Journal of Advances in Developmental Research (IJAIDR)

E-ISSN: 0976-4844 ● Website: www.ijaidr.com ● Email: editor@ijaidr.com

From Rama to the Ramayana, from the Ramayana to Bengali Literature Myth, Humanism and Cultural Reconstruction: A Contemporary Rereading

Dr. Dipak Paramanik

Assistant Professor & Head
Department of Bengali
Ram Lakhan Singh Yadav College (Ranchi University), Ranchi, Jharkhand

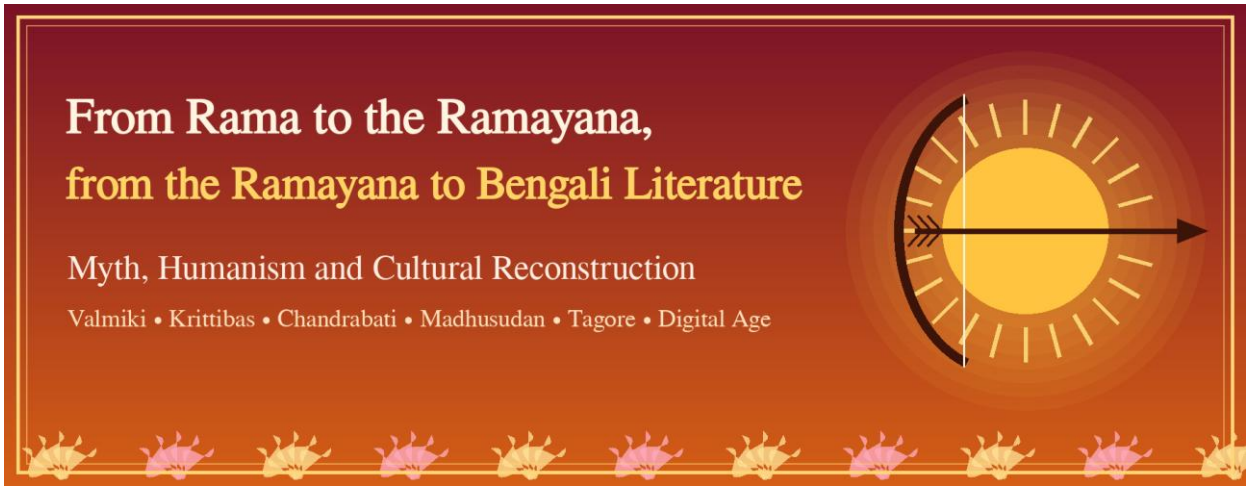


Figure 1: A symbolic image of the Rama story — bow and arrow, sun and lotus

Abstract:

In the long tradition of Indian culture, Rama and the Ramayana are not merely a religious narrative; they form a many-layered repository of ethical thought, family values, political ideas, folk memory and artistic forms. In Valmiki's Sanskrit epic, Rama is an ideal yet conflicted and sorrow-stricken human being; in the hands of Krittibas Ojha in the fifteenth century, the same Rama becomes steeped in the domestic emotions and devotional sensibility of Bengal. In the sixteenth century Chandrabati placed Sita at the centre of the narrative, and in the nineteenth century Michael Madhusudan Dutt, by constructing the tragedy of Ravana's side in Meghnadbadh Kabya, called into question the conventional division between hero and antagonist.

Drawing on Roland Barthes's theory of myth, A. K. Ramanujan's idea of "many Ramayanas" and Linda Hutcheon's theory of adaptation, this paper analyses the transformation of the Rama story from Valmiki through Krittibas, Chandrabati, Vidyasagar, Madhusudan and Tagore to folk culture and the digital media of the twenty-first century. Through a discussion of the humanisation of Rama, the voice of Sita, the

reinterpretation of Ravana, Ramayana-derived proverbs in the Bengali language, and the contemporary political and cultural context, the paper shows that the Ramayana is not a fixed text but an ongoing cultural dialogue rewritten anew in every age.

