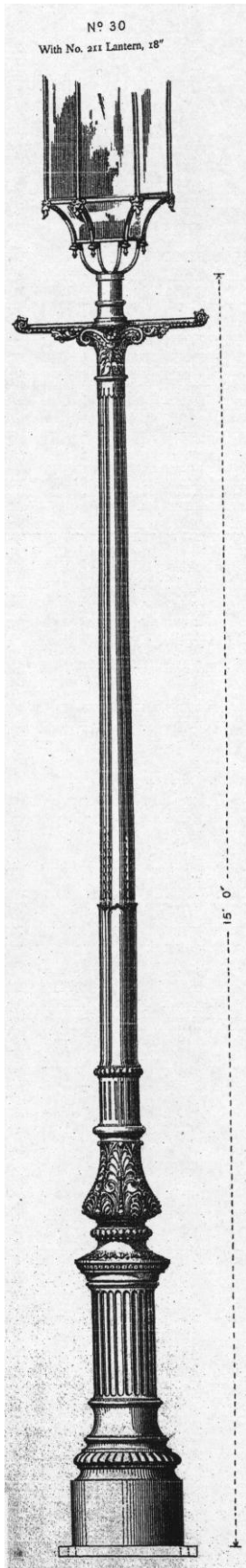


Fig. 197
Walter Macfarlane & Co:
*Illustrated catalogue of
Macfarlane's castings, etc. 6th
edition*. Glasgow 1882: Lamp
Nr. 30, 15' (with lantern Nr.
211, 18'') is characterised by a
circular base, followed by a
fluted part of the shaft with an
abacus. The next part is in the
shape of a baluster decorated
with palmette design, above a
bead-moulding. The fluted part
of the shaft that follows is
bounded by two astragals. The
rest of the lamp pillar exists of a
narrowing plain shaft with a
small capital with protruding
arms and flower ornaments.
Source: British Library London.

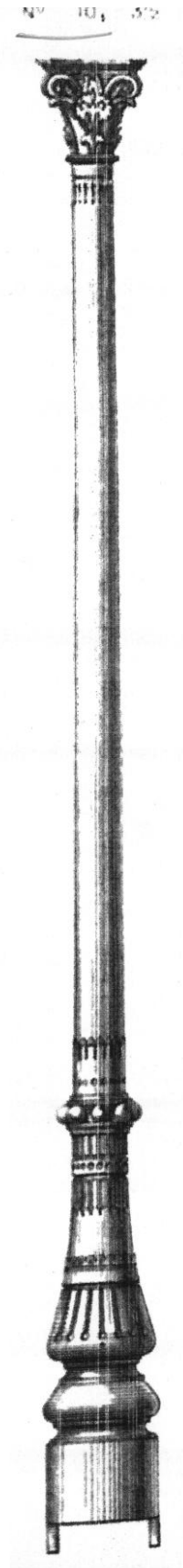


Fig. 198
Walter Macfarlane & Co:
Examples Book. Glasgow 1876:
Lamp Nr. 10, 9' with capital,
3''. The lower parts of the lamp
pillars remind of balusters, partly
fluted and decorated with bead-
mouldings.
Source: British Library London.



Fig. 202
Patan, Būbāhā: Cast-iron lantern.
The shaft presents the
manufacturer "W. Macfarlane &
Co. Glasgow".



Fig. 203
Patan, Būbāhā: Cast-iron lantern
from "W. Macfarlane & Co.
Glasgow" with palmette design,
installed on a brick pedestal in
the spacious courtyard in the
first half of the 20th century. The
same lanterns are found at Rana
palaces such as Lal Darbār,
Kathmandu.



Fig. 199, 200, 201
European design had its impact
on local fabrics: The palmette is
reworked to an acanthus leaf
which again is abstracted to
differing foliage:
Patan, Būbāhā (detail).
Patan, Nāgbāhā.
Patan, Alkvahiti.



Fig. 206
Patan, Nāgbāhā: Cast-iron lamp pillars from the Scottish firm „W. Macfarlane & Co. Glasgow” are found in the courtyard. They are reminiscent of a baluster, fluted and decorated with bead-mouldings and resemble those pillars at Lal Darbār.

Fig. 207
Branding of Walter Macfarlane & Co, Glasgow, Saracen Foundry. Taken from: Robertson, E. Graeme and Robertson, Joan: *Cast Iron Decoration. A World Survey*. London 1977.

Fig. 204, 205
Kathmandu, Lal Darbār: Cast-iron capital of a lamp pillar from „W. Macfarlane & Co. Glasgow”.
Nāgbāhā, Patan: A slender pillar from Europe is adorned by acanthus leaves, various kinds of blossoms and an ornate capital.



Fig. 208, 209, 210, 211 (clockwise)

Cast-iron hydrant water pillars from the famous British company “Martin & Co Calcutta” are found valley wide in the vicinity of older public wells. Bhaktapur, Itāchē: Some pillars are still in use by Newar women who collect the water from the tap for their households in metal water pots (*ghah*). A pillar is marked “Martin and Coy Calcutta”, on its fundament. Some pillars bear the name “Pillar Hydrant Stockton & Middlesbrough”, on their screw caps and present the donor, “Tin Śrīcandra Lokdhārā”. Inscriptions present the donor, e.g. “Bi Sri Raj Laxmi”.



Fig. 212

Patan, Darbār Square: “Bayliss, Jones and Bayliss, Wolverhampton” manufactured the railing of the well. The bust shows Prime Minister Chandra’s first wife, Bada Maharani Chandra Loka Bhakta Lakshmi Devi, to whom the well is dedicated by the people of Patan since she was involved in the water supply project for the city.

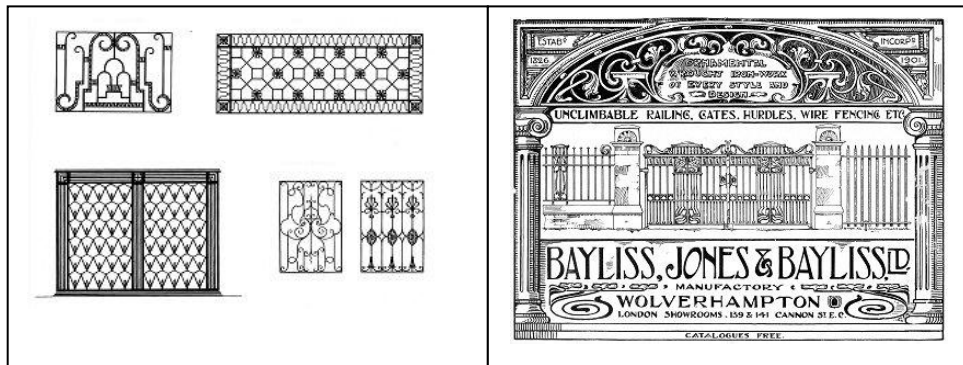


Fig. 213

The firm’s 1938 catalogue presents all kind of iron products, such as radiator grilles.

Fig. 214

Advertisement from the later 1920s: Founded in 1826, the enterprise is best known for their fencing, special railing and gates which they produced in great variety and in many styles, such as Tudor Gothic, Italian Renaissance, English 18th century, Art Deco and Art Nouveau style.

Fig. 215
Kirtipur, Uma Maheshvara
temple: Tall, heavy, iron bell
from “Gillet & Johnston
Founders Croydon 1895”. It
was originally a quarter-
striking bell from the Ghanta
Ghar clock tower,
Kathmandu.



Fig. 216-217
Bhaktapur, Cupīghāt: Bridge (1913).



Fig. 216
The entrances to the bridge are
flanked by a pair of dog-size lions,
locally translated into stone and
presented on pedestals.



Fig. 217
The bridge (1913) is constructed of massive
piers made of bricks and is borne by rolled
girders from world famous Dorman Long,
Middlesborough, England. Decorative stone
consoles with lion faces support the heavy
beams. Wooden joists are laid across their
ends being carved (*dhalīmvaḥ*) in the shape
of typical Newar mythical animal's faces
(*kūsuru*). They are covered by bricks.



Fig. 218
Patan, Neuta: In Nepal Mughal
tendrillar patterns are found on
Composite capitals.



Fig. 220
Patan, Gābāhā: Stucco
arabesques on a pilaster
resemble Mughal design.



Fig. 219
S.S. Jacob: *Jeypore Portfolio of Architectural
Details*. Part V. "Arches" (1890): Plate 12 presents
Mughal arabesques and shows a detail of a plaster
and glass decoration of an arch from the Jaya Mandir
at Amber Fort, Rajasthan. The drawing was
delineated by Bhairav Baksh and drawn by Lala
Ram Baksh, Head Draftsman.

Fig. 221
Giovanni Battista Piranesi, *Della Magnificenza Ed Architettura De' Romani, De Romanorum Magnificentia Et Architectura*, Roma 1761. Detail of Plate XIX: *Capitula varia*. The Italian capital is adorned by a pair of dolphins.
Source: University Library Heidelberg.



Fig. 222, 223
Bhaktapur, Bāhātagalli: Stucco figuration of the Hindu goddess Lakṣmī with four arms at a Dhaubahadel house. She shows the boon-granting and the protective gesture, holds two lotus flowers and stands on a lotus pedestal in water. She is accompanied by a gander (*haṃsa*) and flanked by two aquatic monsters with blue eyes. Their bodies are made of foliage and are rolled into volutes.



Fig. 224
Bhaktapur, near Gāḥhiti in Taumāḍhī: The artistic interpretation of European models into aquatic creatures on Newar capitals implies the knowledge of European pattern books.

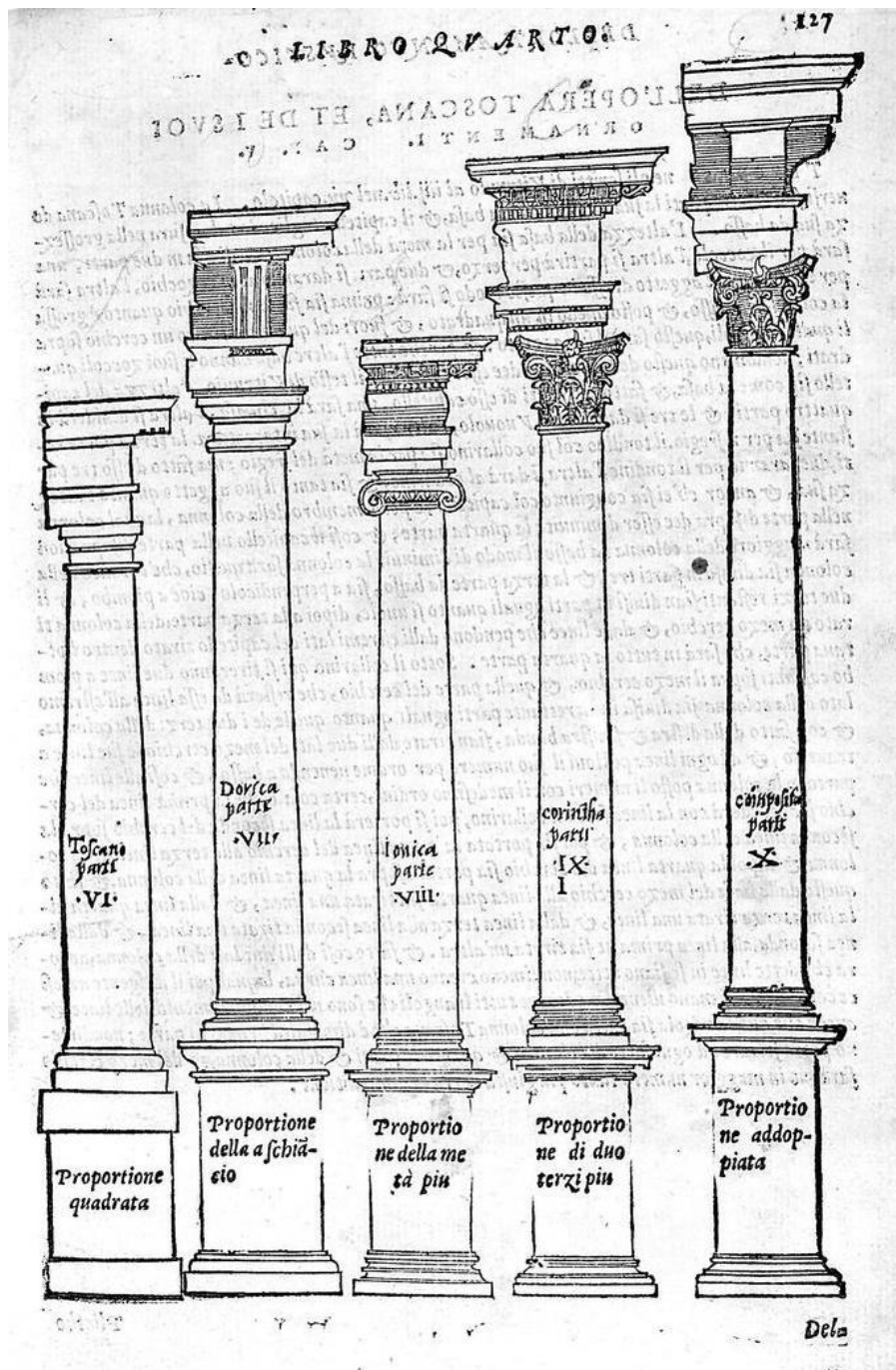


Fig. 225

Serlio, Sebastiano, "Libro quatro": *Regole Generali Di Architettura di Sebastiano Serlio Bolognese. Sopra le cinque maniere de gli edifici, cioè, Toscano, Dorico, Ionico, Corinthio, & Composito.* Venetia 1566.

Source: University Library Heidelberg.

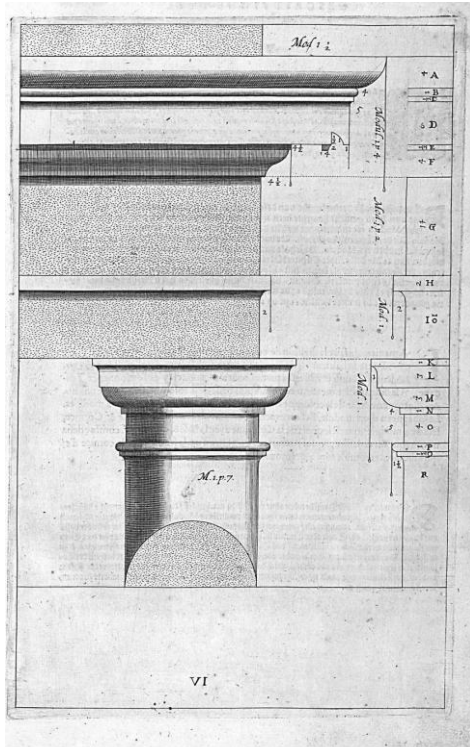


Fig. 226
Vignola.
(Michelangelo Buonarroti (ed.), *Regola delli cinque Ordini D'Architettura*.
Arnheim 1620: The Tuscan Order.
Source: University Library Heidelberg.

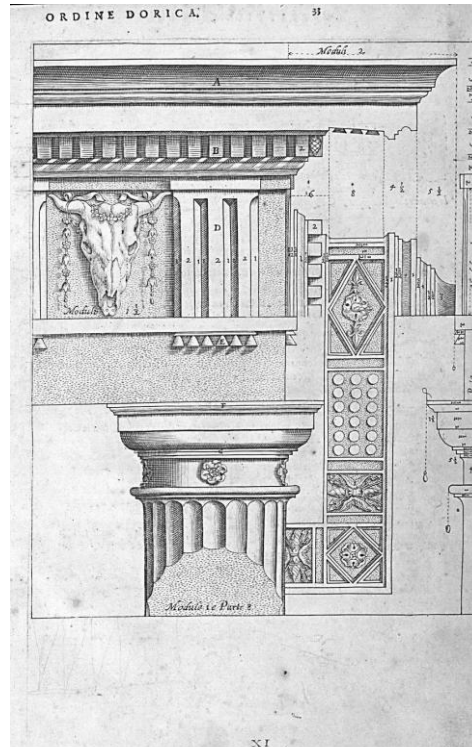


Fig. 227
Vignola.
(Michelangelo Buonarroti (ed.), *Regola delli cinque Ordini D'Architettura*.
Arnheim 1620: The Doric Order.
Source: University Library Heidelberg.



Fig. 228
Patan, house at Nalachibāhā:
The capitals in the 2nd floor
resemble the Tuscan order.
They are adorned by an
ornament based on the
Egyptian sun symbol while
the shaft is embellished by
acanthus.



