

# Tracing the Visual Aesthetics of Mañjuṣā

Sarika Kumari

Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi – India  
Email: sarikakumari51@gmail.com

## Abstract

Mañjuṣā is a folk art form of Bihar, particularly associated with the Bihulā-Viśaharī cult worshipped in the region of Bhagalpur and adjoining districts. In this particular cult of Bihulā-Viśaharī, people worshipped a snake goddess. According to Kuraishi and S C Kala, Bihar has been a central place of snake worship (Kuraishi 24; Kala 67). This paper is based on the Bhagalpur region, where snake worship is celebrated during the monsoon season. Bhagalpur is known for folk art and has indigenous diversity in silk production. The present study highlights the snake cult and its association with art, ceremonial practices, and belief systems. Amṛita Kalaśa (nectar pot), Jhāpī (box-shaped structure), Barī (vase), and painting are the main components of Mañjuṣā art. This paper will discuss this cultic practice's tangible and intangible aspects, iconography, form, and significance. Mañjuṣā is still an untapped area of research. There is very little literary evidence, and some published materials are available only in the vernacular language. The study primarily focuses on the art historical analysis and anthropological aspects of Mañjuṣā.

Keywords: Bihulā-Viśaharī, Mañjuṣāpainting of Bhagalpur, Snake worship, Nāga-cult, Folk painting, Folk art of Bihar, Traditional painting, Manasā worship

## Introduction

Mañjuṣā is a folk art of Bihar, particularly associated with Bihulā-Viśaharī cult worshipped in the region of Bhagalpur, Munger, and Rajgir. The Bihulā cult incorporates paintings (akin to the Madhubani painting style) and sculptural objects in unbaked clay vases. The Mañjuṣā art is a medium of communication between the devotees and the divine and provides a basis for oral history and age-old continuing practices. (Sinha & Pandey, 2012)

The purpose of this research is to discuss the history of Mañjuṣā folk art and its variations in Bihulā-Viśaharī legend and their iconographies. Mañjuṣā is a symbol of fertility, prosperity, and motherhood. It is a form of painting made by local artisans, particularly of Malākar and Kuṃhāra. The tradition of Mañjuṣā is based on folk stories and mythical events such as Manasā and Viśaharī. It is associated with the Manasāmaṅgal Kāvya, which narrates how the snake goddess is worshipped in Eastern India (the manuscript was composed sometime between 1775 and 1825 CE). Manasāmaṅgal Kāvya is based on the story of the Manasā goddess and is very similar to the Viśaharī of the Bhagalpur region. Similar kinds of offerings in terracotta or unbaked clay vases have been used in the ritual.

The nāga cult, dedicated primarily to the local deities that are not part of the Brāhmanical religion, is reflected in distinct features of Bihar and the Aṅgika language. Byrne says, “The legend finds its basis in the Aṅgika language is a variant of Maithīlī, and also the primary language of the Aṅga region” (Byrne 45). The kingdom of the Aṅga has been frequently mentioned in Pāli literature (Law 37).

According to the Buddhist canon Aṅgūttara Nikāya, the Aṅga region was part of sixteen Mahājanapadās (AN I: 213; Law 12; Thapar 138) B. C. Law mentions that the Aṅgūttara Nikāya is one of the ancient sources that talks about the historical geography of the Aṅga region. Aṅga region mentioned in the Buddhist text comprised the modern district of Bhagalpur and Munger and extended northwards up to the river Kośī. The ancient site of Ćampā, the capital of Aṅga, is marked by two villages, Champanagar and Champapura, which are still part of the Bhagalpur region. Champanagar is presently a vital center where annual puja is performed. The law mentions that Ćampā’s ancient name was probably ‘Mālinī’ or ‘Mālinā’ as stated in the Mahābhārata and the Harivaṃśa Purāṇa (1932: 37-38).

In the Bhagalpur region, Bihulā, snake goddess worship is significant for the snake worshipping cult. Similar practices are prevalent in other parts of India. Concerning the local legend, Bihulā is a daughter-in-law of Chando Saudagar, a businessman (sahukar) known as Sati (the follower of truth). It is said that the antiquity of Bihulā is of the hoary past, but no written evidence supports its antiquity. Concerning the

available archaeological evidence, we have a plethora of snake goddess images in the form of terracotta figurines found from the pre-Mauryan period onwards (Dhavalikar, 1977). However, this is primarily a part of oral tradition, so we do not have any textual or written evidence to support its continuity.