Keywords: Rama, Ramayana, Krittibasi Ramayana, Chandrabati, Meghnadbadh Kabya, myth, adaptation, many Ramayanas, feminist rereading, folk culture, Indian Knowledge Systems, digital culture.

1. Introduction

In the history of Indian literature, the Ramayana is an epic whose influence reaches far beyond the religious and mythological sphere into society, politics, art, folk life and language. Rama is at once son, husband, brother, king, warrior, moral ideal and, over time, a deified cultural personality. Yet this identity is neither single nor unchanging. Valmiki's Rama, Krittibas's Rama, Madhusudan's Rama and the Rama of the television screen each reflect the questions and aspirations of their own age.

Perhaps the finest poetic recognition of this multiplicity is Rabindranath Tagore's poem 'Bhasha o Chhanda' (Language and Metre), in which Narada reassures Valmiki that the poet's imagination is Rama's true birthplace:

> That alone is truth which you shall create;
> not all that happens is true. Poet, know that your mind
> is Rama's birthplace — truer than Ayodhya itself.
> *— Rabindranath Tagore, 'Bhasha o Chhanda', Kahini (1900); English rendering by the author*

In the twenty-first century the Ramayana is simultaneously a devotional text, a political symbol, a television serial, an animated film, a social-media reel and a university syllabus item. Amid this many-sided presence, the task of the literary scholar is to understand the historical evolution of the Rama story on the basis of reason and evidence — how a single narrative has acquired new meanings across languages, regions and ages. Bengali literature is an especially rich field for this inquiry, because devotion, folk emotion, women's voices, colonial modernity and rebellious rereadings have all found expression here around the Ramayana.

2. Objectives, Research Questions and Method

2.1 Objectives

1. To outline the historical evolution of the Bengali Rama story from the Valmiki Ramayana.
2. To evaluate the Krittibasi Ramayana not as a translation but as a cultural adaptation.
3. To identify the trends in the rereading of Rama, Sita and Ravana.
4. To analyse the transformation of the Rama story in folk culture and contemporary digital media.

2.2 Research Questions

- Through which additions, omissions and transformations did the Rama story become "Bengali" on arriving in Bengal?
- How have women poets and modern writers given new voice to Sita and Ravana?

◆ How is the character of Ramayana reading changing in today's political, technological and educational-policy context?

2.3 Method

The paper follows the methods of comparative literary reading and historical-cultural analysis. Primary sources include the Valmiki Ramayana, the Krittibasi Ramayana, Chandrabati's Ramayana, Vidyasagar's Sitar Banabas, Madhusudan's Meghnadbadh Kabya and Birangana Kabya, and relevant works of Tagore. Histories of Bengali literature and international Ramayana scholarship serve as secondary sources. The analysis applies adaptation theory, feminist reading and postcolonial perspectives. The paper does not judge the truth of religious belief; its subject is the transformation of a narrative within the domain of literature and culture.

3. Theoretical Framework: Myth, Adaptation and Many Ramayanas

In Mythologies (1957), the French theorist Roland Barthes showed that myth is a second-order system of signification, in which a familiar sign begins to carry a new social meaning. Rama's bow, Sita's ordeal by fire or the Lakshmana-rekha are such signs, whose meanings are constructed anew in every age.

In his much-discussed essay "Three Hundred Ramayanas" (1991), A. K. Ramanujan proposed that there is no single "original" Ramayana of which the others are mere "versions"; rather, each Ramayana is a distinct "telling" that draws elements from a shared pool of signifiers and weaves a new texture in its own context. The volumes Many Ramayanas and Questioning Ramayanas, edited by Paula Richman, establish this plurality through examples from different languages and communities of South Asia. In Hindi, Father Camille Bulcke's Ramkatha: Utpatti aur Vikas (1950) is a pioneering map of this expansion.

In A Theory of Adaptation (2006), Linda Hutcheon describes adaptation as "repetition without replication". This formula is highly productive for understanding the Bengali Rama story from Krittibas to the television serial. The figure below shows this layered reconstruction of the Rama story.