Fig. 229
Patan, house near Valakhu: The
Tuscan capitals are embellished
by meander design.



Fig. 230
Patan, House in Svatha: The
Tuscan capitals in the ground
floor are adorned by lotus
arabesques. The design is stuck
on the plaster made of brick dust
(chun-surkhi) and quick lime.

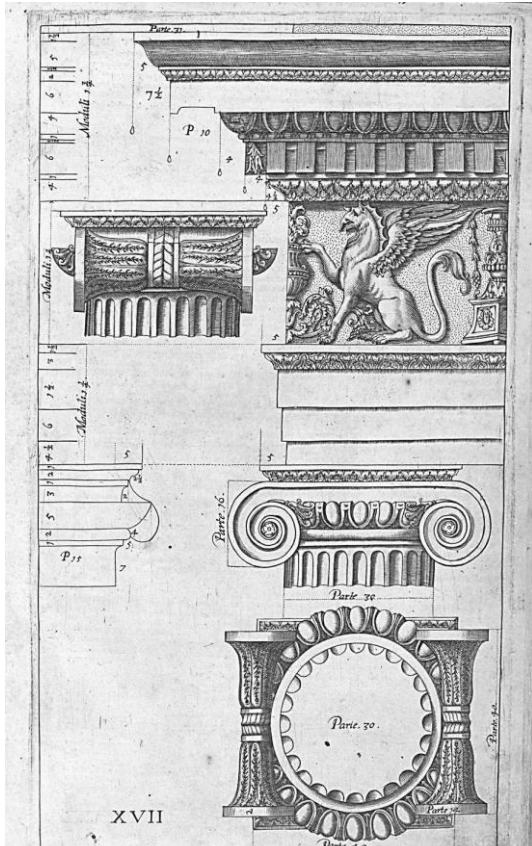


Fig. 232, 233,
234
Patan: Shakya
house at
Ukubāhā;
Chāyābāhā;
house at
Mangal
Bazaar.



Fig. 231
Vignola.
(Michelangelo
Buonarroti (ed.),
*Regola delli
cinque Ordini
D'Architettura*.
Arnheim 1620:
The Ionic Order.
Source:
University
Library
Heidelberg.

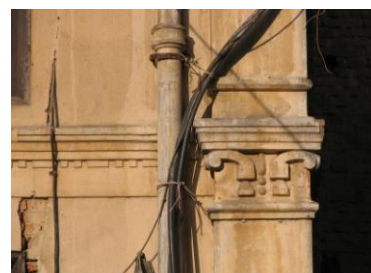
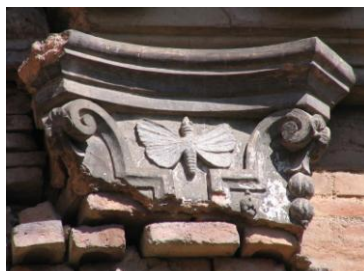


Fig. 235, 236, 237 (from left to right)
Bhaktapur: Bālākhu, house at Gaṇeś Temple; Patan: house at Jhatapvaḥ; Bhaktapur: Piya house
in Tulāchē.

Fig. 238, 239, 240 (from left to right)
Patan: Taṅgabāhā; house at Capat; house at Tūbāhā.
The examples demonstrate the evolution of Ionic elements in the Kathmandu Valley.



Fig. 241
Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola, *Le Vignole moderne. Der neue Vignola oder Elementar-Buch der Baukunst*. Leipzig 1818: The invention of the Corinthian capital by Callimachus.
Source: University Library Heidelberg.

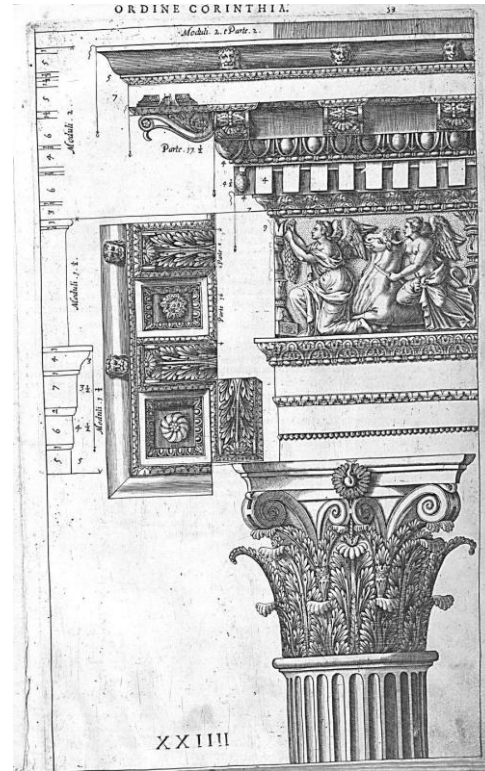


Fig. 242
Vignola.
(Michelangelo Buonarroti (ed.), *Regola delli cinque Ordini D'Architettura*. Arnheim 1620: The Corinthian Order.
Source: University Library Heidelberg.

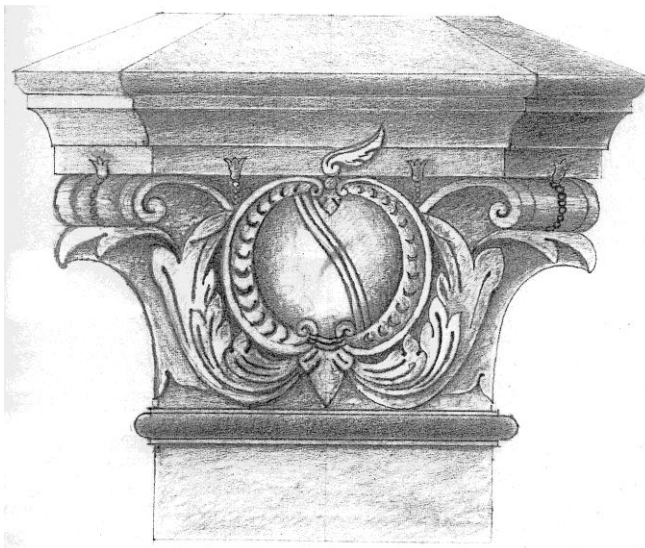


Fig. 243
Patan, Naṭol, Amatya house (after 1934). Composite capital with acanthus and Rocaille décor. Graphite drawing by Bijay Basukala (October 2004).
Source: Collection of the author.

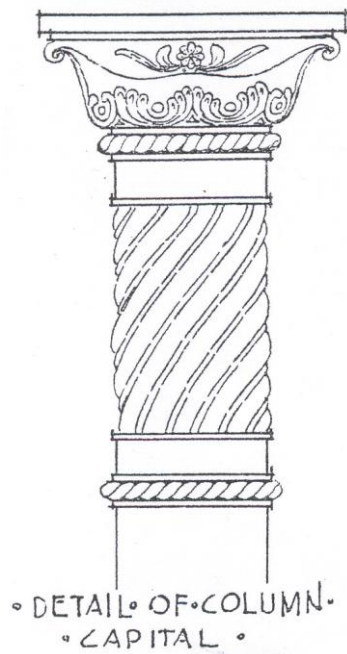


Fig. 244

Claude Batley, *The Design and Development of Indian Architecture*, first published in 1934. Detail from Plate 41, described in the chapter *Descriptive Notes* (ix):

“These are of details from another large house, the palace of the Chief of Bhor State, in the Poona district of the Bombay Presidency. This house is later in date, and here the details show the influence of the British occupation and how the European Renaissance forms were interpreted and blended by the Indian craftsmen with their own traditional work. [...] Signs of the foreign influence are to be seen most plainly in the columns, their capitals and bases [...]”.

Source: Collection of Niels Gutschow.



Fig. 245, 246

Patan: Interpretations of the Corinthian capital on early 20th century houses. The forms of the acanthus leaves resemble Indian design as demonstrated by Claude Batley in his pattern book.



Fig. 250
Patan, near Cakabahi:
Every single leaf is
positioned accurately
next to the other while
leaves sprout from the
spandrels.



Fig. 251
Patan, Mubaha in
Pimbaha Tol: Capital
with three *desisva*
leaves.



Fig. 252
Patan, vicinity of
Tichugalli: Two
acanthus leaves with
reduced central leaf.

Fig. 247, 248, 249

Patan, Neuta: Pilasters are crowned by
acanthus capitals with three leaves divided
by little blossoms. The shaft is executed as an
astragal ending in a bell-like blossom.

Patan, Svatha: Acanthus or *desisva* with
astragal shaft.

Patan, Thapahiti: Acanthus capital with
flower motif.



Fig. 253

Patan, vicinity of Tichugalli: Frieze
with acanthus or *desisva* motif.



Fig. 254

Patan, Gabaha: Slender
column, capital with two
acanthus leaves.



Fig. 255
Bhaktapur, Taumādhi, Bhagavatī
Temple: The lower part of a stone
pillar that bears the porch of the
temple is moulded in the shape of a
purnakalasha: a belly-like vase from
which lotus leaves poke out and are
laid over the seam of the jar.



Fig.256
India, Jaipur, Mubarak
Mahal (1900) of City
Palace, designed by
Samuel Swinton Jacob:
The marble pillars with
acanthus capitals are
embellished by straight
lotus petals.



Fig. 257
India, Agra Fort, Machchhi
Bhawan (before 1637): The
acanthus leaves at the base of a
column with acanthus capitals were
transformed into overflowing
acanthus leaves, the concept being
familiar from the motif of the
auspicious vase (*purnakalasha*) used
for pillar design in Buddhist and
Hindu architecture.



Fig. 258
India, Agra Fort, Nagina
Masjid: Slender colonnettes,
their bases moulded in the
shape of vases, arise above a
base with acanthus décor.

Fig. 259-264

Patan, near Bhīchēbāhā, Vajracharya house (ca. 1934).

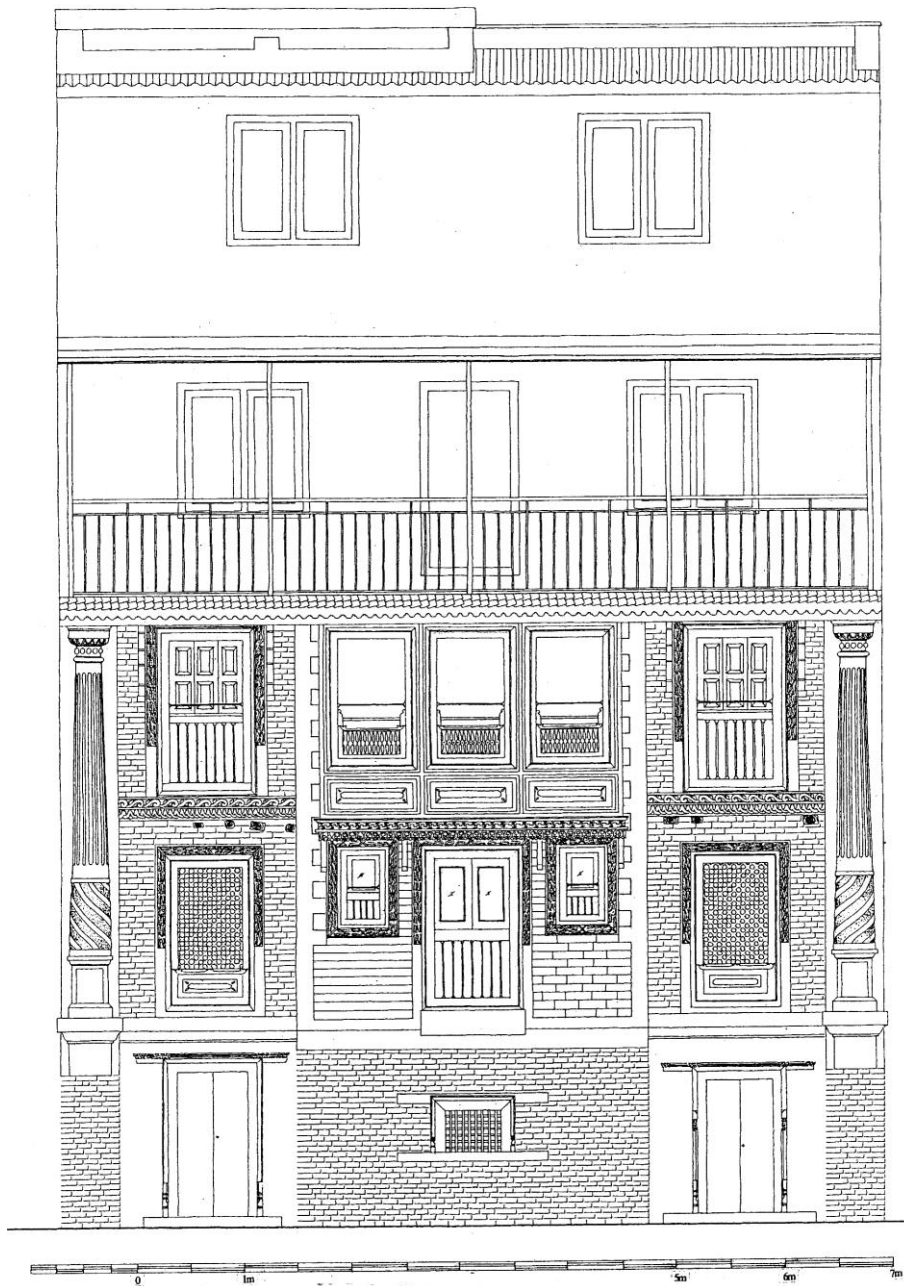


Fig. 259

Vertical disposition of the façade with its central risalit and the colossal half-columns. Symmetry is kept from the vertical middle axis. The façade boasts a range of window formats such as the square Newar *tikijhyāh* with sidewise protruding lintel and sill, the upright lattice window, the western upright opening and a tripartite bay window. Originally a brick-and-plaster façade, the central part used to be plastered and painted red while ashlar bigger than those fabricated by the Newars were imitated on the surface of the plaster. The edges of the central risalit are decorated by smooth rustication made of stucco and painted white.

The original owner was Ashamaru Vajracharya, a tailor with a sizable income due to his enterprise, the production of military uniforms. The *nāyāh* of his house was a local, maybe Lakshmidhana Vajracharya, Chakubui Nayo or Dati Nayo. Drawing by Bijay Basukala and Asaram Twayana.



Fig. 261
Detail of the door:
Vase-like element with
lotus leaf design at the
bottom of the
colonnade.

Fig. 260
Newar door design with
engaged colonnettes.



Fig. 263
The effect of a
twisted half-column
is achieved by the
differential surface
design of the
plaster.

Fig. 262
Upright Newar lattice
window framed by
stucco bay leaves.



Fig. 264
An abstract timber bordure
and *svastika* frieze adorn
the bay window.



Fig. 265
Patan, Ikhāchē: Acanthus capital, with a female bust with loose drapery and hair once painted black, at a house near Duntubahī.



Fig. 266
Patan, Kutisaugah: Composite capital with female figure.



Fig. 267
Patan, Ikhālakhū: Capital with rustic acanthus leaves and a female head.



Fig. 268
Pharping, Vajrayoginī temple: Keystone with female head seen in profile, framed by foliage.



Fig. 269
Patan, Nāgbāhā: A female bust with a *tika* on the forehead serves as keystone.



Fig. 270
Patan, Jawalakhel: A black haired female bust with a "Western"-style top with collar and buttons replaces the keystone.



Fig. 271
Patan, Alkvaḥiti: Acanthus capital with a
filigree putti-like head of an infant next to the
passage to Ānābhāhā.



Fig. 272
Bhaktapur, Lāguchē: Acanthus
capital with head moulded in a rustic
manner.



Fig. 273
Dhulikel: Composite capital with head
translated into vernacular.



Fig. 274
Patan, Jawalakhel: Head in tondo, realised
in Renaissance-style.



Fig. 275, 276, 277, 278
Bhaktapur: Variety of brick capitals. Protruding worked brick stones in the form of two symmetrically arranged bricks trimmed in cambered form with small volutes on each end. The abacus exists of layers of brick. Beaked corner-eaves tiles (*gvāgaḥcā*) are characteristic Newar features. Whereas motifs like a heart are rarities, traditional patterns like the *kaṣimvahaṇā*, a brick frieze with lotus leaf pattern (*palehaṇā*) are often used to adorn the capitals.



Fig. 279, 280, 281
Bhaktapur: Variations of protruding worked brick stones with small volutes on each end, arranged symmetrically. A brick is worked in the form of a drop dangling from the centre. Protruding and worked bricks mark the astragal. The abacus exists of four layers of bricks, partly arranged to form a dentilation and partly as half as thin as the model brick used for the façade. Beaked corner eaves tiles (*gvāgaḥcā*) are characteristic of most brick capitals.