Bihulā-Viśaharī legend is depicted in painting forms, characteristic images with minimal color palettes, pink, yellow, and green. The sculptural items are in the form of pots, jars, or vases and are associated with the worship of a particular cult. The unbaked clay vases decorated with snake forms are part of the representation of the goddess Viśaharī. Nāga Kalaśa is brass, similar to the unbaked clay vases used in the ritual. Nāga figures are carved out around the neck, symbolizing the goddess in iconic form.

### Objectives of the study

The following objectives have been formed to achieve the findings:

1. To trace the evolution and development of the folk art associated with Viśaharī cult.
2. To study the contributions of Malākar and Kuṃhāra communities responsible for the continuity of this folk art form.
3. To investigate the purpose of making Mañjuṣā and associated ritualistic practices and customs.

### Methodology

There are several methods of documentation and investigation in folk art. The present study is primarily based on field documentation and uses available secondary sources. The paper also refers to gazetteers, historical accounts, anthropological works, and other published materials to support the narrative.

The emphasis is given to the cultural practices of two particular communities, the Malākar and the Kuṃhāra, whose ritual practices, variations in legends, and the significance of the Gathas (legends) have been documented during the fieldwork. The researcher visited Champanagar, Nathnagar, Bhikhanpur, Nashratkhani, Badi Khanjarpur, Barari, and Abjuganj villages in the Bhagalpur district to collect the primary data during August, October, and December 2021. Over ten people were interviewed as part of the fieldwork, including artisans (within and outside the community) and the area's local people. All these interviews have been recorded with the respondents' consent. These were recorded in the vernacular and then transcribed in English. The researcher also interviewed the former curator of the Bhagalpur Museum, Om Prakash

Pandey, who has also published a book on the Mañjuṣā art, among others, in the context of Bihar.

Significant individuals from the community, such as the sarpanch (the head of a village), mukhiya (chief), art practitioners, cultural enthusiasts, artists, writers, and households, have also been interviewed. Local museums, cultural centers, and libraries have also been referred to. The data collected from primary and secondary sources have been amalgamated in the form of the findings. The researcher conducted the fieldwork in the context of art history and so forth; the object or painting will be observed and described based on interviews, mythology, and local legends.

### The Origin and the Community

Tracing the origin of Mañjuṣā is challenging because no written record supports its antiquity. As the legend says, ‘ Mañjuṣā is also associated with the mythological episode of Lord Shiva bathing in a lake where five strands of his hair fell into the water and turned into five lotuses.’ These five lotuses requested Lord Shiva to adopt them as his daughters. Lord Shiva ordered them to appear in their original form. After seeing them in person, Shiva adopted them as her daughters: Mynah, Aditi, Maya, Padmavati, and Jaya, known together as Viśaharī (the poison carrier).

R. K. Sinha and O. P. Pandey also state that it is an oral tradition; hence, we do not have any textual or written records to support its antiquity. Maity, along with Sinha & Pandey, states that the published Bihari versions are not based on manuscripts; it is an oral tradition (1966: 126; 2012: 59). On the other hand, Pradyot Kumar Maity’s book includes specifically on the cult of Bihari worship, Manasā.

He writes –”The antiquity of the goddess in this region may be traced back to the early period of the evolution of the cult when Bengal and Bihar formed a cultural unit from a careful study of a Sanskrit manuscript entitled Vyadi Bhakti Tarangini, a treatise on Manasa worship found in Mymensingh, It is stated by G. C. Basu that it was written by the famous poet Vidyapati of Mithila. The identification of this Vidyapati as the famous vernacular poet of Mithila is supported by S. Sen”. (Maity 286-287)

James Fergusson has studied the snake cult and its religion. He explains that serpent worship is associated with human forms and rites. It is also related to rites of human sacrifice (Fergusson, 1868). Fergusson writes about Yakṣas and nāgas and their association with fertility and rain (1868: 244). Interestingly, most village or folk deities are worshipped annually during the monsoon season. C. S. Wake finds the snake cult in ceremonial practices and observes that it relates to Hindu and Persian cultures. The ancient Persians incorporated the serpent significantly into their mythologies (Wake, 1888).