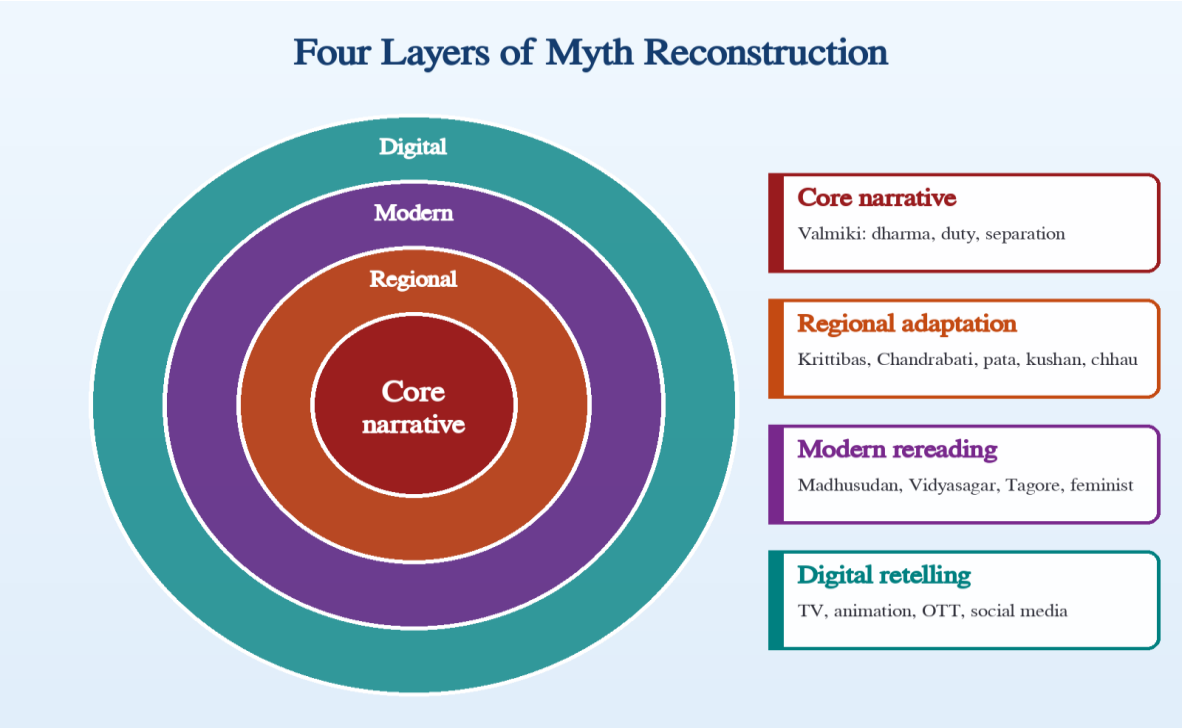


Figure 2: Four layers of myth reconstruction — from core narrative to digital retelling

4. Valmiki's Rama: From Grief to Verse, From Ideal to Humanity

The Valmiki Ramayana begins in human sorrow. On the banks of the Tamasa, seeing one of a pair of krauncha birds killed by a hunter's arrow, the sage spontaneously utters a curse, which tradition honours as the first shloka. The very source of Indian poetry, then, is an experience of compassion — verse (shloka) born of grief (shoka).

> mā niṣāda pratiṣṭhāṃ tvam agamaḥ śāśvatīḥ samāḥ |
> yat krauñcamithunād ekam avadhīḥ kāmamohitam ||
> ("O hunter, may you find no rest for endless years, for you slew one of the krauncha pair, lost in love.")
> — *Valmiki Ramayana, Balakanda*

This karuna rasa is the keynote of Rama's character. Renouncing the kingdom to honour his father's word establishes his sense of duty; yet in the Aranyakanda, after Sita's abduction, Rama, almost distraught, asks trees, rivers, beasts and birds for news of her — a scene that presents him not as a god but as a grieving human being. A large section of modern scholars (such as Robert Goldman and Camille Bulcke) hold that much of the Balakanda and Uttarakanda consists of later additions, and that Rama's identity as an avatar of Vishnu is emphasised mainly in these layers. In the central portion of Valmiki, therefore, Rama is chiefly an ideal yet conflicted human hero.