Fig. 282-285
Bhaktapur, Bolāchē.



Fig. 282, 283, 284
Decorative elements, made of trimmed bricks: Above the ground floor, the frieze reminds of the European running dog décor.

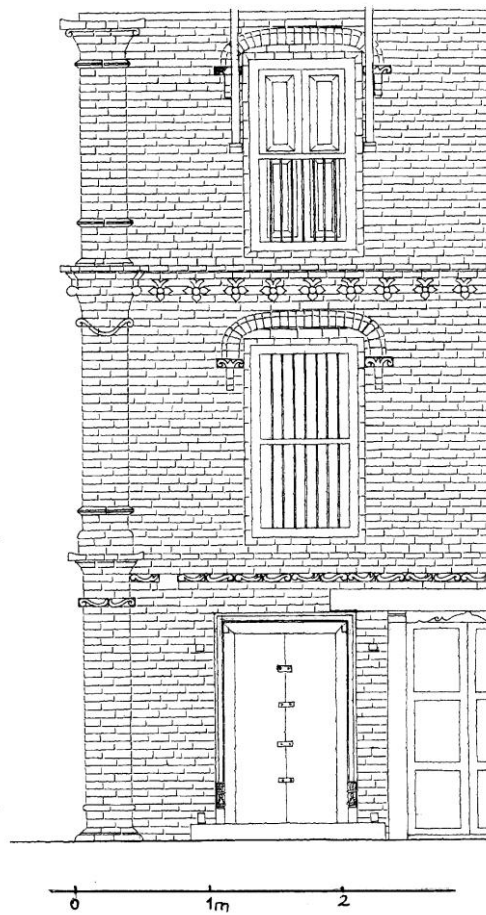


Fig. 285
Section of the brick façade with decorative friezes, arches and pilasters. Floral motif on the first floor.
Drawing by Anil Basukala (November 2006).

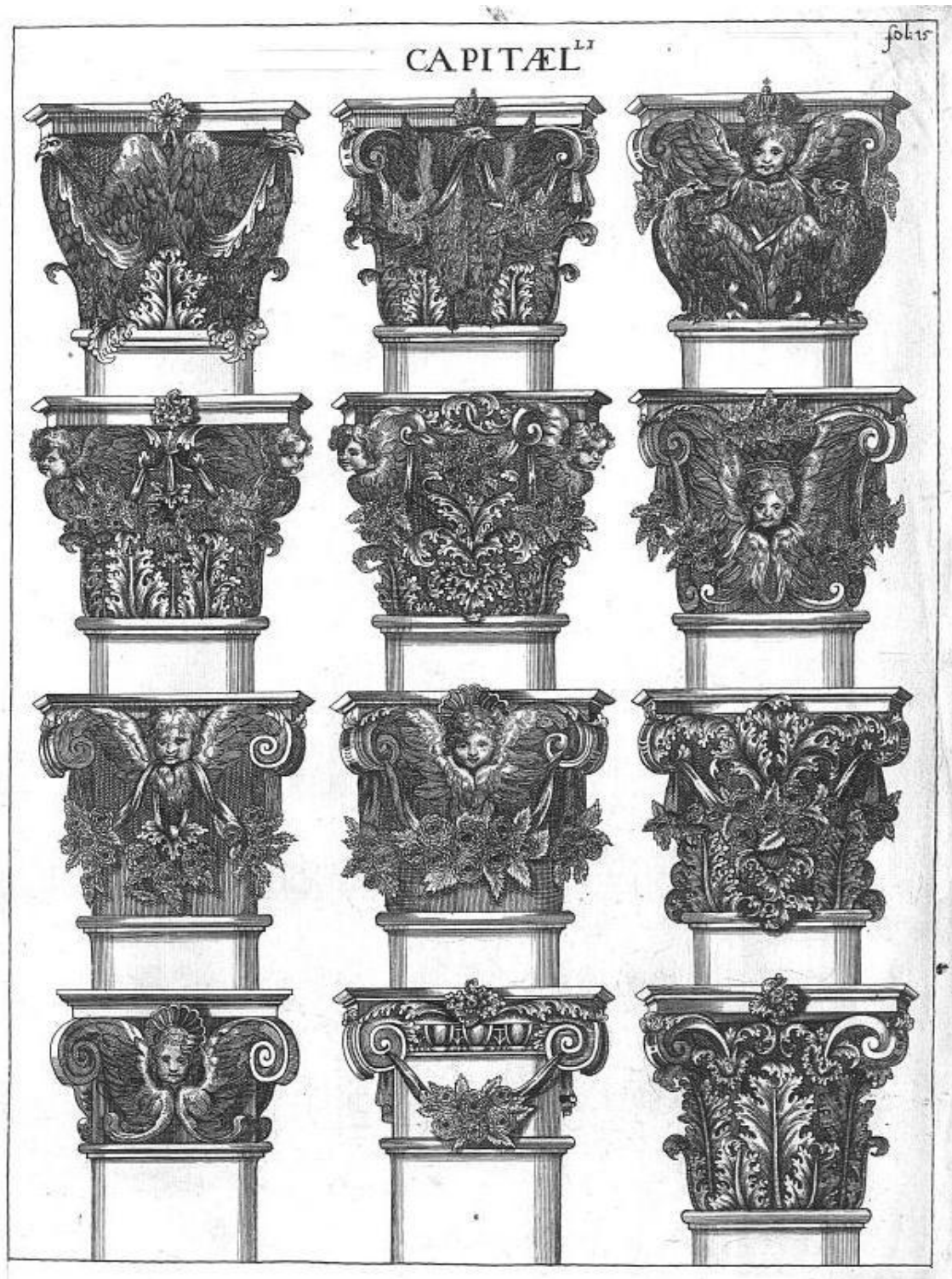


Fig. 286
 Johann Indau, *Wienerisches Architectur-Kunst- und Säulenbuch*,
 Augspurg 1722: Plate 15 shows different patterns for Composite
 capitals with bird and angel décor, acanthus and volutes. They were
 created as variations of classic patterns by Indau himself and are
 representatives of the Viennese style.
 Source: University Library Heidelberg.



Fig. 287
Patan, Saugah: Acanthus capital with female angel with bare breasts.



Fig. 288
Patan, Mikabahī: Black haired angel with square neck.



Fig. 289
Patan, near Mahābaudha Temple: Capitals with angels with a square neck and a festoon at a Shakya house.



Fig. 290
Patan, Ikhāchē (dismantled): Capital with female angel with naked breasts, volute clasps and flower ornaments.



Fig. 291
Dhulikel: Capital with winged figure resembling a *gandharva*. He holds a garland and is surrounded by blue foliage.



Fig. 292
Dhulikel: Capital with a nude *apsara*. She has a *tika* on her forehead, holds a flower-garland and is moulded in a rustic style.



Fig. 293
 Patan, Tyāgaḥ: A nude Art-Nouveau female angel embellishes the
 façade of a two-storey house with dwarf-storey.



Fig. 294
 Khokana: Female angel above the lintel (after 1934).
 Photo by Niels Gutschow (November 2007).



Fig. 295-296
Patan, Mahāpal.



Fig. 296
Brick-and-plaster
façade, as seen
from a narrow
lane.

Fig. 295
A female angel holding a flower
garland is cleverly made part of
the triangular gable above the
central window in the first floor.

Fig. 297-298
Patan,
Thapahiti,
Khadgi
house.



Fig. 297
The main building with the
neoclassical gable was built
before the earthquake, the
triangular addition after 1934.
The original owner was
Kṛṣṇavīr Khadgi.



Fig. 298
A decorative angel standing on a console at the
corner pilaster wears a wrap-around skirt and a top
with a bow and holds a flower in her right hand.



Fig. 299-302
Patan, main road, Nugah.



Fig. 299, 300, 301, 302
(clockwise)
Plastered façade, as seen from the street; A female angel leans against a window cornice above the central window in the first floor. The figure replaces the triangular gables existent at the outer windows. The Composite capitals in the first floor receive the angel topic: Loosening their garment the female angels are erotically depicted with bare breasts. The capitals in the second floor are embellished by mascarons.



Fig. 303-305
Patan, main road, Hakhā,
Shakya house (1940s).



Fig. 303
Plastered façade, as seen from the street.

Fig. 304
A female angel with a *tika* on her forehead and black hair is situated above the central window in the first floor.

Fig. 305
The pilasters in the second floor are adorned by mascarons.

Fig. 306-309
Patan, Nakabahī.



Fig. 306
The centre of a symmetrical cartouche is adorned by a fairy-like angel standing cross-legged wearing a wound garment and holding a frazzle of cloth in her hand.

Fig. 307, 308
Detail of the half-columns and the lavish ornamentation of their bases and capitals.



Fig. 309
The brick-and-plaster façade exhibits hybrid décor.

Fig. 310

Bhaktapur, Kvāchē: Detail of the carved outer frame of the shrine. *Apsara* in clouds with crests in the form of foliage. The figure holds a garland, wears a crown and has a bent leg posture.



Fig. 311

Bhaktapur, Kvāchē: Detail of a wooden miniature blind window (*dyahjhyāḥ*). *Apsara* wearing a crown and floating scarf which together with the bent legs suggests that the figure flies in clouds.



Fig. 312

Patan, Sundari Cok: The cantilever of a wooden capital is adorned by a winged figure in a lunge position wearing a cap with a feather-like attachment and holding a club. Probably early 18th century.





Fig. 313
Bhaktapur, Kvathu Maṭh in Tacapāl, (1748): A detail of a mural in a small room of the building depicts winged celestial spirits in the Rajput style. They hold lotus flowers in each hand and wear hats that resemble the Ottoman fez. They ride on stylised Chinese clouds. The room is one of the very few painted interiors from the late Malla period that still exist.



Fig. 314
Patan, Sundari Cok: Wooden *torana* (first half of the 18th century). The winged figures on the wall depicted like the Persian *pāri*-type with long garment and crown-like hats may be identified as winged *vidyādhari*. Their wings are clearly separated from the arms. They bear flower garlands and fly towards the main deity.



Fig. 315
Bhaktapur, Jēlā: Flying figures with garlands depicted in the Persian *pāri*-type with long garment and crown-like hats at the spandrel of a 19th century window. The feet are visible and are positioned one upon the other.



Fig. 316
Patan, Chabahī: Detail of a Licchavi *caitya*, with foliate scroll *kinnaras* flanking the niche on either side. The *kinnaras* have a bird-like body and the head of a human.
Picture taken from: Slusser, Mary: *Nepal Mandala. A Cultural Study of the Kathmandu Valley*. Vol. II. Princeton, New Jersey 1982, Plate 266.

Fig. 317
 Bhaktapur, Lākulāchē:
 Flying figure with winged
 arms depicted in the Persian
pāri-type with long
 garment, a *kurtī*-like, tight-
 fitting jacket that opens in
 the front, a floating scarf
 and a jelly bag cap at the
 spandrel of a door. The feet
 are visible and are
 positioned one upon the
 other.



Fig. 318
 Bhaktapur, Pāṭiṃgāh: An
 apron plank is adorned by a
 pair of flying figures with
 winged arms. The figures
 are depicted in the Persian
pāri-type with long
 garments, *kurtī*-like, tight-
 fitting jackets that open in
 the front, floating scarves
 and helmet-like hats. The
 feet are visible and are
 positioned one upon the
 other. The centre is
 embellished by a stylised
 acanthus.



Fig. 319
 Bhaktapur, Gāḥḥiti: An
 apron plank is adorned by a
 pair of flying figures with
 winged arms. The figures
 wear crowns and bear
 garlands.





Fig. 320, 321
 Bhaktapur, Kvāchē: The winged figures on the wall, dressed in saris and wearing crown-like caps, may be identified as *kinmaris*, *apsaras* or *vidyādharis* holding flower garlands. The feet are visible and are positioned one upon the other.



Fig. 322
 Buddhanilkanta: An angel replaces a keystone. Winged figures with bent legs on the wall frame the window and hold drapery in a neoclassical manner.



Fig. 323, 324

Jean Le Pautre: *Oeuvres D'Architecture De Jean Le Pautre.*

Architecte, Dessinateur & Graveur du Roi. Vol. I. Paris 1751:

Details of Plate 3_6 and 4_5 illustrate the essence of the décor of many cartouches at Newar neoclassical houses – female figures or winged putti holding garlands and presenting a cartouche. There are parallels between the iconography – mainly the depiction of the postures and the garlands – of Newar *kinnaris*, *apsaras* or *vidyādhari*s and European neoclassical angels.

Source: University Library Heidelberg.



Fig. 325-328
Patan, Saugah, Shakya house
(ca. 1935) on main road.

Fig. 325
The plastered façade, as seen
from the street, presents delicate
neoclassical ornaments.



Fig. 326
Composite capitals
with angels with
bare breasts.



Fig. 327
A pair of winged figures with flexed legs holds
garlands and presents a cartouche with an
inscription: *Śrī trīratna saugala tola sā na 93*,
“Blessed three jewels Saugah locality number 93”.



Fig. 328
Frieze of putti and garlands above the Newar shop front.



Fig. 329
The brick-and-plaster façade, as seen from the courtyard, opens up with three upright windows in the first and second floor.

Fig. 329-331
Patan, Cālāchē.



Fig. 330
The inscription is framed by a scrollwork cartouche and presented by a couple of wingless fairy-like women with flexed legs who also hold decorative bands: *Śrī yanamugula toXX cālāche naṃvara || 169*, [Śrī yanamugula to[la] cālāche naṃbara || 169], “Blessed Yanamugaḥ locality Cālāche number || 169”.



Fig. 331
The pilasters in the first floor are adorned by two birds that frame a flower vase, like fish frame the auspicious vase in Buddhist tradition. The façade is built with unglazed bricks (*māpā*) and lime putty.



Fig. 332
Patan, Wambāhā: A couple of garland-holding, winged, female figures wearing necklaces is a melange of Newar and European concepts. They may be both ornaments and symbols of protection and present a Rocaille cartouche. It gives information about the year of construction, the day of consecration and the name of the locality: *Śrī 2 2001 sālā roja 1 baṃvāhāla ṭola*, [Śrī 2 2001 VS sālā roja 1 baṃbāhāla ṭola], “Twice blessed the year 1944, Sunday, Wambāhā locality”.



Fig. 333
Patan, Jhataphvaḥ: Two female angels with long, curly hair hold a plaque. The scene depicted on the bas-relief is unidentified.

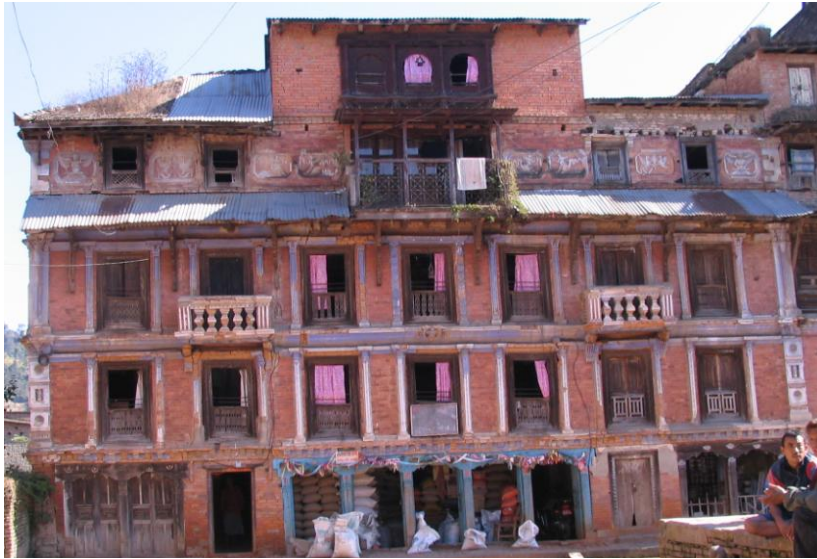


Fig. 334-340
Sankhu, Sālakhā locality
(ca. 1910-20).

Fig. 334
The façade boasts
neoclassical and
Newar design.



Fig. 338
Inscription above
the central window
in the first floor: *Śrī*
Sālakhāṭola jhoche
naṃ 52, "Blessed
Sālakhā locality Jho
house number 52".