Kennedy’s text is based on real stories and incidents documented during the

fieldwork. Kennedy also works on serpent worship and totem worship and mentions that India and other countries have a prior superstitious belief regarding the snake. He focuses on the guardian aspects of snake worship and states that snakes protect children who have received supernatural inspiration from the divine (Kennedy, 1891). William Crooke's work on Northern India deals with folk culture, the association of snakes with ancestor worship, and ceremonial practices. He mentions the nāga cult and discusses the guardian aspects of the snake and their power, the cure of snake bites, and their uses as a jewel (Crooke, 1896). Crooke has pointed out that nāga is considered the guardian of cattle and water springs (1896: 595).

D.D. Kosambi gives a broader perspective of Indian myths and ritual practices that survived from the earliest and rarest pastoral age civilization. He writes on the nāga cult related to mythical stories while mentioning the various features of Brāhmanical iconography, anthropological aspects, and mythological narratives (Kosambi, 1962).

The nāga, according to J. Ph. Vogel, may take on human form on occasion, but they do not belong to the human form (Vogel, 1972). V. S. Agrawala and S C Kala disagree with him and believe that nāgas are serpent deities of folk cults who appear in human and serpent forms (Agrawala, 2003; Kala, 1980).

Pupul Jayakar's work on the mother goddess cult and regional folk art of rural India has emphasized similar practices. Jayakar also talks about nāga in the context of Buddhism and Brāhmanical religions, along with the practices of the Mithilā region (Jayakar, 1980).

Mañjuṣā is not a household practice; instead, it is a temple-based practice. Two styles are prevalent in the present time. One is practiced by the Malākars (gardeners) for rituals, and the other has been elevated as a form of folk painting, where painters outside the community, like Ulupi Jha, Ravi Kant, and Anukriti have carved a niche for themselves among various popular folk forms.

Moreover, the Malākār is not the only practicing artist in modern times. Few people not trained in this art have learned the technique and tried their luck in the market to establish themselves as artists. The artists recognized as practicing Mañjuṣā are Late Chakraborty Devi, Nirmala Devi, Manoj Pandit, and Ulupi Jha. The researcher is concerned with both categories of artists, one genealogically attached to the art, such as the Malākār (gardener) and the Kuṃhāra (potter), and those who do not belong to this particular caste.

Family painters generally cater to the community's needs. Apart from ritualistic articles, they have also participated in museums, exhibitions, and fairs with their works, which were meant for something other than rituals; however, the painters outside the community work on non-ritualistic articles.

Mañjuṣā is purely a ritualistic art form, but artisans have tried to step out of

conventional practices and experiment with modern techniques and contemporary subjects. There are several artisans from outside the community who practice the art form.

In Plate. 2. (a & b), the Malākar depicts the legend on a three-dimensional Mañjuṣā, which is made of bamboo, Jute straw, and paper. They also make jhapī (small box-shaped structures), often depicting scenes from Bihulā-Viśaharī gathas, which the devotees purchased to offer to the temples to fulfill their wishes.

On the other hand, the Kuṃhāra community makes barī (a jar) from unbaked clay. In Plate. 3. Nāga figures are then carved out around the neck, symbolizing the goddess in her iconic form. Devanand Pandit, who belongs to the Kuṃhāra caste, mentioned that before making the barī. Devanand is from the fourth generation of the family who makes the barī and supplies them to the Bhagalpur temple every year.

According to Santosh Kumar Jha, the priest, says, ‘the Kuṃhāra community exclusively makes that barī because the goddess only permits them to do that.’ He adds that ‘the Kalaśa or bari is installed after taking the Sankalpa (resolution).’ The priest of Champanagar, Santosh Kumar Jha, is the fourth generation of his family and takes care of the temple. While explaining the cult and myth of Mañjuṣā, he says that the goddess Manasā is the mother of all nāgas.

## Sources and Aesthetics of Visual Imagery

The late Chakrabarty Devi was the first artist who took the initiative to make Mañjuṣā paintings on paper and also achieved recognition in this field. The imagery of Chakrabarty Devi’s works is depicted in the form of ‘X.’ Their angular shapes, bold and fluid lines, and quick brush strokes painted with minimal colors appear vibrant. Her thought process is translated into balanced animated figures. The application of foreground and background with plain color fields is a distinct feature of her art (Plate. 4. a).