> ✦ **Example: Three Moments of Conflict**
> **1. Exile:** On the eve of his coronation he leaves for the forest for his father's word — personal happiness versus duty.
> **2. The slaying of Vali:** Killing Vali from concealment — a question about the ethics of the ideal warrior, voiced by Vali himself.
> **3. The Sita episode:** The ordeal by fire in the Yuddhakanda and the abandonment of Sita in the Uttarakanda for fear of public slander — royal duty versus conjugal love.

5. The Krittibasi Ramayana: The Bengalisation of the Rama Story

The most influential form of the Bengali Rama story is Krittibas Ojha's Shriram Panchali, popularly known as the Krittibasi Ramayana. The poet, from the village of Phulia in Nadia, is generally placed in the fifteenth century, although scholars differ on his exact date and on the authenticity of his "autobiographical account". Composed in the payar and lachari (tripadi) metres, the work was made to be sung in the panchali style — it is a poem to be heard even more than read.

Krittibas did not produce a literal translation of Valmiki. Drawing on the Puranas, folk tales and devotional thought, he blended the narrative with the family emotions and religious sensibility of Bengal. The Krittibasi Ramayana was printed by the Serampore Mission in 1802–03, and later the edition by Jaygopal Tarkalankar became current. The Krittibasi Ramayana we read today is thus a "collective text" shaped by many singers, scribes and editors — a living example of adaptation theory.

> ✦ **Example: Notable Additions by Krittibas**
> **Akal-bodhan of Durga:** Before slaying Ravana, Rama worships the goddess Durga in autumn; when one of the hundred and eight blue lotuses is found missing, he prepares to offer his own lotus-like eye. This

story is absent in Valmiki. This link between the Rama story and Bengal's autumn festival is among the greatest cultural contributions of the Krittibasi tradition.

The Taranisen episode: Vibhishana's son Taranisen goes to fight against Rama with Rama's name written on his body — the presence of a devotee even within the rakshasa clan signals the spread of bhakti rasa.

The Mahiravana pala: The abduction of Rama and Lakshmana to the netherworld and their rescue by Hanuman — this thrilling, folk-derived episode is especially popular in jatra and panchali.

The table below summarises the basic differences between Valmiki and Krittibas.

Aspect	Valmiki Ramayana	Krittibasi Ramayana
Language & metre	Sanskrit; mainly anushtubh metre	Bengali; payar and lachari, panchali tune
Dominant rasa	Heroic and pathetic (vira, karuna)	Devotional and pathetic, with folk humour
Image of Rama	Conflicted ideal human hero	Tender, devotee-loving avatar
Preparation for victory	Aditya Hridayam hymn on Agastya's advice	Untimely invocation (akal-bodhan) of Durga
Setting	Epic space of royal court and forest	Bengali domestic life and rituals

Table 1: Valmiki and Krittibas compared



Figure 3: Timeline of the Bengali journey of the Rama story

6. Other Medieval Voices: Chandrabati and Regional Ramayanas

Chandrabati, a sixteenth-century poet from the Mymensingh region and daughter of Dwija Bangshidas, the poet of the Manasamangal, is among the earliest known women poets of Bengal. Her unfinished Ramayana is a rare example in Bengali literature, because at the centre of its narrative stands not Rama but Sita. Sita's birth, childhood, married life and sorrow form the main subject of the poem.

✦ Example: Chandrabati's Kukua Episode

In Chandrabati's Ramayana, Kukua, the daughter of Kaikeyi, deceitfully gets Sita to draw a portrait of Ravana and presents it to Rama as proof of Sita's secret attachment. This leads to Sita's exile. Here the

blame for Sita's abandonment shifts from public slander to envy within the family and male suspicion — making the perspective of a woman poet clear.