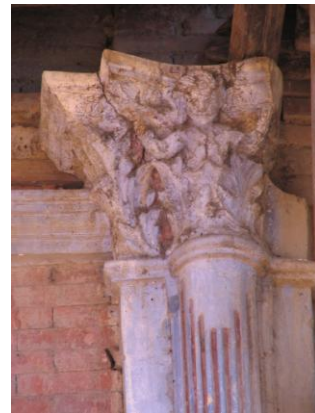


Fig. 339
The consoles of the
balconies are adorned
by lion masks.

Fig. 340
The capitals present
figures that are formed
like caryatides.



Fig. 335, 336, 337
Eight stucco relief-plaques are embedded
in the brick wall of the dwarf-storey:
Trumpet playing *kinnaris*; griffins with a
torch; female angel presenting a role with
acanthus leaf décor.



Fig. 341, 342
Jean Le Pautre:
*Oeuvres
D'Architecture De
Jean Le Pautre.
Architecte,
Dessinateur &
Graveur du Roi. Vol.
I. Paris 1751 : Nr 1.
Curieuses recherches
de plusieurs beaux
morceaux d'Ornement
Antique & Moderne,
tant dans la Ville de
Rome que dans les
autres Villes & lieux
d'Italie , deßinés &
mis en lumiere par
Adam Philippon , &
gravés par le Pautre.
En vingt-six Planches.*
Source: University
Library Heidelberg.



Fig. 343
Patan, main road, Ranjit house in
Gabāhā (1907): The striking
similarity between European
patterns and Newar stucco décor as
revealed by the caryatid with
acanthus abdomen implies the
knowledge of European pattern
books.



Fig. 344

Jean Le Pautre: *Oeuvres D'Architecture De Jean Le Pautre. Architecte, Dessinateur & Graveur du Roi. Vol. I. Paris 1751 : Nr 1. Curieuses recherches de plusieurs beaux morceaux d'Ornement Antique & Moderne, tant dans la Ville de Rome que dans les autres Villes & lieux d'Italie, deßinés & mis en lumiere par Adam Philippon, & gravés par le Pautre. En vingt-six Planches. Caryatides.*

Source: University Library Heidelberg.



Fig. 345

Patan, Darbār Square: European-style caryatides enjoyed popularity in the Kathmandu Valley: Eight caryatides – black-haired angels with wings – frame the three-sectioned windows.



Fig. 347
Patan, house at Wanabāhā: The figures on the pilasters resemble *yakṣiṇīs* and hold a bouquet of rose-like flowers above their heads.

Fig. 346
Patan, Ukubāhā: Timber roof-strut with *yakṣiṇī* and *yakṣa* motif on the north side of the bāhā facing the courtyard. The *yakṣiṇī* (*salabhañjika*) with crossed legs grasps a branch of a sal tree with her extended arm.
Photo by Stanislav Klimek (October 2006).



Fig. 348
Patan, house in Mahāpāl: Atlantes are a rarity in the Kathmandu Valley.



Fig. 349
Patan, main road, Ranjit house at Gabāhā (1907): A caryatid adorns a niche.

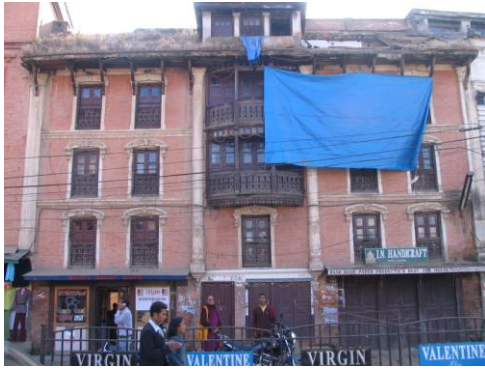


Fig. 350

The superb façade exhibits an accentuated centre with balcony and timber balustrade, seen from the main road.



Fig. 351, 352
The colossal half-columns are borne by consoles in the form of caryatides. The shafts are adorned by Art-Nouveau design.



Fig. 353

Extract from the mantra *Om mani padme hum* that is repetitively presented on the frieze in the first floor of the grand urban villa at the entrance to Patan alongside its main street. The mantra is cited 21 times in Ranjana script, ten times on the frieze on the left and right side to the centre and one time above the central window in the first floor.

Fig. 350-353

Patan, Naṭol: Jyāpū Sardar house (after 1934).



Fig. 354
Jean Le Pautre, *Oeuvres
D'Architecture De Jean Le
Pautre. Architecte, Dessinateur
& Graveur du Roi*. Band I. Paris
1751: Plate I_16 depicts
mascarons patterns.
Source: University Library
Heidelberg.



Fig. 355
Patan, Haka:
Mascarons with
foliage faces adorn
the corners of the
two colossal
pilasters. The faces
frame palmette
design.

Fig. 356
Patan, Hakhā:
Mascaron capital
with acanthus.

Fig. 357-360
Patan, Kishinani, Shakya house (before 1934).



Fig. 357
The house is placed at a corner of the courtyard. It is said to have been built before the earthquake, according to Ganeshman Shakya. His grandfather, Dhana Jyoti Shakya, who used to be carpenter, erected the house. The corner-house façade exemplifies the interplay of neoclassical and indigenous art. It is no longer in its original state of repair and probably used to be larger. Votive plaques made of plaster – two are probably missing on the outer left side – show the images of Avalokiteshvara, Nāmasangiti, Padmapāṇi, Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī (from left to right).



Fig. 358, 359
Above all, this unique façade has two different kinds of mascarons which invest the house with remarkable beauty. Tiny masculine terracotta-like stucco faces which are probably brick-dust mouldings alternate with triglyphs and embellish the frieze between the first and second floor.



Fig. 360
Pilaster, decorated by floral tendrils. From the capital the viewer is watched by the enlivened glass eyes of a mascaron framed by acanthus leaves.

Fig. 361-365
 Patan, Om̐bāhā Ṭol, Shakya house (post-earthquake).

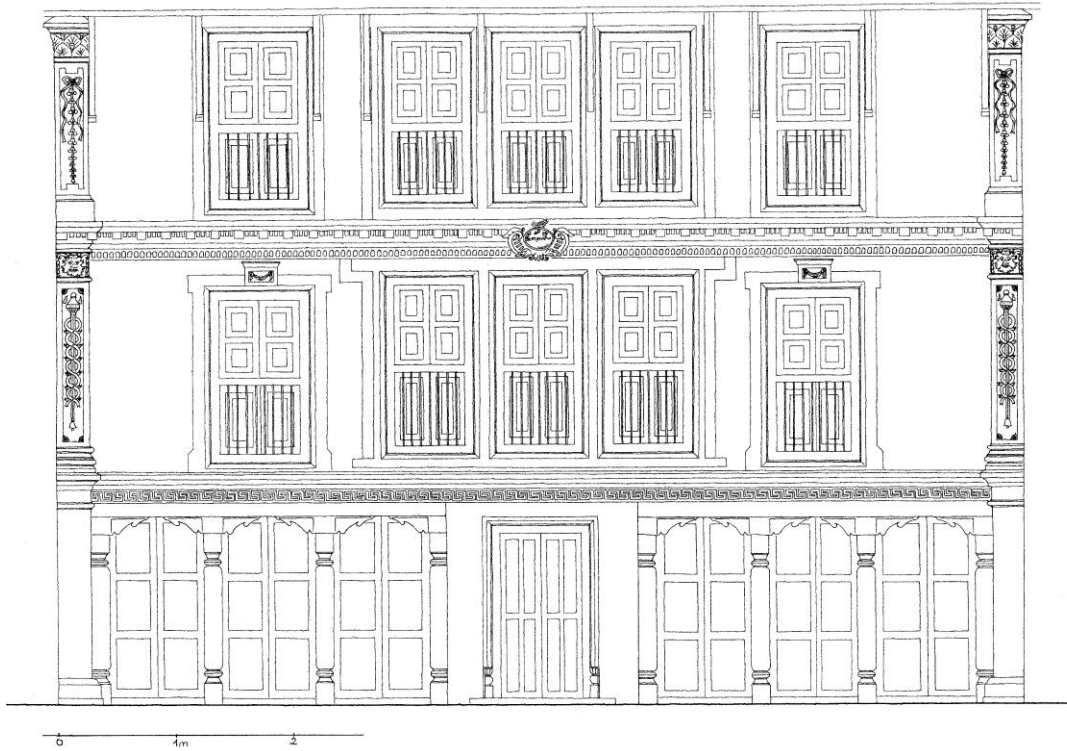


Fig. 361
 Brick-and-plaster façade (bricks are not depicted on the drawing), as seen from the courtyard. The ground floor presents two Newar shop fronts framing the central entrance. In the first and second floor, a tripartite upright window is framed by upright windows. The house used to be covered by a heavy, tiled roof.
 Drawing by Anil Basukala (December 2006).



Fig. 362
The ornament of the pilasters in the first floor is derived from the *caduceus*. The snakes are replaced by ribbons in the form of a double helix. There may be a semantic relation between the Newar interpretation of the classical symbol for Hermes as the protector of merchants and the original owner Mohan Lal Shakya who used to be a businessman dealing with silver metal. The stucco dentil pattern of the fascia is cleverly integrated between the protruding beam ends.



Fig. 363
Shakya house in December 2006.



Fig. 364
Mascaron with foliage
face, horns and
margents on the shaft
of the pilaster in the
first floor.



Fig. 365
Scrollwork cartouche
with damaged
inscription, saying *Śrī*
Om̐vāhālaṭola [...],
“Blessed Om̐bāhā Ṭol
[...]”.

Fig. 367-368
Patan, Svatha.



Fig. 367
Two triangular gables are decorated by mascarons with foliage faces.

Fig. 366
Brick-and-plaster façade, as seen from the street.



Fig. 368
Detail of the gable with mascaron and dentils.



Fig. 369-370
Patan, Gujībāhā.

Fig. 369
Neoclassical vocabulary in the first floor while special emphasis is put on the central window by a lion mask with a naturalistic expression. The snakes traditionally clasped in the mouth of a *simhamukha* are replaced by leaf tendrils.



Fig. 370
Characteristic Newar alignment of the openings in the ground floor with a huge entrance of a passage in the centre. The generous façade offers enough space for a modern version of a window with five openings rarely found on 19th century buildings.



Fig. 371
Bhaktapur, Cāsukhel: The lion that adorns a frieze resembles the stylised masks of Newar deities.



Fig. 372
Bhaktapur, Icchu: The house presents rustic stucco décor including this lion keystone.



Fig. 373
Kathmandu: Halo face with horns
(*kīrttimukha*) situated at the apex of the
eastern niche of a Śikharakūṭacaitya at
Tebāhā with Bodhisattva Maitreya.
Kīrttimukhas grasp snakes in their mouth
and claws.

Drawing taken from: Gutschow, Niels:
The Nepalese Caitya. Stuttgart London
1997, p. 48, drawing by Bijay Bāsukāla.

Fig. 374-375
Pharping, house near Vajrayoginī Temple.



Fig. 374, 375
The façade boasts a hybrid vocabulary: A detail of
the central window in the first floor shows a
kīrttimukha with horns. The aquatic animals
(*makaras*) have acanthus fins and the main deity
Vajrasattva in the centre sits on an acanthus
throne instead of lotus.

Fig. 376-377
Patan, Nyākhācuka.



Fig. 376, 377
A *kīrttimukha*, “halo-face”, above the
entrance of a neoclassical entrance to a shrine
shall terrify the demons.

Fig. 378-383
 Bhaktapur, near Pāṭiṃgāḥ in Golmāḍhī, Kasai house (1934).



Fig. 378, 379, 380, 381
 The parting of the lion's mane takes the form of a fleur-de-lis. An ogee arch characteristic for Mughal design is found atop the horned animal. It resembles a *kīrttimukha* that swallows snakes. The latter have turned into leaves in the lion's mouth. The black-haired angel is placed above the central window.

Fig. 382
 The stucco ornamentation at the house of a butcher family is said to have been moulded by plasterers from Patan.



Fig. 383
 The pilasters show aquatic animals with foliated scrolls in the shape of acanthus.

Fig. 384-388
Patan, Haugah.



Fig. 385
A majestic lion with vine tendrils in his mouth is placed between the two windows in the second floor.

Fig. 384
Plastered façade, as seen from the street.



Fig. 386
The inscription creates a Buddhist context and provides the address: *Trī raXXX maṅgala haugala ṭola 298*, [Trira[tna] maṅgala haugala ṭola 298], “Three jewels Mamga Haugah locality 298”.



Fig. 387
The pilasters are adorned by the half-reliefs of female figures that lean against an umbrella and hold a flower, which is part of the capital above their heads. Their iconography is reminiscent of dancing *yakṣiṇīs* on Newar struts.



Fig. 388
Patan, Ukubāhā: A *yakṣiṇī* and a *yakṣa* on a timber-strut on the north side of the bāhā facing the courtyard. The *yakṣiṇī* is depicted as a goddess of the Buddhist sacred grove (*salabhañjika*) with crossed legs, grasping a tree branch with her extended arm. Photo by Stanislav Klimek (October 2006).



Fig. 389-393
Bhaktapur, Muldhokā.

Fig. 389

The residence was erected by Ram Krishna Bhadra in 1933. During the earthquake in 1934 only the projecting roof was damaged. The Bhadra family tended to have good contact with the Ranas. Ram Bhadra, a well educated son of Ram Krishna, became a teacher of Mohan Shamsher.



Fig. 390, 391

The wall is fully plastered, yet bricks are imitated. The three stucco figures which embellish the façade of this house represent Rāma with Hanumān on the left side and Lord Kṛṣṇa on the right side. According to his granddaughter the builder chose these figures on the occasion of his name, "Ram Krishna".



Fig. 392

The hybrid capitals combine the Ionic order with a peacock figure and a lotus frieze.



Fig. 393

Stylised lion with leaf tendrils above the central window.

Fig. 394-396
Patan, Michubāhā.



Fig. 395
A pair of row-houses next to the shrine shares the same neoclassical design on their pilasters.



Fig. 396
The capitals of the outer pilasters bear acanthus design with little angels. A delicate lion is glued below the capital.

Fig. 394
The central pilaster is embellished by arabesques, a tiny figure and a lion mask with festoon.



Fig. 400
A lion mask adorns the neoclassical frieze in the first floor.

Fig. 397, 398, 399 (clockwise)
Façade, as seen from the street;
Pilasters, embellished by vase and flower design. The capitals are characterised by busts of female angels who loosen their garments and are depicted with bare breasts; Detail of the shaft presents small birds that pick from the blossom.

Fig. 397-400
Patan, Saugah.



Fig. 401-410
Patan, Darbār Square.

Fig. 401

Hem Narsing Amatya, who built this majestic house in 1945, was a supplier of spices to the Rana Court. His *nāyāh* was Lakṣmī Jyoti Gubhāju of Nahbahī. Today the building houses the Non-Profit-Organisation Kathmandu Valley Preservation Trust.



Fig. 402, 403, 404, 405

Roman initials intermingle with Devanagari letters. Four aspiring pilasters frame the three arched windows, their capitals being embellished by four Devanagari letters that spell Raghunāth, the name of Lord Rāma.



Fig. 406, 407, 408

The majestic façade boasts neoclassical décor such as bouquets and a lion serving as keystones or garlands and decorated consoles. The pediments of the balcony are adorned by bas-reliefs depicting goose-like birds (*hamsa*) that symbolise the essence of life and the cosmic breath.



Fig. 409, 410

The keystones of the two outer windows in the second floor bear the Roman letters “H” and “B”, initials for Hem Narsing Amatya, the builder’s father, and Bhakta Narsing Amatya, the builder’s elder brother.

Fig. 411-413
Patan, main road, near Wanabāhā.



Fig. 411, 412
A rather rustic plastered frieze presents lion masks and female heads, also found on the capitals in the first floor.



Fig. 413
The long façade has a repetitive alignment of openings interrupted only by the *sājhyāh*, with delicately carved late 19th century design in the second floor. The windows in the first floor are in a transitional style: Vertical windows with an apron and grilled ceiling but open in the upper half. In the second floor there are carved timber ceilings.



Fig. 414
Patan, Cakabāhī: The aspiring pilasters of a house in the Māmga locality are adorned with lion masks once painted yellow at the level of the cornice.



Fig. 415
Patan, Nāgbāhā: Fountain for drinking water (*jaḥdhū*) (13th century). The water pipes, or literally “nipples” (*durupipī*) of the spouts, “breasts” (*durupvāḥ*), have veneers in the form of a male and female European-style stucco lion mask.



Fig. 416
Patan, Haugah: A pair of lions is depicted in the flat design of a bas-relief of a plank of a window. They present a *vajra*, which is the Buddhist “diamond”, and may also symbolize the Three Jewels.