Chakrabarty Devi’s practice as an artist was deeply connected to the socio-cultural norms and ritualistic beliefs of the Malākar caste to which she belonged.

A few years after her marriage, she became a widow, and for livelihood and to raise her starving children, she started painting Mañjuṣā on paper for sale. Chakrabarty Devi was responsible for popularising the Mañjuṣā art in two-dimensional forms. Primarily, it was used for ceremonial purposes and pasted on a ritual box made of bamboo, jute, paper, and straw. Her art practices and dedication brought her fame, and she was awarded the ‘Sita Devi Award’ by the Bihar State Government.

Atish Chandra Sharma, son of Jyotish Chandra Sharma of Nasratkhani village, says his father was keenly interested in Bihari culture and tradition. Though Jyotish

Chandra Sharma was a government employee working in a silk karkhana (factory), his love for this painting style can be seen in his works. As a self-trained artist, he received brief training under the guidance of Chakrabarty Devi. Sharma wrote several books based on the art and culture of Bihar, such as “Pracheen Champa,” “Mañjuṣā Chitrakala,” and “A Brief Sketch on Mañjuṣā” among many others.

Plate. 5. (a) is made primarily in yellow color. However, the base of the composition is restricted to three sections narrating the episodes culled from the legend of Bihulā-Viśaharī. Whereas Sharma learned the painting from Chakrabarty Devi, his geometrical forms and design are quite different; he uses harsh lines, imageries are very stiff, and the background is flat; it looks like a statue all over. Mañjuṣā’s border is essential; without it, the story is incomplete.

### Collection: Jyotish Chandra Sharma

In Plate. 5. (b), in Madhubani painting, floral patterns are used, like Kachni and Bharni, while Mañjuṣā floral patterns are bold lines and flat patches of color. He drew the moon, sun, champak flower, and fish in four corners and added a border of repetition of wood apple leaves (Belpatra), which retains the original’s features and forms. Most paintings are not demarcated in the middle, foreground, and background, while a single color generally, pink, yellow, green, and white, covers the entire base. Some paintings have architectural elements like tussled curtains hanging like arched forms. The painting depicts Chando Saudagar with her spouse and child.

Ulupi Jha is a practicing painter who resides in the city of Bhagalpur. Her works display balanced fluid lines, controlled brushstrokes, and subtle application of colors. However, the themes, imagery, and selection of colors are very much akin to the pure rural forms. Manoj Pandit belongs to the community, and his contributions to Mañjuṣā painting are noteworthy. Applying rudimentary brushstrokes and using quick and hasty lines is the typical feature of the rural style. The subjects of Manoj Pandan revolve around the legend. However, artists like Ulupi Jha use contemporary themes and forms to attract buyers.

Another famous artist from Bhagalpur, Ulupi Jha, is not part of the community traditionally practicing Mañjuṣā art. Her grandmother used to tell the stories of Bihulā-Viśaharī to Ulupi Jha during her childhood. Ulupi comes from a Brāhmin family, but she has established her name and fame in this particular art form. She keeps the original elements of this art form but has also incorporated other subjects and themes that are not part of the tradition. Ulupi’s dedication towards Mañjuṣā art earned her appreciation, and she was awarded the ‘Hundred Women Achiever Award’ by Mahila Evam Bal Vikas Mantralaya, Government of India.

Ulupi's works are filled with elements, forms, characters, and imageries; one can hardly find space. Ulupi Jha uses red instead of conventional colors like pink, yellow, and green. Ulupi Jha says, "Red signifies 'suhaag,' which means woman having her husband alive." Her compositions are based on legends and narratives. Generally, her composition is divided into rectangular sections where the description is painted sequentially. Her works show the mastery of the skill and the serene-meticulous depiction of the ritual imageries. Her paintings are comparatively different from the practices of Malākar artists. She tries to apply pictorial elements distinct from the Mañjuṣā tradition, such as the swirling patterns and the firm, detailed line drawing. She draws curvy lines and triangles as temple forms, countless geometric forms, and Champa trees, birds, rivers, and figures in motion.