In her essay "When Women Retell the Ramayan" (1998), Nabaneeta Dev Sen showed that in Chandrabati and in the oral Rama stories of women from many regions, Sita's sorrow is paramount — as if the Ramayana becomes a "Sitayana". Alongside this, regional works such as the Ramayana of the seventeenth-century North Bengal poet Adbhutacharya (Nityananda) prove that the Rama story did not flow in a single stream in Bengal; it developed different voices in different regions.

7. The Nineteenth Century: Renaissance and the Rebirth of the Ramayana

7.1 Vidyasagar's Sitar Banabas (1860)

Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar wrote Sitar Banabas (The Exile of Sita), based on Bhavabhuti's Uttararamacharita and Valmiki's Uttarakanda. Suffused with pathos, this prose work long remained a school text. Many critics have also read this work, sympathetic to women's suffering, as a literary echo of his social-reform consciousness.

7.2 Madhusudan's Rebellious Rereading

The most revolutionary turn in Bengali Ramayana writing is Michael Madhusudan Dutt's Meghnadbadh Kabya (1861). Arranged in nine cantos and written in amitrakshar (blank verse), the epic clearly shows the influence of Homer, Virgil and Milton. Here the centre of sympathy is Lanka: the patriotic hero Meghnad, Ravana the grieving father, and the spirited Pramila. Lakshmana's killing of the unarmed Meghnad in the sacrificial chamber of Nikumbhila, with Vibhishana's help, appears in the poem as a moral question.

When Virbahu, crest-jewel of heroes, fallen in open battle,
went before his time to the city of Yama — say, O goddess
of nectar-sweet speech, which foremost warrior did the
treasure of the rakshasa race, the foe of Raghava,
choose as commander and send again to war?
— *Michael Madhusudan Dutt, Meghnadbadh Kabya, Canto I; English rendering by the author*

In a letter to his friend Rajnarayan Basu, Madhusudan candidly declared, "I despise Ram and his rabble" — it was Ravana's grandeur that fired his imagination. In Birangana Kabya (1862), Surpanakha writes a love letter to Lakshmana; Madhusudan gives poetic dignity to the desire of a woman ridiculed in the conventional story. Clinton B. Seely, in the title of his English translation, aptly identifies Meghnadbadh Kabya as a Ramayana from colonial Bengal.

7.3 Tagore and Contemporary Currents

Tagore's musical drama Valmiki-Pratibha (1881) tells of the transformation of the bandit Ratnakar into the poet Valmiki — its subject is the human awakening of the Ramayana's creator himself. In the essay 'Ramayana' in Prachin Sahitya, originally written as the introduction to Dineshchandra Sen's Ramayani Katha (1904), Tagore located the greatness of the Ramayana in its epic portrayal of domestic relationships and the dharma of the householder. At the same time, Girish Chandra Ghosh's plays such as Ravanbadh and Sitar Banabas carried the Rama story to urban audiences on the public stage.

8. Sita: From Image of the Ideal Woman to an Independent Voice

In conventional readings Sita is the symbol of chastity, forbearance and self-sacrifice. It is worth noting, however, that even Valmiki's Sita is not silent. In the Yuddhakanda she protests sharply against Rama's harsh words and herself decides to enter the fire. In the Uttarakanda, faced with the demand for a second oath, she returns to the lap of the earth — seen in modern feminist readings as a symbol of ultimate refusal.

✦ **Example: Four Voices of Sita**
Valmiki: A firm protest of self-respect before the ordeal by fire.
Chandrabati: Sita is the centre of the narrative; the pain of a woman victimised by family intrigue.
Vidyasagar: An image of compassion whose sorrow stirs the reader's social conscience.
Contemporary: In Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni's The Forest of Enchantments (2019), Sita herself is the narrator; in Devdutt Pattanaik's illustrated retelling Sita (2013), Sita's perspective predominates.