Fig. 417
Patan, main road, vicinity of Ribāhā: A bas-relief depicts a pair of lions in full relief. They present a Buddhist wheel of dharma (*chakra*) and the crown of the universal monarch (*chakravartin*). The symbols of the moon and sun are found above the lions. Gazelles, emblem for the turning wheel of *dharma*, and dogs that protect the deer are placed next to the lions.



Fig. 418
Bhaktapur, Pujari Math at Dattatreya Square: “Peacock Window” (*mhaykhājhyāḥ*) (1763).



Fig. 419
Bhaktapur, Jēlā: The blind window takes up the format of a Newar early 20th century window. The window frame is plastered and the peacock moulded in stucco.



Fig. 420
Dhulikel: The peacock motif is realised in brick and adorns the façade below the gable.

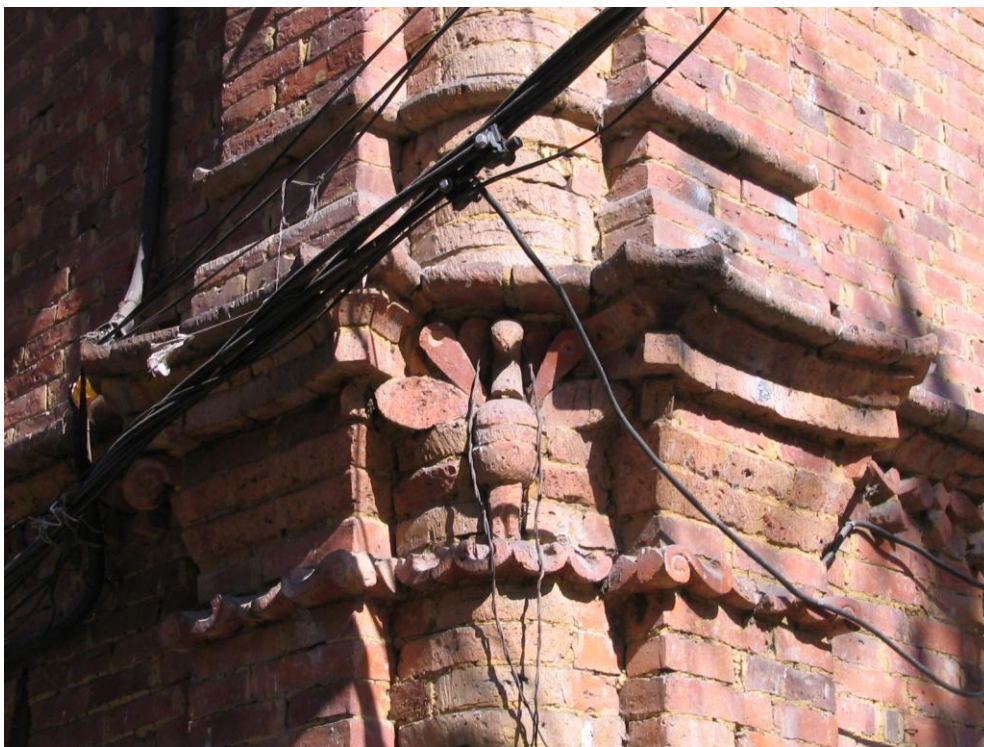


Fig. 421, 422

Bhaktapur, Inacva: A house in the vicinity of the god-house (*dyaḥchē*) of Maheśvarī presents ornate peacock capitals moulded in stucco.

Bhaktapur, Chuma: The peacock capital is a local peculiarity of Bhaktapur and was even made of worked brick.

Fig. 423-429
Bhaktapur, Taumādhī, Hada house (1955).



Fig. 423, 424, 45, 426, 427, 428, 429 (clockwise)

The three-storey house was erected by Jitlal Hada. Its completely plastered façade stands in contrast to the brick-lined houses in the neighbourhood. One façade turns towards the street and is characterised through the repetitive front and its blind windows which imitate the carved balustrades of the windows. The other façade encloses a courtyard. The sunken surfaces of the ornate panels are charged with floral décor. The passage way is embellished by neoclassical entrances. Aspiring neoclassical pilasters are adorned by local motifs such as the peacock and lotus.



Fig. 430
Bhaktapur, Tacapāl: A flower bouquet in a vase decorates the shaft of a colossal pilaster and at the same time replaces a capital.



Fig. 431
Patan, near Mākābhā: Half-column with a pot-like lower part with acanthus décor resembling a baluster column.



Fig. 432
Patan, Neuta: Pilasters are decorated with neoclassical vase design.



Fig. 433
Dhulikel: Vases made of multi-part brick embellish a façade.



Fig. 434
Patan, Yanamugah: A bouquet decorates the pedestal of a pilaster.

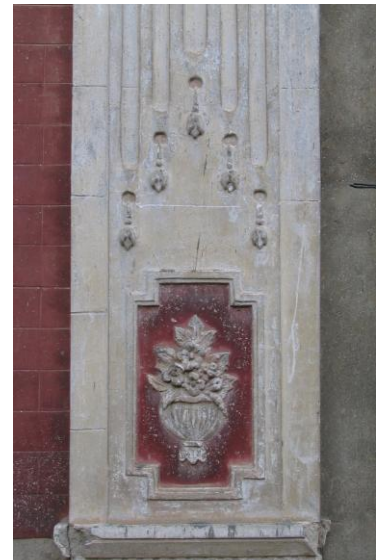


Fig. 435
Patan, Nakabahī (dismantled): A bouquet adorns a pilaster.



Fig. 436, 437, 438

Bhaktapur, Inacva: A *sattal* beside the god-house (*dyahchē*) of Maheśvarī presents the construction date of 1947 A.D. While the auspicious vase (*puṇakalaśa*) becomes a keystone, Rocaille cartouches present the single Sanskrit syllable *Om̐* - a seed mantra (*bīḷamantra*).



Fig. 439, 440

Bhaktapur, Yālāchē: A *puṇakalaśa* is found above the entrance to a house. It is formed by auspicious symbols. The belly shows a diamante pattern like an interior field of a cartouche.





Fig. 441, 442, 443

Patan: House at Nāgbāhā: A *purnakalasha* is presented on a lotus and replaces a keystone above a window; house at Darbār Square: The design of a *purnakalasha*, adorned by a *svastika* symbol, intermingles with neoclassical décor and replaces a keystone above a door; House at Gābāhā: Auspicious vase with stylised lotus leaves.



Fig. 444

Bhaktapur, Tibukchê: A European-style cartouche meets a Newar *purnakalasha* at a house in Bazaar Street.



Fig. 445

Patan, Bhīchēbāhā: A *purnakalasha* is part of an inscription saying *Dhanvantarī*, presented in a European-style cartouche with volute clasps. *Dhanvantarī* is an avatar of Viṣṇu. He appears in the Vedas and Puranas as the physician of the Gods and the God of Ayurvedic medicine. Worshipers pray to Lord *Dhanvantarī* seeking his blessings for sound health for themselves and others.

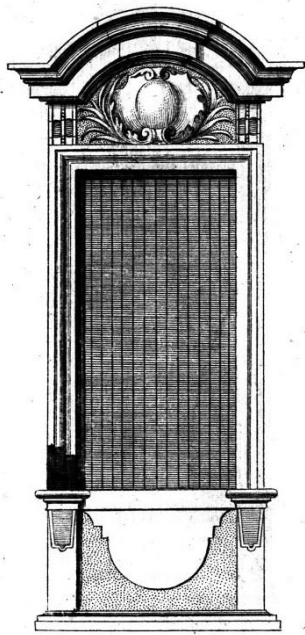


Fig. 446
Johann Rudolph Fäsch, *Grund-mäßige Anweisung Zu den verzierungen der Fenster*, Band 1, Nürnberg 1720, Plate 31: Window with scrollwork cartouche and foliage.
Source: University Library Heidelberg.



Fig. 447
Patan, Gābāhā: Scrollwork cartouche with foliage.
A lion peers from above the gable.

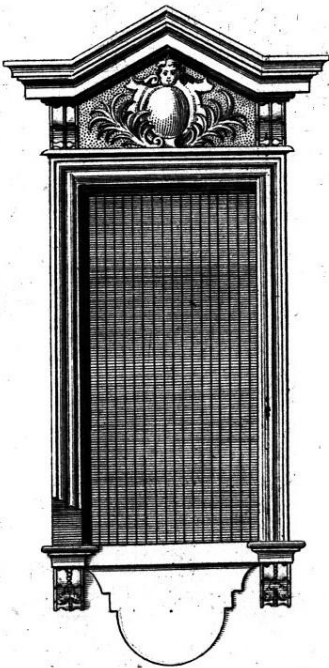


Fig. 448
Johann Rudolph Fäsch, *Grund-mäßige Anweisung Zu den verzierungen der Fenster*, Band 1, Nürnberg 1720, Plate 59: Cartouche with foliage and a human head.
Source: University Library Heidelberg.



Fig. 449
Patan, Nāgbāhā: Scrollwork cartouche with human head presented by a pair of lions or the guardian figures “lion son and tiger daughter” (Simghīnī and Byāghīnī).

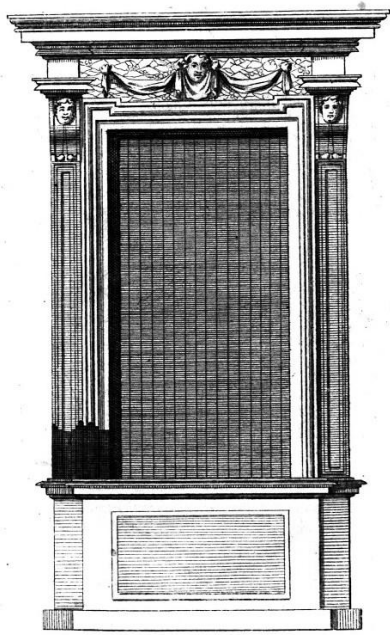


Fig. 450
Johann Rudolph Fäsch: *Grund-mäßige Anweisung Zu den verzierungen der Fenster*, Band 1, Nürnberg 1720. Plate 25 presents the design of a Baroque window. The frieze and consoles on the ears of the architrave are embellished by masks. Source: University Library Heidelberg.



Fig. 451
Patan, Neuta: The central window of a Joshi house is similarly adorned. The frieze is embellished by a female angel who presents the manuscript-like inscription *Śrī nam 145 yakakṣebakūṃ vāhāla*, "Blessed number 145 detached house Bakūmbāhā".

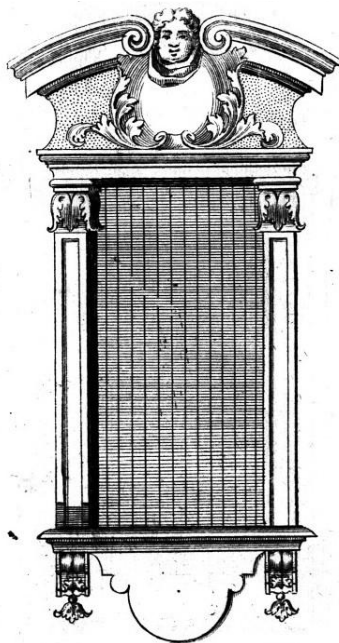


Fig. 452
Fäsch's Plate 49 shows a window and decorative architrave with Rocaille and figurative embellishment. Source: University Library Heidelberg.



Fig. 453
Bhaktapur, Thekhāco near Thuline: The sopraporta of the central window of an ante-earthquake Jonchhen house is decorated by a Rocaille keystone with a female angel's head.



Fig. 454, 455, 456, 457, 458
Patan: House in Hakhā; Pradhān
house in Haka; house at Nāgbāhā;
house at Mahāpāl; house near
Tichugalli. Rocaille and scrollwork
décor of keystones.



Fig. 459, 460, 461
Patan: Capitals are often adorned by
Rocaille elements: House near
Wambāhā, house at Gujībāhā,
Vajracharya house near Chāyabāhā.

Fig. 462-466
Patan, Dhālaycā, Amatya house (after 1934).

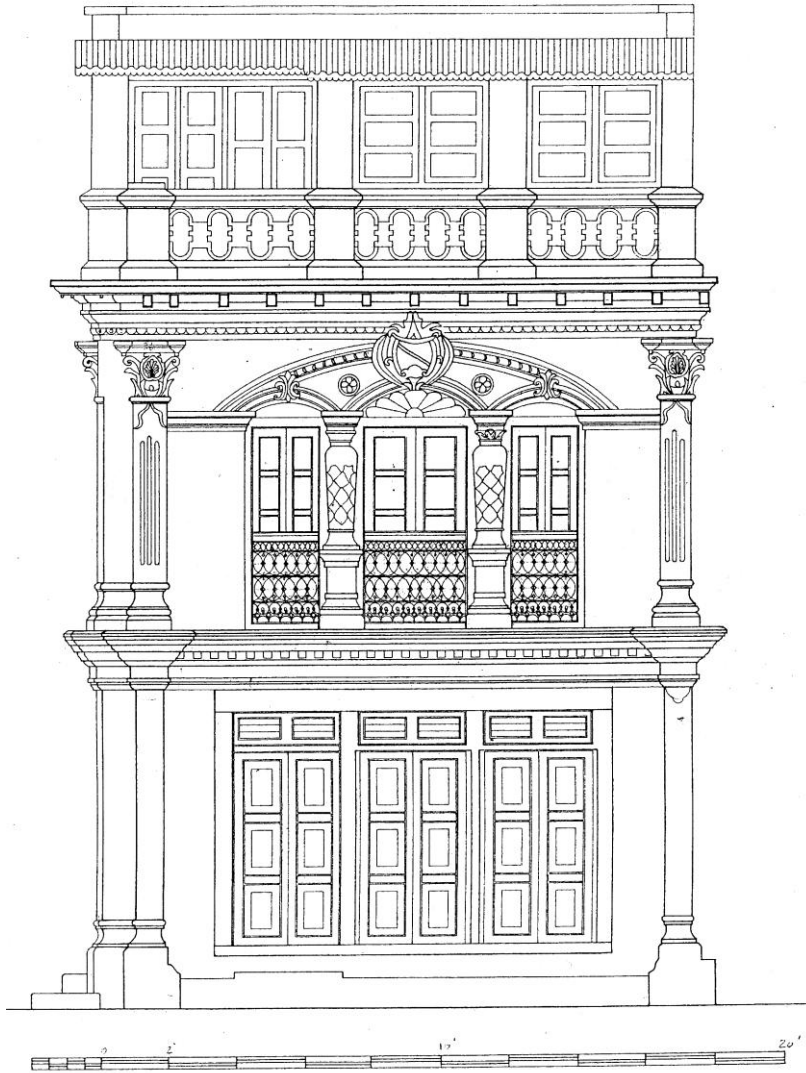


Fig. 462

Plastered and whitewashed façade, as seen from the small square in front of the unusual house with only two storeys and a turret behind the eye-catching balustrade on the flat roof. In the ground floor, the ostentatious façade opens up with a modern version of a Newar shop front. Three upright windows with cast-iron balustrades in the first floor; segmental arches above the windows. The pilasters that frame the façade and the three-quarter columns next to the window openings are crowned by colossal, black capitals. Striking design of the neoclassical fascia.

Bekhāratna Dhākvā of Jhatapvaḥ, who was engaged in trade with Tibet, was the original owner of the house. Reportedly, a Vajrācārya from Gābāhā was the *nāyāḥ*. Drawing by Sushil Rajbhandari (1992).



Fig. 463
Composite, black capital with
palmette motif, volutes and a
beamy abacus.



Fig. 465, 466
Keystones with Rocaille décor, fascia
with egg-and-dart and leaf pattern.
The arches are embellished by a
Lesbian cymatium.



Fig. 464
The Amatya house in 2004.

Fig. 467-469
Patan, house near Bhīchēbāhā.



Fig. 467
Facade, as seen from
the courtyard.



Fig. 468, 469

The images on the two votive plaques present Svayambhunāth, eastern access (above) and Hari-Hari-Hari-Hara vāhana Avalokiteśvara (below): Siṃha, the mythological lion-faced animal, is ridden by the snake Ananta upon which rides Garuḍa. Ananta and Garuḍa are the vehicles (*vāhana*) of Viṣṇu, who is depicted with green skin, holding a club, conch and lotus, while making the gesture of protection, the boon-granting gesture, and holding a rosary, an iron hook and a *caitya*. The paintings are framed by a square stucco picture frame. The façade of this house comes without any European decoration but merely the upright window and the meticulous perspective painting. The plaques replace the square format of grill windows.