Manoj Pandit, the Mañjuṣā Guru, is a 45-year-old painter from the Barari village of Bhāgalpur who belongs to the Kumhāra caste and also received training at Prachin Kala Kendra, Chandigarh. He takes inspiration from his aunt (Chakrabarty Devi) and mother (Nirmala Devi), who used to make Mañjuṣā on paper with natural pigment and draws the narratives based on traditional motifs and imagery. According to Pandit, kuladevi (clan – deity), the goddess Viśaharī and goddess Kali used to come in his dreams in the form of snakes, which he thought was an order from the goddess who wanted him to portray her legend in the form of a painting. Manoj is an ardent follower of the goddess who protects the family from evil spirits, diseases, and sudden danger.

In Plate. 7. (a) the base is divided into three portions; the foreground is painted yellow, indicating the floor. The middle ground is filled with intricate jali and swirling patterns, and the background is painted red. In the center, decorative Shivalinga is depicted along with other significant elements such as a snake, trident, moon, damru (drum), and a kalaśa hanging above the linga to offer water salutation/oblation. On the left side, the main character of the legend, Chando, is shown, and on the other side, the goddess Viśaharī is painted. According to the legend, Vishaharī has come here to request Chando to worship her. In Plate. 7. (b) Mañjuṣā is shown narrating an episode from the legend. Bihulā is sitting on a boat canopied with a painted Mañjuṣā having architectural elements. Her husband's corpse she is holding on her lap to save her husband's life.

In modern times, Manoj and his entire family devoted themselves to making Mañjuṣā and working hard to revive the art form. He was also invited to Kalinga University at Orissa, participated in several workshops and exhibitions such as Delhi, Tamilnadu, and IIT Roorkee, and demonstrated with students. He received the 'Sita Devi Award' from the Bihar Government in the senior category and the 'State Award' for making the best Mañjuṣā painting. Along with painting, Manoj also makes decorative items painted with the Mañjuṣā pattern (Plate. 8).



## Characteristics of Mañjuṣā

Figures are always represented in the form of X. Paintings are shown in angular shapes resembling X. Male figures are drawn with long curvy mustaches and illustrated with a stick in their hand. In contrast, women's figures are painted in the middle with parted, long, curly, and neatly combed hair, forming two circular patches instead of breasts, having narrow waists, and wearing lower garments imprinted with patterns. She is profusely adorned with ornaments and wears an upper garment in matching patterns (Sinha & Pandey, 2012). Males are covered with turbans, while females cover their heads with the veil. The profile depicts protruding eyes; the eyebrows are painted bow-shaped. The Vishaharī snake goddess is shown with a snake in one hand, and the other carries a ritual object and weapons or emblems such as Kalaśa, bird, arrow, sun, and lotus. A character of the legend, Maniyar Nāga (Panchmuhiyasarp), is one of the most significant characters in the painting and is depicted in the theriomorphic forms. Other vital motifs are the sun, moon, elephant, Champak flower, fish, and Ojha, the priest.

## The technique of Mañjuṣā painting

The art practice involves the works of painters, Malākar (gardener) and Kuṃhāra (potter), following an exhaustive process. It combines various techniques and materials, which have been part of our age-old continuing tradition. The data collected during the fieldwork explains the patterns and practices of the art form and how a ceremonial practice is recognized as the folk painting style of Bihar, in parallel to other popular forms.

Mañjuṣā painting is not only created on paper but also done on walls, offering vases and other three-dimensional surfaces. Mañjuṣā artists depict the Gathas of Bihulā-Vishahari on paper and draw the characteristics using any available color, i.e., watercolor, poster color, and fabric color. Natural pigments were used in earlier times, such as “Alta” for red, “turmeric” for yellow, and “green leaves” for green, as well as salt as a binder or to fix the color. Earlier, artisans used ‘kucchi’ (a bamboo stick) or ‘pulinda’ (tied piece of cloth with a stick) to draw pictures. In contemporary times, artisans use synthetic brushes, which are readily available in the market. It also gives the painting a prominent shape and neat and sharp lines. Artisans also use canvas as a surface and a wood piece to create three-dimensional forms.

## Themes and forms

After observing Mañjuṣā painting, the researcher found limited forms in this folk art.