This rereading does not reject the Ramayana; rather, it brings its inner questions to the fore: where is the recognition of a woman's consent, dignity and selfhood? In today's classroom the Sita episode is therefore an important example of gender-sensitive literary reading.

9. Ravana and the Reinterpretation of the "Other"

In the conventional framework Ravana is the antagonist. Yet even in Valmiki he is a great scholar, a devotee of Shiva and a mighty king; the causes of his fall are desire and pride. In the Krittibasi tradition there are hints of Ravana seeking liberation under the veil of devotion, and in Madhusudan he is a tragic hero grieving for his son. Comparatively, thinkers such as Periyar in South India have read Ravana as a symbol of Dravidian identity, and among some Gond communities of central India there is a tradition of reverence for Ravana. These examples show that the division between "hero" and "other" depends on social position and perspective.

✦ **Example: The Imprint of the Ramayana on the Bengali Language**
The Ramayana has blended into everyday Bengali speech: a treacherous relative is called **'ghorer shotru Bibhishan'** (the enemy within, Vibhishana); endless turmoil is **'Ravaner chita'** (Ravana's pyre, which never stops burning); a chaotic mess is **'Lankakando'**; and failing to grasp the main point after hearing everything is mocked in the proverb **'sat kando Ramayan pore Sita kar baba'** (having read all seven books of the Ramayana, asking whose father Sita is). Notably, the widely used **'Lakshmana-rekha'** is absent in Valmiki — it is an addition of later folk tradition, proof of the continuous growth of myth.

10. The Ramayana and Bengali Folk Culture

In Bengal the Rama story lives not only in manuscripts and printed books but in song, dance, painting and theatre. The literary reading of the educated and the folk Rama story of ordinary people have continually influenced each other.