Fig. 470-472
Patan, house near Nakabahī.

Fig. 470
Façade, as seen from the street.



Fig. 471, 472

Two votive plaques are exhibited in the first floor. The left one depicts the Svayambhunāth Mahācaitya (eastern access). The painter was not fully ended with the technique of the central perspective as show the lozenged floor tiles. Heavenly, wingless female figures are placed in the sky holding flower garlands. The image of the eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara on a lotus throne is found on the right plaque. He holds (clockwise): manuscript, noose, lotus, vessel, gesture of protection, boon-granting gesture, iron hook, rosary. A white, plastered arcade of a Rana palace – possibly Thapathali – and the summits of the Himalayas are situated in the background.

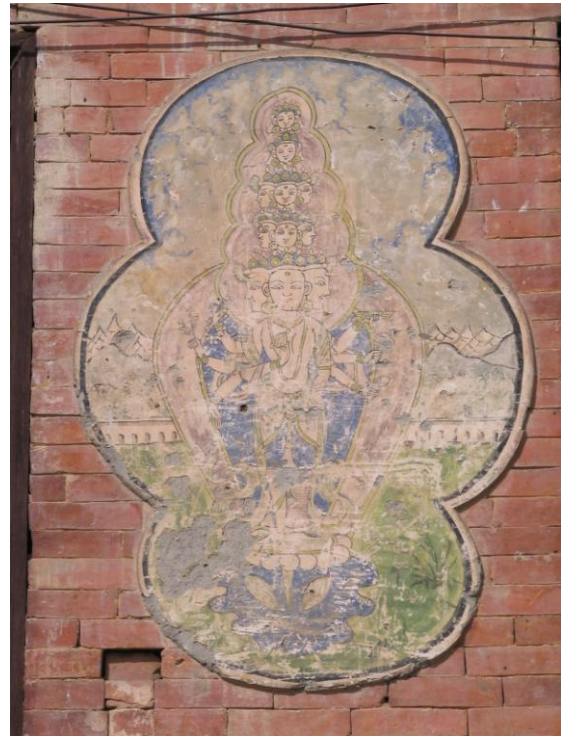


Fig. 473

Patan, Chāyabāhā (after 1934): The edifice combines Newar building elements such as the strict symmetry of the brick façade, the wooden 19th century window, and the four coloured votive plaques, with European elements like the plastered pilasters with Ionic and acanthus capitals and stucco window frames. The cornice and frieze are also mantled with plaster and there is space on the frieze for presenting the *Om maṇi padme huṃ* mantra four times on either side of the door.

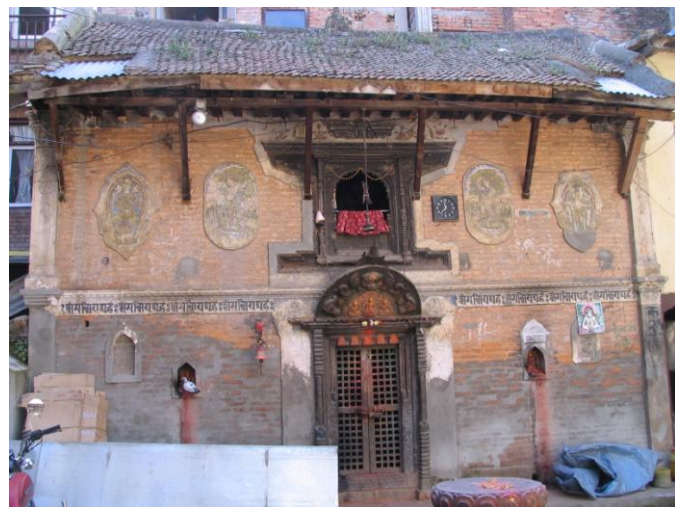




Fig. 474, 475, 476, 477

Patan, Chāyabāhā (after 1934): The plaques are painted in a provincial version of the Rajput style. Top: Hari-hari-hari-hara vāhana Avalokiteśvara (left); Māyādevi rests under a tree. She stands on a lotus throne in a lake and shows the boon-granting gesture towards the three little ascetics who open their bags (right); Bottom: Māyādevi stands under a tree. With her left hand she shows the boon-granting gesture. Buddha's birth is depicted in a succession of two images in one: The Bodhisattva, depicted twice as a tiny black figure, appears from Māyādevi's right side. He stands on a lotus flower while three little figures, the four-headed Brahmā, green-skinned Viṣṇu and white Śiva await the Buddha with open bags (left); Black Tārā with black skin and a lotus flower shows the boon-granting gesture (right).

Fig. 478-482
Patan, house at Guitabāhā (1940s).



Fig. 478
Façade, as seen from the courtyard. The concept of the Newar tripartite window was turned into neoclassical vocabulary with Doric pilasters.



Fig. 479, 480, 481, 482
There are four painted stucco plaques. First floor (bottom): Māyādevi, Buddha's mother, rests under a tree. She wears a striped top, is crowned and her head is surrounded by a halo. She shows the boon-granting gesture (left). The Bodhisattva, depicted as a tiny brown figure, appears from Māyādevi's left side. The little figures next to her are probably Brahmā, Śiva, and Viṣṇu. A rice field is located in the background, maybe according to the rural surrounding of the house in Guita (right); second floor (top): Eight-armed Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara with crown on a lotus pedestal. His attributes are clockwise: manuscript, noose, lotus flower, vessel, boon-granting gesture, iron hook, rosary, gesture of argumentation (left). Padmapāṇi holding two lotus flowers and showing the boon-granting gesture. The clay vessels in the left side of the image were painted in occasion of a girl's symbolic marriage (*ihī*). Stylised, puffy clouds and rolling hills in the background (right).

Fig. 483-391
Patan, house at Nalachībāhā (ca. 1944).

Fig. 483
The façade presents a European vocabulary, e.g. neoclassical window frames, cartouches and Composite capitals. The inscription *triratnaḥ* above the central window in the first floor and the painted votive plaques are Newar idioms.



Fig. 484, 485, 486
Bottom: In the first floor only three plaques survive. The figure on the left plaque is in bad condition and cannot be identified. Saravatī playing a Vīṇā and her gander (*haṃsa*) are depicted in the middle. Acala is found on the right plaque.

Fig. 487, 488, 489, 490
Top and middle (from left to right): The images in the second floor show Nāmasangiti with twelve hands; the shrine of the Buddha of Nalachībāhā framed by two figures, Śariputra and Maūdgalāyana; a *caitya*; a *dharmadhātumaṇḍala*.

Fig. 491
The five Buddhas (*pañcabuddha*) painted on plaster above the two outer doorways provide information about the identity of the house owner and his religious affiliation as *buddhamārgī*. Such pictures are usually renewed on the occasion of a marriage.

Fig. 492-497
Patan, Vanagatabāhā.



Fig. 492, 493
Left: Two votive plaques frame the window above the entrance of the shrine with *torana*. Left side: Māyādevi rests under a tree with three little ascetics who open their bags; right side: Māyādevi with striped top gives birth to Buddha Śākyamuni. Right: The façade across the corner presents the four guardian kings on four votive plaques.

Fig. 494, 495, 496, 497
The four guardian kings (*caturmahārājas*), all dressed in Tibetan outfits. Clockwise: Caityarāja, guardian of the west, holding a snake and a *caitya*; Khadgarāja, guardian of the south, holding a sword (*khadga*) and a manuscript; Kubera (Dhvājarāja), guardian of the north, holding a banner (*dhvāja*) and a mongoose; Vīṇārāja, guardian of the east, playing a *vīṇā*.



Fig. 498-501
Pharping.



Fig. 498
Façade, as seen from the street.
With its construction date of
1911 CE this is one of the
earliest examples of dated
houses in the Kathmandu Valley.



Fig. 499, 500
The façade is embellished by plastered pilasters and cornices and
mythical stucco figuration: Sarasvatī riding a *makara* and Lakṣmī
riding a tortoise. They are identical with the river goddesses Gangā
and Yamunā.



Fig. 501
The house is presented
by a plaque saying *Śrī*
Kāch[yā] X tola
nambara XX 1968,
“Blessed Kochya X
tola number XX
1911”.

Fig. 502-506
Patan, house at Mangal Bazaar (1924).



Fig. 502, 503
Consistent with the inscription, the divine couple Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī is presented on a pedestal and framed by a multifoil arch on the pilasters in the first floor.



Fig. 504
Dragons embellish the pilasters with acanthus capitals in the second floor.



Fig. 505
Façade, as seen from the street.



Fig. 506
Śrī lakṣmī nārāyaṇ haugala ṭolanamvara 173 sāla 1924, [Śrī lakṣmī nārāyaṇ haugala ṭola naṃbara 173 sāla 1924 VS], "Blessed Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇ Haugaḥ locality number 173 year 1924".

Fig. 507

The “Pointer” was a popular icon in Europe, its colonies and the United States of America in the beginning of the 20th century. It was frequently used in advertisements. In Nepal the icons “advertise” Newar house inscriptions. The image may have arrived in Patan through British advertisement and catalogues received by the Newar merchants of the city.

Source: *Scientific American. Architects and Builders Edition*. March. New York 1893.



A POINTER !
Of all hand stamps ever invented,
BUCK'S PATENT
Flexible Hand Stamp

It prints on any surface, either plain convex, concave or yielding, being formed of rubber type, mounted on a rubber pneumatic cushion. A few first-class general agents wanted, to whom special territory will be given. Beware of imitations and infringements.
T. S. BUCK, Inventor and Sole Manufacturer,
127 Worth Street, N. Y. City.



Fig. 508

Sankhu, Sālkhā: *Śrī trī ratna sālṣāṭol naṃbara 524 1980 sārā*, “Blessed Three Jewels/ Sālkhā locality nr. 524/ VS 1980”) gives the construction date of the Śreṣṭha house to the year 1923.

Fig. 509-510

Patan, house near Nakabahī.



Fig. 509

Façade, as seen from the street.



Fig. 510

The inscription says: *Trīratna nakavahī tola naṃ: 6*, [Trīratnaḥ nakabāhī tola naṃbara 6], “Three Jewels Nakabahī locality number 6”. Two “pointers” present the text.



Fig. 511
Façade, as seen from the street. Even though this house has upright windows and carved railings, it is provided with latticed windows in the first floor, as are Newar houses built before the 20th century.

Fig. 511-512
Patan, house in Thapahiti.



Fig. 512
Framed by a Rocaille cartouche, the inscription says: *Śrī 3 triratna*, “Blessed three times the Three Jewels”. The text is framed by the sun and moon and an icon of a hand that points the finger at the text. The counterpart is probably missing.



Fig. 513
Patan, Dhapagaḥ:
Neoclassical cartouche with the Buddhist inscription:
Triratnaḥ āryā tārā sarana
[Triratnaḥ ārya tārā śaraṇa]
“Three Jewels take refuge to honourable Tara”.

Fig. 514-516
Patan, house in Thapahiti.



Fig. 515
Śrī nhephare thapātpola rāmpala 52, “Blessed Nhephale Thapātol number 52”. The inscription is provided with decorative attachments: The moon (*candra*) and sun (*surya*) are symbols of protection. The two hands, “pointers”, are European icons.

Fig. 514
Façade, as seen from the street.



Fig. 516
The capital is embellished by a female bust. Since the capital is damaged the construction technique is traceable.

Fig. 517-518
Patan, house in Mahāpāl.



Fig. 517
Śrī nhāgala tola mahāpāla mūgalachā lamvla 74 sāla 1045, [Śrī nhāgala tola mahāpāla mūgalachā lamvla 74 sāla 1045 N.S.] “Blessed Nhāga locality, crossroad Mahāpāl, Mūgalachā courtyard 74, year 1925”. Moon and sun are part of the inscription.



Fig. 518
Façade, as seen from the courtyard.

Fig. 519-524
Patan, house near Nalachībāhā
(dismantled in 2007).



Fig. 519
Façade, view towards west.

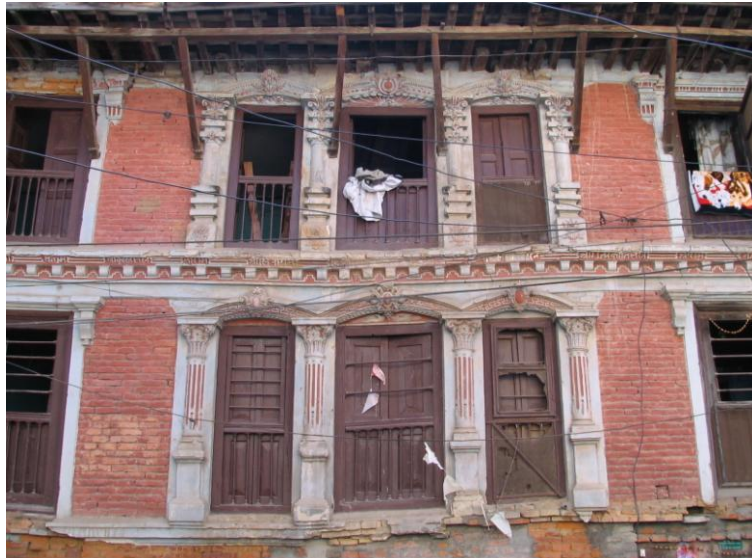


Fig. 520
The façade boasted interpretations of neoclassical décor that were intermingled with local forms, e.g. the tripartite windows and projecting roof.



Fig. 521, 522, 523, 524 (clockwise)

Ornate stucco sculptures related to a religious context, e.g. Lakṣmī holding two lotus flowers in two of her four hands; neoclassical keystones, intermingled with European icons (“pointers”) and presented with running dog and bay-leaf décor and birds; tripartite windows with eclectic pilasters; capitals with human heads and prayer that used to stretch across the cornice. Several gods and goddesses are worshipped in the text written in Devanagari: *Śrī rāma / śrī lachumna / śrī rādhyasyāma / śrī kīṣna saraṇa / śrī rāma / śrī kṛṣṇa saraṇa / śrī rāma / śrī sitā rāma / śrī [...] / [...] / śrī guṇyakālī saraṇa / śrī rāma / Bhagavatī saraṇa / jya karuṇā-nidhyāna saraṇa / śrī bhīmasyaṇa*. It may be translated as “Blessed Rāma / blessed Lakṣmaṇa / blessed Rādhesyāma / blessed take refuge in Kṛṣṇa / blessed Rāma / blessed take refuge in Kṛṣṇa / blessed Sītārāma / blessed [...] / [...] / blessed take refuge in Guhyakālī / blessed Rāma / take refuge in Bhagavatī / hail take refuge in the store of mercy / blessed Bhīmasena”.

Fig. 525-526
Patan, house
at Tajabāhā.



Fig. 525
Śrī tāre maṁ śaraṇa kārhi, “Carry me to refuge”. The inscription is presented in a scroll-work cartouche with mystic animals and the moon and sun.



Fig. 526
Façade, as seen from
the courtyard.

Fig. 527-529
Patan, house
in Tyāgaḥ.



Fig. 527
Façade, as
seen from
the street.



Fig. 528
A female bust adorns the
capitals.



Fig. 529
Śrī paśupatīnātha kī jaya jaya rāma, “Hail, hail to Paśupatināth, hail, hail, Rāma”.



Fig. 530-531
Patan, house in Thati.

Fig. 530
Śrī dakṣiṇakālī hāratimāī mahalakṣmī sarṇa, “Blessed refuge to Dakṣiṇkālī, Hārītī, Mahalakṣmī”. The protective goddess Hārītī is praised on the plaque, together with Mahalakṣmī and Dakṣiṇkālī. Mahalakṣmī is one of the eight mother goddesses (*aṣṭamātrkāś*) and has a temple in Patan. She is also one of four of the *aṣṭamātrkāś* for which people from the castes of “untouchables”, Dyahḷā, daily serve as god-guardians. The Dyahḷās of Patan are settled in four localities, corresponding with the cardinal directions, and each attached to specific *pīṭh* gods and goddesses. In the South of the city the Dyahḷā locality of Thati is associated with the *pīṭh* goddess Mahalakṣmī. The text refers to the specific *pīṭh* goddess of the locality where the house is situated. Where the symbols of the sun and moon are expected, there are two flowers head screws in plaster.



Fig. 531
Façade, as seen from the street.



Fig. 532
Patan, vicinity of Ikhābāhā:
Blak na 3 652, [Blak
naṃbara 3 652], “Block
number 3 652”, the latter,
an Anglicism, implicates
the striving for indigenous
modernisation in the
Kathmandu Valley.