The painting subjects are derived from Bihulā-Viśaharī legends and narratives. These are depicted in sequences of events. However, most artists did not follow sequential narration, picked up any one episode from the ballad, and painted accordingly. A meaningful subject is Chando Saudagar, a sahuakar (businessman) and artisan who repeatedly painted the story. Another subject depicted in the Mañjuṣā is the four sisters of Mynah Viśaharī, namely, Padma, Jaya, Aditi, and Maya. Additionally, Sati Bihulā is shown riding a boat along with the corpse of Beula Lakhinder. Mañjuṣā, Netula Dhobin (washerman), Dhanottar Ojha, Goda Ghatwaar, Champak flower, Nāgamandir, Maniyar Nāga, scenes of fish in the water, Chando Saudagar sitting on a horse, an elephant, Kalasha, Bihulā's meeting with Tunhi Rakshasini (demoness), and the Brāhmaṇical god Indra (Sinha & Pandey, 2012). Certain forms reoccur in making the Mañjuṣā, such as the sun, moon, tortoise, lotus flower, bird, Champa flower, and fish. The border is an integral part of the painting and must be completed. At least three of the five forms are compulsory to draw in the painting as border elements: sarpkiladi (serpentine or spiral snake), lehariya (water wave), belpatra (wood apple leaves), tribhuja (triangle), and mokha. (Sharma, 2002).

### Significance of color

Mañjuṣā painting has a limited color palette. In Mañjuṣā folk painting, only three colors are used: pink, yellow, and green. Each color has its significance. Pink symbolizes “love,” yellow represents “development,” and green symbolizes “prosperity.”

### Devotee's offerings to Bihulā-Viśaharī

Mañjuṣā festival is celebrated during the monsoon, particularly in July-August. Generally, local people and devotees worship this goddess for only two days. For the rest of the days, priests, local people, and bhagats recite the story and sing the gatha with bhajan (hymn) and keertan (melody). Seventeenth and eighteenth are the days when devotees worship the goddess and offer jhapi, milk, parched grain, and beetle leaves. People also provide bari if their prayers come true. The two main ingredients are milk and parched grain.

### Conclusion

This paper highlights the art of Mañjuṣā and its associated belief system, the community, the socio-cultural aspects of the serpent, and the objects used in the Bihulā-Viśaharī cult. Though the artisans are from the Malākar and Kumhāra communities, there are

no distinctions in the worship of Mañjuṣā. Even though the cult is of folk origin, the officiating priest is from the Brāhmin community. The patterns, images, and space division of Mañjuṣā painting and other related objects are examined in this paper. Both males and females participate in this festival, but the priest gives worship. People believe one can fulfill their dream or 'mannat' by worshipping Viśaharī and preventing themselves from snake-biting.

In contemporary times, artists and art are gradually reaching every corner of India and outside India. Various organizations, NGOs, and the government are currently supporting the artists. Traditional Mañjuṣā art form faces a constant threat of modernity and consumerism, gradually erasing our age-old tradition.

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#### List of Interviewee's Name

Santosh Kumar Jha, who lives in Champanagar, Nathnagar, Bhāgalpur, was interviewed on 29 October 2021 at 10:00 AM.

Manoj Pandit, who lives in Barari, Bhāgalpur, was interviewed on 24 August 2021 at 2:00 PM.

Ulupi Jha, who lives in Bhāgalpur city, was interviewed on 24 August 2021 at 5:00 PM.

Atish Chandra Sharma lives in Nasratkhani, Champanagar, Bhāgalpur, and was interviewed on 14 November 2021 at 1:00 PM.