Fig. 533
Sankhu, Dhomlā:
According to the plaque
and inscription *Śrī*
Ugratārā DHUNLA TOLE
2015, “Blessed Ugratārā/
Dhomlā locality/ VS 2015”
the Śreṣṭha house was built
in 1958. It combines
Devanagari script and
Roman letters.



Fig. 534-535
Sankhu, Jyapu house in
the locality of Calākhu.



Fig. 534, 535
Façade, as seen from the square.
The four-storey house bears the
inscription *Śrī Bajrajoginī śarṇa*
2015, “Blessed take refuge to
Vajrayoginī 1958”.

Fig. 536-537
Sankhu, Khadgi house at Dhomlādhvākhā.



Fig. 536, 537
Façade, as seen from the street.
Śrī dholātola naṃmbara 72 sambata 1998 sāla [Śrī
Dhomlā ṭol naṃvara 72 saṃvat 1998 VS sāla] meaning
“Blessed Dhomlā locality number 72 1941 year”. The
inscription exemplifies both the lack of orthographic
conventions and the usage of loanwords. The word
sāla, “year” is a Farsi loanword, “sāl”, which in Hindi
and Newari is “sāla”.

Fig. 538-541
Patan, Īkhāchē.



Fig. 538
Colossal pilasters with a sun motif, palmette and acanthus capitals.



Fig. 539
Entrance to the Buddhist monastery Ānābhāhā.



Fig. 540, 541
Above the passage way that leads into the courtyard, a frieze with two lines recites the *dhāraṇī*: [...] *vate ralaketu rājāye tathagatāyārhate saṃgaktam vuddhāye || tadyatha || om rale 2 / [...] jaye svāhā || vuddhadharmasaṃghaḥ || triratna || śaraṇa || āXXvāhāla ||*. The *dhāraṇī* glorifies the Adibuddha as Ratnaketu (Ratnasambhava), one of the five transcendental Tathāgatas. The text is written in Prachalit, yet the design of the letter “e” reveals irregularities. One time, it is depicted in Devanagari, the other time in Prachalit. The frieze in the first floor resembles art deco design and is supported by the nine times repeated Buddhist formula *Tāre māma*, “Tārā my refuge”.



Fig. 542-544
Patan, house at Mahāpāl.

Fig. 542
The central window is framed by slender, fluted pilasters with Corinthian capitals.



Fig. 543, 544
Small pedestals in the architrave-zone, on which the words *Rāma/ Sītā*, “*Rāma/ Sītā*”, are set in Devanagari letters. The window opening is crowned by a scroll-work cartouche whereas the frieze above resembles the Doric metope-triglyph frieze with a classic dentil pattern.

Fig. 545-547
Patan, house in Ilāchē.



Fig. 545
Façade, as seen from the street.



Fig. 546
Ornate acanthus capitals embellish
the pilasters.



Fig. 547
The *bījamantra Om̐* is presented on the
entablature of the central window in the first
floor. The single syllable is incorporated in a
fancy Art Nouveau style décor.

Fig. 548-551
 Patan, Nyākhācuka: Shakya house (around 1945).



Fig. 548, 549
 Façade, as seen from the courtyard.
 White plastered pilasters and acanthus capitals frame the façade.

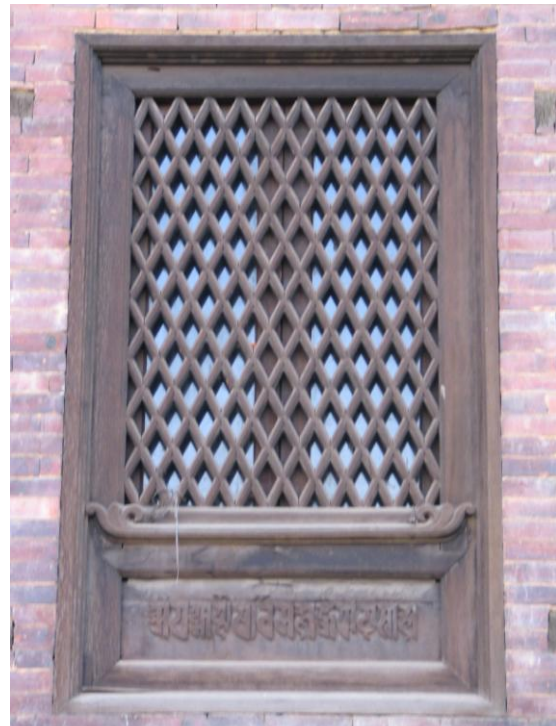


Fig. 550, 551
 Three upright lattice windows bear Tantric mantras in the first floor. The two outer windows present the mantra *Om maṇi padme huṃ*, two times each and are divided by the diamond (*vajra*) symbol. The central window reveals another mantra, *Ōm padmo snisa bimalle huṃ phaṭ svāhā*.



Fig. 552

Patan, Josinani: Two neighbouring houses present the intermingling of Western and Newar concepts of design in the first half of the 20th century. The façades present the very idea of an open house front. The left house is characterised by monumental stucco inscriptions in Devanagari letters, saying *Buddha/ Dharma/ Samgha* and *Śrī svayambhu : tāremāṇi śarṇa : āryyatārā* : “Blessed svayambhu/ refuge to tārā/ honourable tārā” while each word is set above an opening. At the right house, the mantra *Om maṇi padme huṃ hrī* is set in Ranjana script under each window. The repetition of the mantra reflects the architectural order of the tripartite window.

Fig. 553

Patan, Kvābāhā: The façade of the Vajracharya house (after 1934) is decorated by three Newar votive plates showing the images of the White Tārā, Avalokiteśvara and the Green Tārā. The façade-long mantra of white painted stucco letters on the frieze in the first floor presents the mantra: *Om namo bhagavatya āryyatārāya locane || sulocane || tāretārot bhava sarvvasavānu kaṃyini sarvasatvatāmisahaśra bhuje sahaśraṇetre avalokayamāṇ sarvastvanā ca huṃ phaṭ svāhā 1180 [11]*.

Siddhi Bajra Vajracharya erected this house. He and his son, Ciri Kul Bajra Vajracharya, used to be plasterers at the Rana palaces. Siddhi Bajra Vajracharya is said to have been a plasterer at Singha Darbār and Nārayanhiti, whereas Ciri Kul Bajra worked in Ratnamandir of Phewātāl.



Fig. 554-559
Patan, house in Svathaṭol.



Fig. 554
Svathaṭola nam 19, [Svatha ṭola nambara 19], “Svatha locality number 19”.



Fig. 555
Façade, as seen from the street.



Fig. 556, 557, 558

A mystic formula is arranged on the plastered pilasters of the house where characteristic Newar latticed windows are found. The single syllable *Om* decorates the pilasters in the first floor (left). On the outer pilasters with lotus and acanthus capitals in the second floor (middle) the mantra *e vaṃ ha kṣa ma la va ra yaṃ* is recited in an Art Nouveau cartouche. The triple window is framed by Ionic pilasters, embellished by the mantra *ma ṇi pa d remya huṃ* (right).

Fig. 559

The outer windows in the second floor are framed by Ionic pilasters that are adorned by the *aṣṭamaṅgala* in the shape of a vase.





Fig. 560-562
Patan, *guthichê* (ca.
1948) at the northern
caitya.



Fig. 560, 561
Seven-syllable monogram related to Mahāyāna Buddhism above
the oculus of the transverse gable. Framed by the two syllables “e”
and “vaṃ” the decorative pattern resolves in the syllables *ha kṣa ma*
la va ra yaṃ. It is protected by a pair of mythical dragons.
The façade faces the *caitya*. The building was established by Kula
Narsingh Shakya from Nakabahī.



Fig. 562
A Greek key pattern embellishes the frieze.

Fig. 563-566

Bodnāth: The house was erected by the Japanese Ekai Kawaguchi in the 1910s.



Fig. 563

The façade of the majestic three-storey house combines Asian iconography and European design. The house is located vis-à-vis the *caitya*.



Fig. 564, 565

Depictions of a meditating guru meet with lions, festoons and the Greek key.



Fig. 566

The pilasters in the first floor present the mantra *e vaṃ ha kṣa ma la va ra yaṃ* in the decorative Ranjana script.

Fig. 567-570
Patan, Chāyabāhā: Vajracharya house (1934)
Nr. 487 in the locality of Nakabahī.



Fig. 567
The artistic interpretation of European models into aquatic creatures and female heads on Newar capitals at a Vajrācārya house implies the knowledge of European pattern books.



Fig. 568
A little shrine of Gaṇeś (1935) is set against the wall of the house.



Fig. 569, 570
A sophisticated stucco technique and a love for neoclassical décor are reflected in the filigree pilasters with husks; the dentil pattern that frames the eared architraves of the windows; and in the metope-triglyph and egg-and-dart frieze. Next to the pilaster in the first floor, there is a niche for Garuḍa under a snake-hood, the vehicle of Viṣṇu. The pilasters in the second floor are embellished by Ranjana script, saying *Lakṣmī*.

Fig. 571-
572
Patan,
Naudvā.



Fig. 571
Façade, as
seen from
the street.



Fig. 573
Patan, Mahāpāl: *Śrī Prakāśa-nibāsa* 2029,
“Blessed Prakash residence 1972”.



Fig. 572
Śrī Buddha Puṇya-nibāsa
2025, “Blessed Buddha
Punya residence 1968”.



Fig. 574
Patan, Belakhubāhā: The
Vajracharya house is inscribed *Śrī*
nakṣṭrajyāḥ gurju-nibāsa 2041,
“Blessed nakṣṭrajyāḥ Guruju
residence 1984”.



Fig. 575
Patan, Belakhubāhā:
Lakṣmī-nibāsa 2038,
“Lakṣmī residence 1981”.

Fig. 576-581

Patan, near Mikhābāhā, Vajracharya house (1911).



Fig. 576

The three-storey building with a dwarf storey is provided with a roof terrace and an additional staircase with flat roof. The façade is characterised by its brick stone with a red scumble on its front side (*dātipā*) and six votive plaques presenting (from left to right) a white and multi-armed figure (bad state of repair), the holy site of Svayambhunāth, the motif of Hari-hari-hari-hara-vāhana Lokeśvara and Harita Tārā (green Tārā). Plastered fasciae and slender half-columns frame each storey and are set in front of a rustication on the first and second floor while a diamond-pointed rustication is imitated by plastered bricks. Originally, three doors in the ground floor, three upright windows in the first floor, and an elaborately carved central tripartite window, *sājhyāḥ*, flanked by two windows in the second floor. The projecting roof above the second floor is borne by wooden struts.

Drawing by Bijay Basukala and Asaram Twayana.



Fig. 577
Pot-like element with *desisvā* motif
resembling a baluster column at the foot
of the tapering shaft.



Fig. 578
A female head adorns the shaft in the
first floor.



Fig. 579
Detail of the door: Vase-like element
with lotus leaf design at the bottom of
the colonnette. The inner door frame
is embellished by walnut pattern
(*khvāṣī*).



Fig. 580
Detail of the carved
timber reliefs of the
apron planks: tendrils
entwine around a dancing
female figure and
peacocks.



Fig. 581
Detail of the carved
timber reliefs of the
apron planks: Monkey
with jackfruit and
peacock.

Fig. 582-586
 Patan, Guitaṭol, Śhākya house (before 1934) at Guitabahī.

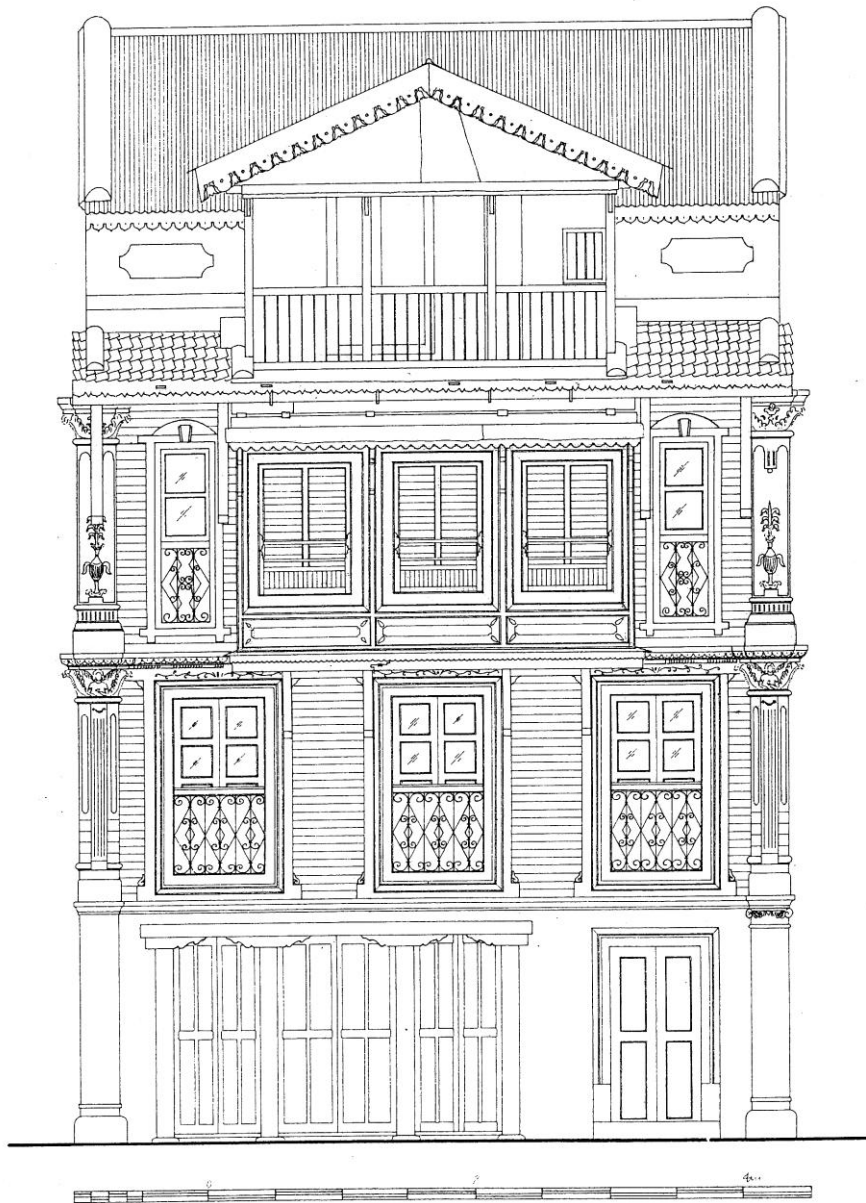


Fig. 582

Three-storey building with an additional dwarf storey. The gable roof is provided with a lucarne. On the ground floor, the Śhākya house opens with a tripartite Newar shop front and an additional door. The rest of the façade is characterised by a symmetrical alignment of window openings and façade design. There are three room-high windows with decorative wrought iron balustrades on the first floor. A tripartite wooden bay window protrudes from the wall at the centre of the façade on the second floor. The bay window is protected by a canopy that is covered by corrugated iron sheet. Slender window openings with wrought iron balustrades at both sides of the bay window. Plastered corner pilasters embellish the façade in each storey. Drawing by Gyanendra Joshi (1992).



Fig. 583
Painted brick-and-plaster façade facing a spacious courtyard. From the perspective of the viewer the residence is annexed at the left side to an outer wall of Guitabahī.



Fig. 585
Photograph of the builder, Āśāram Shakya, looking outside the central window of his house. Āśāram Shakya worked at Singha Darbār, used to work for Kṛṣṇa Shamsher and reportedly was the *nāyāḥ* of Śītal Nivās (1923).



Fig. 584
Bust of a female angel framed by acanthus on the capital in the first floor. The figure wears a necklace, several bangles and a bracelet with flower décor at each arm. The arms are bent and in its hand the angel holds a flower. The central stem of the acanthus leaves resembles a belt of beads at which hang bell flowers. The fascia with the dentilation and Lesbian cymatium bends to right angles and decorates the abacus.



Fig. 586
Stucco vase with flowers, detail of the pilaster decoration in the second floor.

Fig. 587-588

Patan, near Cākabahī, Tamrakar house (ca. 1940).

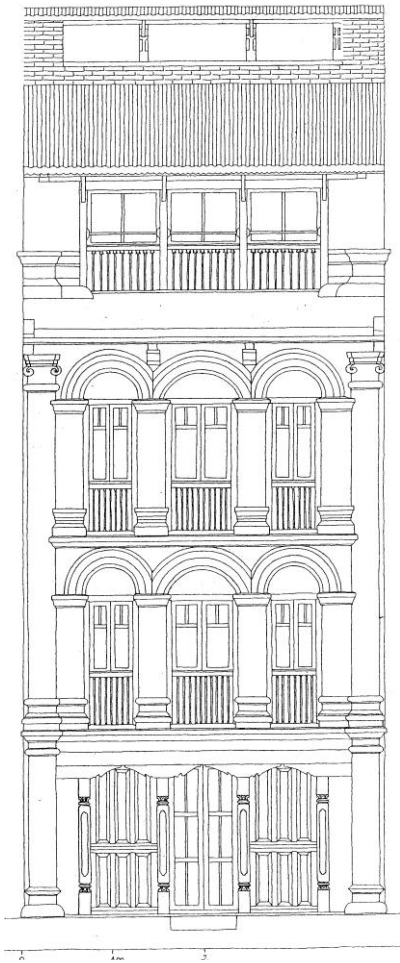


Fig. 587

The façade is fully plastered and is organised by three door and vertical window openings on each of the four floors including the open dwarf storey above the projecting roof. A simple fascia optically subdivides the first and second floor. The façade design on the first and second floor is almost similar except the form of the bases of the pilasters. The vertical axes are underlined by the alignment of the openings one upon another.

Furthermore the colossal half-columns that frame the façade on the first and second floor put emphasis on the house's height while the ground floor is framed by separate pilasters. Four window-high pilasters are in each case set in front of the slender wall stripes next to and between the window openings on the first and second floor. They bear the semi-circular arches above the windows.

Drawing by Sushil Rajbhandari (1992).



Fig. 588

The Tamrakar house in 2004, a slender building integrated in a row of houses. The Tāmṛakārs traditionally are coppersmiths who make copper and brass wares like household utensils and metal decorations. They are sold in the ground floor by the son of the original builder. The caste name “Tāmṛakār” is derived from the Sanskrit words “tamra”, meaning copper and “aakar”, meaning shape or to give shape.

Fig. 589-590
Bhaktapur, Bolāchē, Joshi house (after 1934).

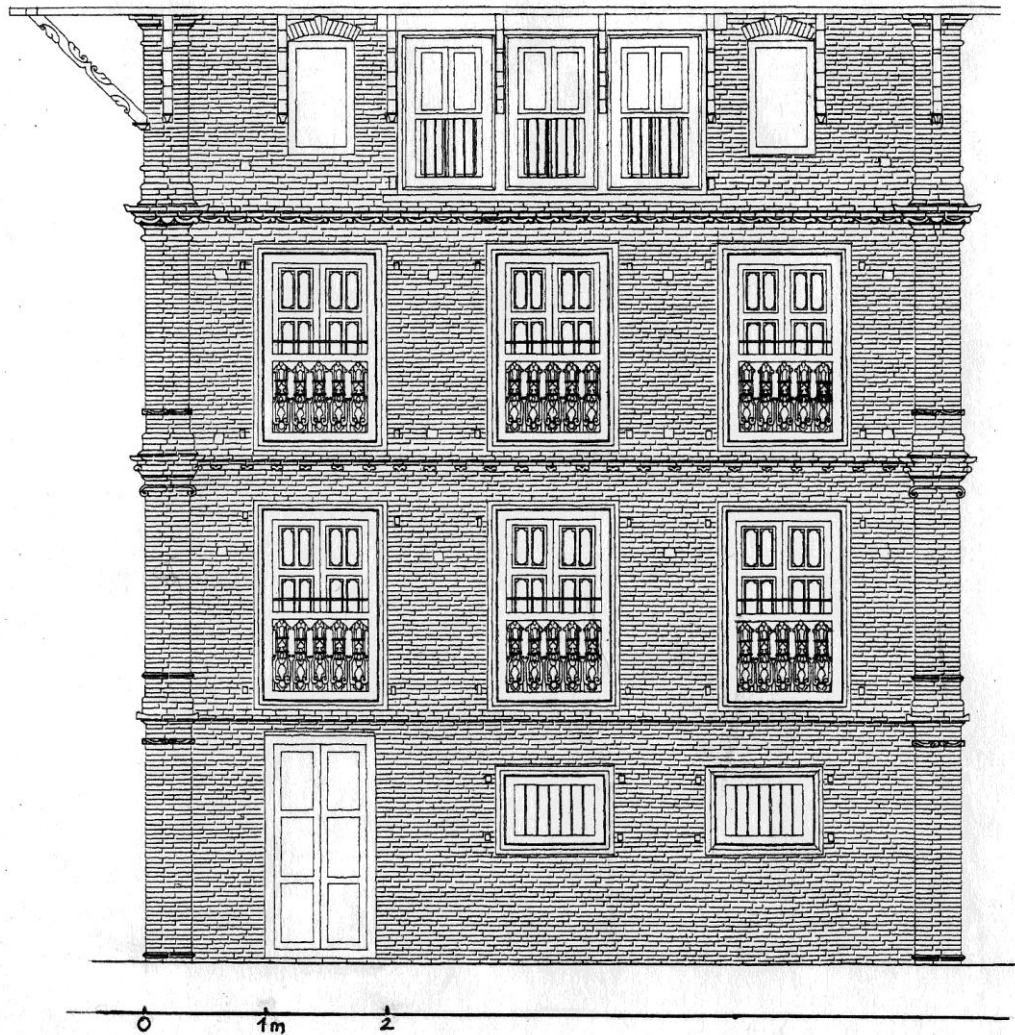


Fig. 589
The house's main brick façade with the entrance turns towards a courtyard. The storeys are optically divided by protruding brick cornices. Two pilasters with capitals on each floor level frame the front. Only on the first and second floor is axuality strictly kept through the vertical and horizontal alignment of the three vertical windows. Except the ground floor, the façade is symmetrical. The ground floor has a door on the left side and two horizontal rectangular windows. This floor was possibly modified and may thus not present the original state of repair. On the fourth floor level the centre of the façade is underlined by a triple window. On both sides of the triple window, there is a little upright window, also along the outer axis'. The roof of each façade is supported by nine wooden struts including those at the corners.
Drawing by Anil Basukala, (November 2006).



Fig. 590
Brick capital based on the Ionic capital on the first floor. The bricks were trimmed and arranged in eight layers.

Fig. 591-592
 Bhaktapur, Tulāchē, Piya corner house (ca. 1934) opposite
 the Nārāyaṇa Temple: Drawings by Anil Basukala
 (December 2007).

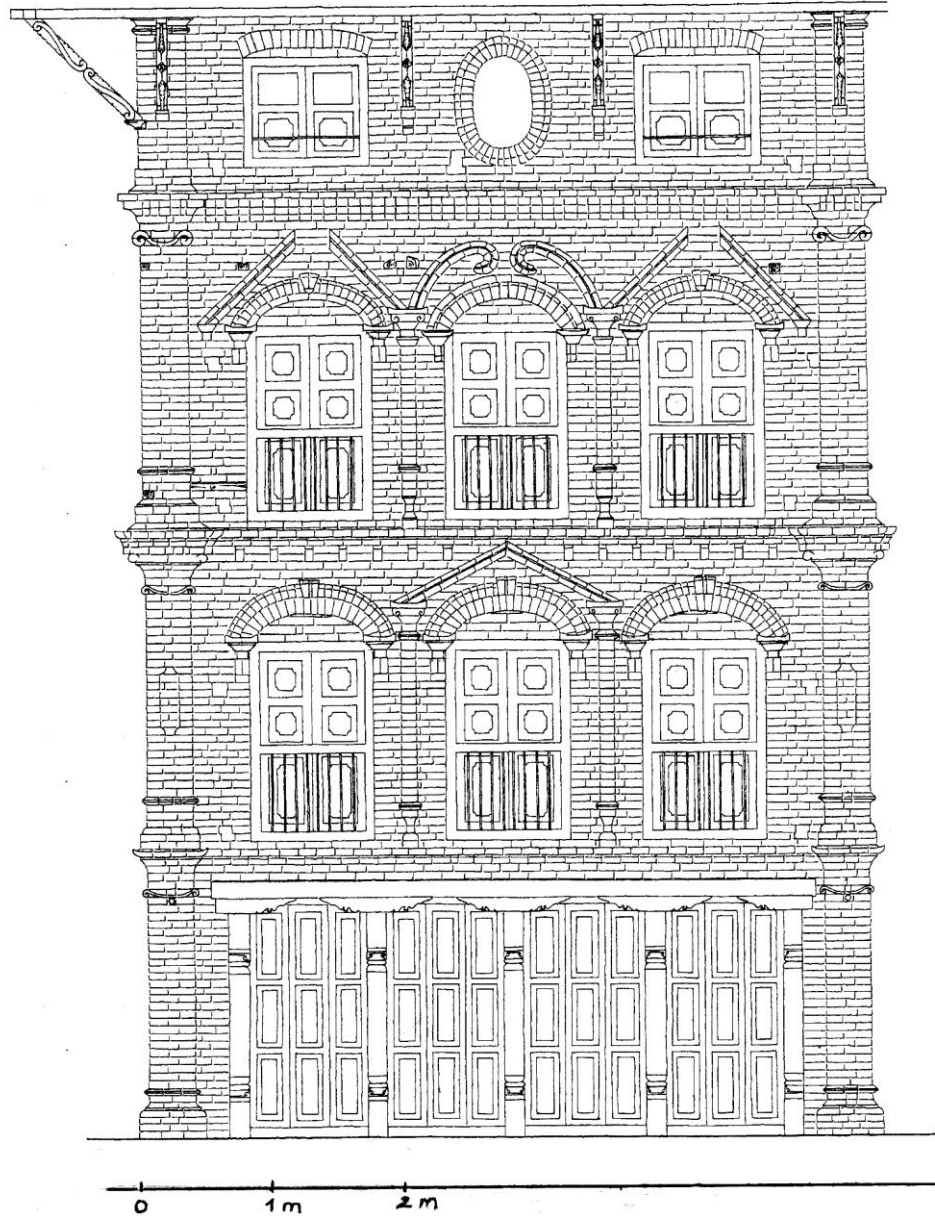


Fig. 591
 The façade is a masterpiece of neo-baroque style embellishment entirely made of brick such as the round, triangular and broken gables with covings above the window openings or the delicate pillars framing the central window in the first and second floors. The house was built by Kul Narayan Piya.

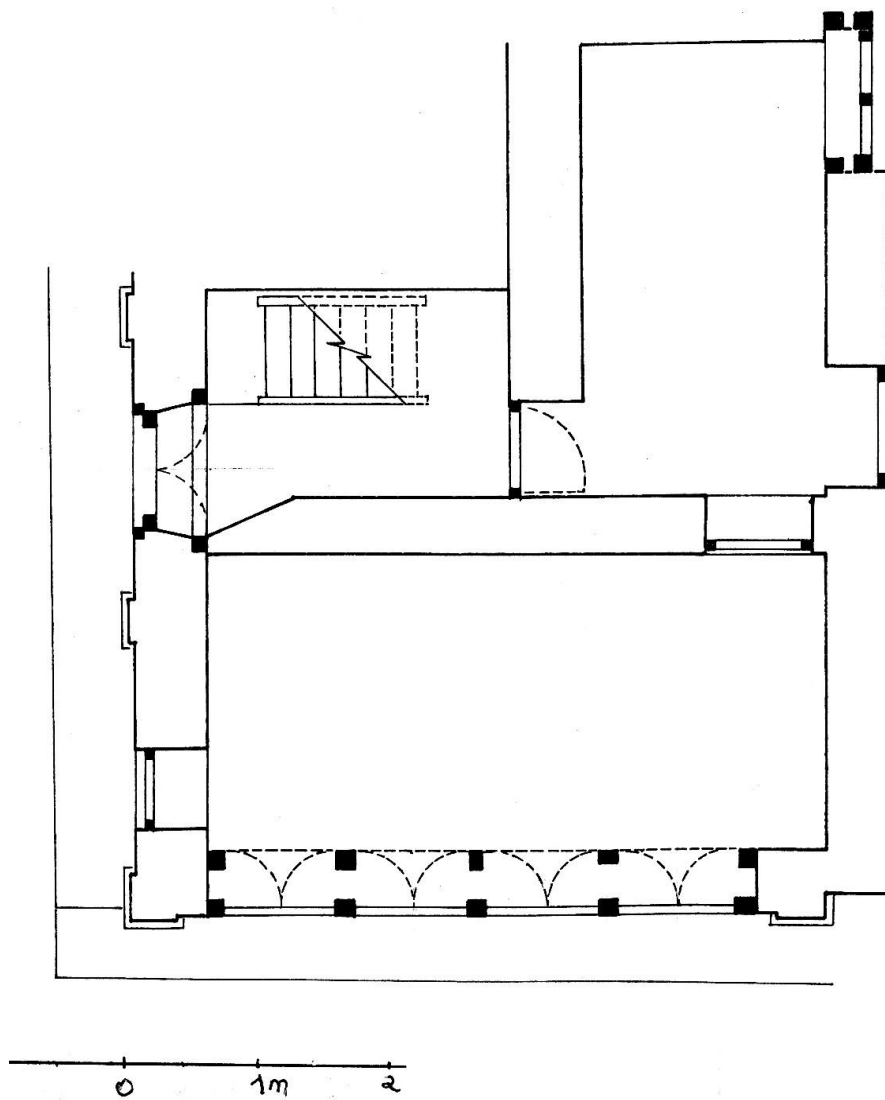


Fig. 592

The ground plan of the Piya house on the ground floor does not present the original state of repair. The once almost square ground plan was remodelled in the back part that faces a courtyard and stretches across the original borders to the neighbouring house. The house, located at a street corner, is accessible from two sides, by a door and by an arcade with an unusual number of four openings behind which there is room for a shop.

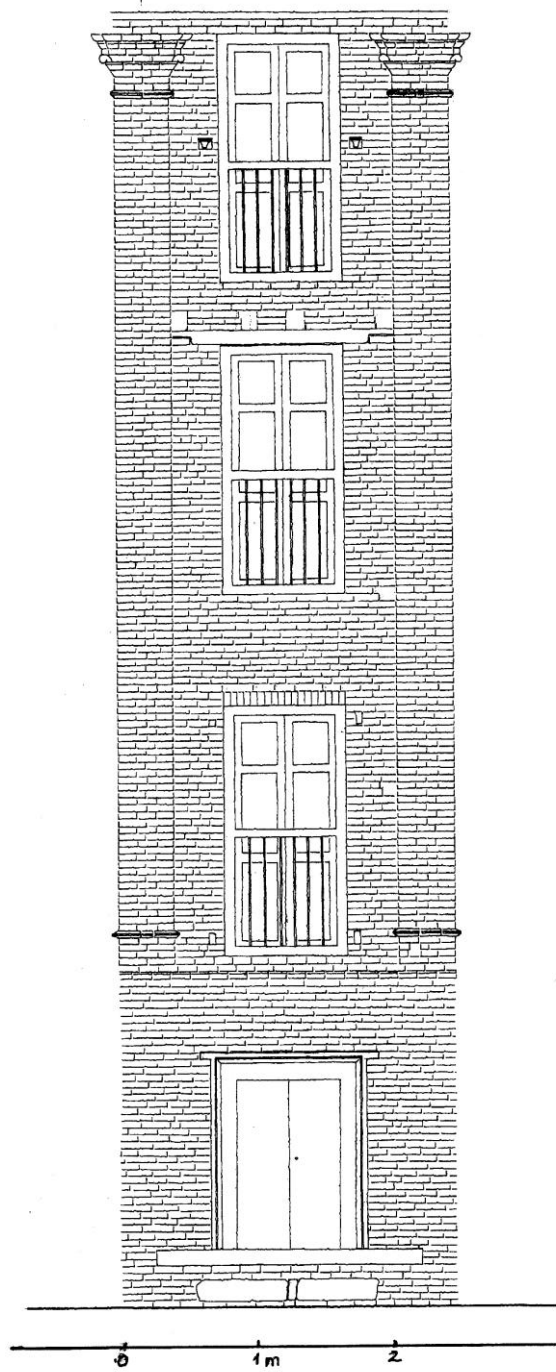


Fig. 593
 Bhaktapur, Bālākhu, house at Gaṇeś Temple:
 Section of the brick façade. Its axial
 disposition strives for the plumb line. The
 latter is emphasised by the axial alignment of
 the door and upper windows. The façade is
 framed by aspiring pilasters crowned by
 rustic Ionic capitals.
 Drawing by Anil Basukala (December 2006).