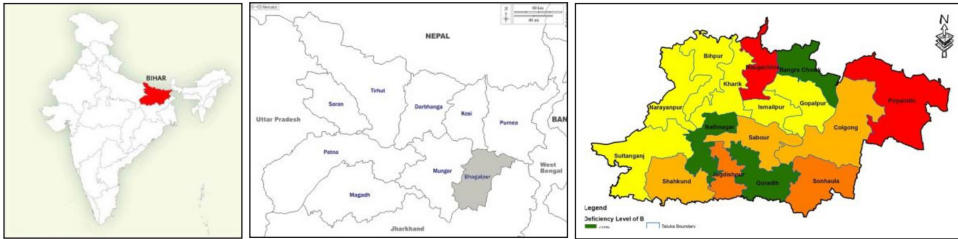


Plate. 1. Location of Bhagalpur

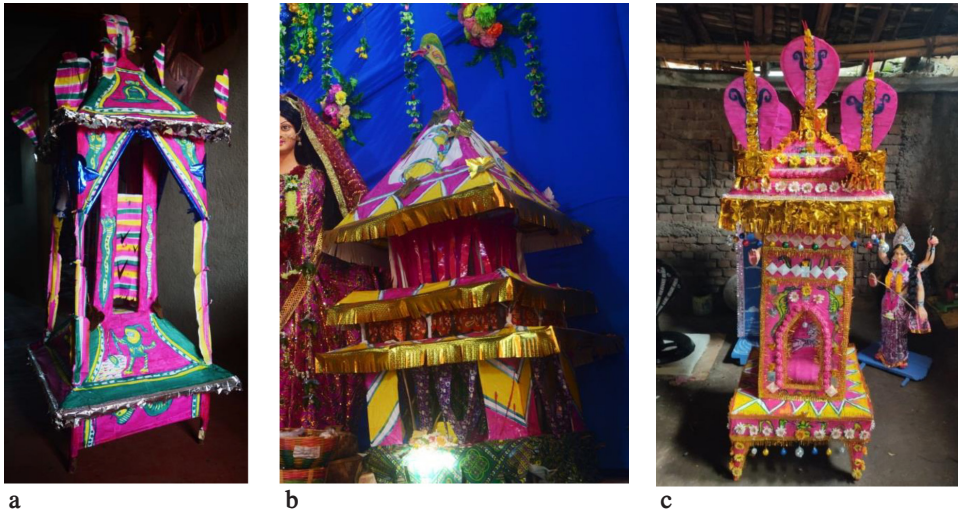


Plate. 2. (a & b).  
Mañjuṣā painting in 3D format.  
Image Sources: Author (c) Source: Devanand Pandit



a



b



c

Plate. 3. (a & b).

Nāga Kalaśa (Bari), unbaked clay.

Source: Devananda Pandit (c) Source: Author



a

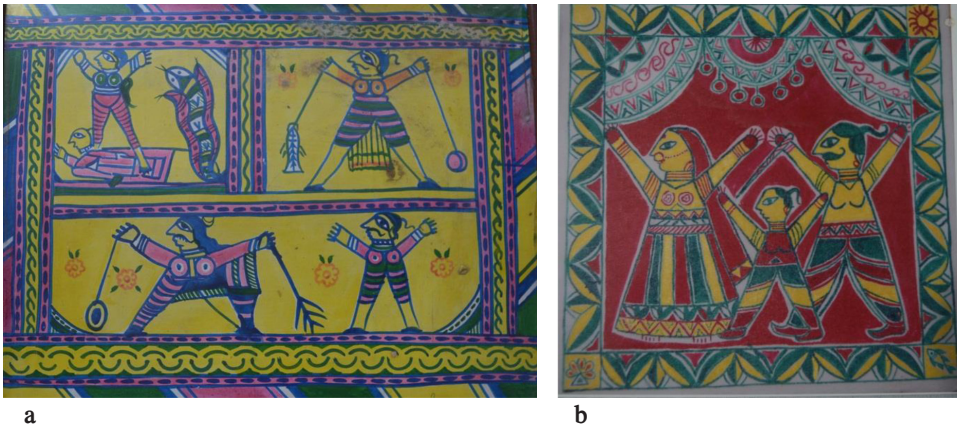


b

Plate. 4. (a & b).

Artist Chakrabarty Devi, Mañjuṣā paintings on paper.

Image sources: Manoj Pandit



**Plate. 5. (a & b).**  
Artist Jyotish Chandra Sharma, Mañjuṣā painted on paper and canvas. Image  
sources: Author,  
Collection: Jyotish Chandra Sharma



**Plate. 6.**  
Artist UlupiJha & Priyanja Jha, Mañjuṣā painted on the wall.  
Image sources: Author, Collection: Ulupi Jha



**Plate. 7. (a & b).**

Artist Manoj Pandit, Mañjuṣā paintings on canvas. Image sources: Author



**Plate. 8.**

Artist Manoj Pandit, Mañjuṣā paintings on wood in 3-D form, Utility objects (Coaster, Incense stand). Image sources: Author