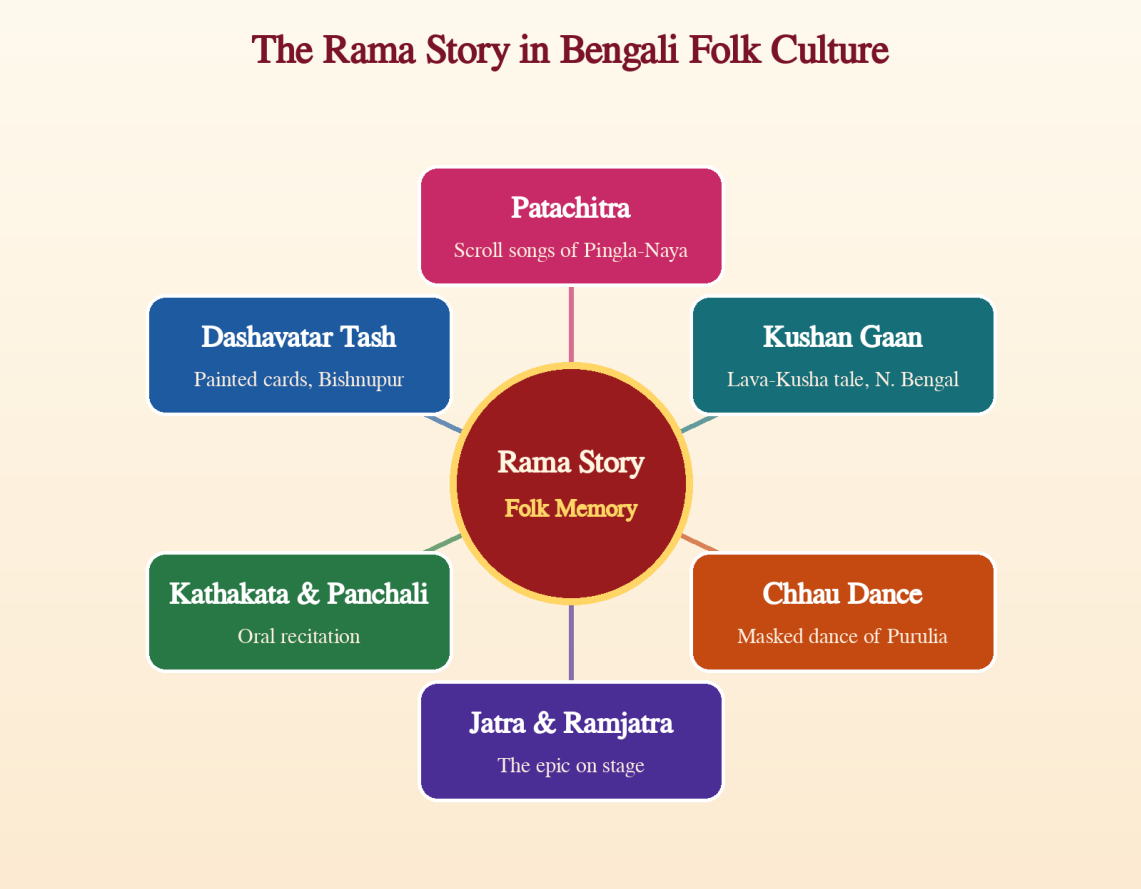


Figure 4: Forms of the Rama story in Bengali folk culture

- **Patachitra:** The patuas of Pingla-Naya in Paschim Medinipur narrate the Ramayana by singing 'pater gaan' (scroll songs) while unrolling painted scrolls — a joint narrative of image and song.
- **Kushan Gaan:** In this ballad tradition of the Rajbanshi community of North Bengal and lower Assam, the Ramayana is performed through the story of Lava and Kusha; the very name 'Kushan' recalls Kusha.
- **Chhau dance:** In the masked chhau of Purulia, episodes such as the battle of Rama and Ravana and the slaying of Mahiravana are popular. In 2010 UNESCO inscribed Chhau dance on its list of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity; the Seraikela style of Jharkhand is also part of it.
- **Jatra, kathakata and panchali:** Ramayana recitation and Ramjatra in village gatherings have made the epic accessible even to non-literate listeners.
- **Dashavatar tash:** In the painted cards of Bishnupur, Rama is depicted as the seventh avatar of Vishnu — an example of mythological imagination in folk art.

11. Children's Literature, Humour and Translation

In the twentieth century the Ramayana found new readers in children's literature and humorous writing. Upendrakishore Ray Chowdhury's Chheleder Ramayan (The Ramayana for Children) brought the epic to children in simple prose with his own illustrations. Sukumar Ray's play Lakshmaner Shaktishel turns mythological solemnity into comedy — a unique example of creative play with myth. Rajshekhar Basu

(Parashuram), with his abridged translation of the Valmiki Ramayana in 1946, brought modern Bengali readers close to the original Sanskrit narrative.

12. The Ramayana Today: Screen, Politics and Curriculum

12.1 Screen and Digital Media

Ramanand Sagar's Ramayan, broadcast on Doordarshan in 1987–88, is a milestone in the history of Indian mass media; scholars such as Philip Lutgendorf have analysed it as a new performative form of the Rama story. Its re-telecast during the Covid lockdown of 2020 drew an enormous audience. The Indo-Japanese animated film Ramayana: The Legend of Prince Rama (1992) was re-released in Indian cinemas in 2025 for a new generation. On the other hand, the fierce controversy over the dialogue and characterisation of the film Adipurush (2023) showed how sensitive retellings of the Rama story remain in the public mind. On social media, fragmented scenes of the Ramayana circulate afresh every day through reels, memes and short videos; patuas too are taking their scrolls and songs to the world through online platforms. AI-generated images and videos add a new layer to the visual imagination of the Rama story, though questions of authenticity and distortion also arise. In Hutcheon's terms, this too is a "repetition without replication".

12.2 Politics, Faith and Plurality

The consecration of the Ram temple in Ayodhya in January 2024 raised national discussion around Rama to a new height; in West Bengal, too, there is cultural and political debate over the spread of Ram Navami celebrations. For many people this is a matter of faith and cultural pride; many scholars and writers, on the other hand, emphasise the preservation of the regional plurality and syncretic heritage of the Rama story. The 2011 decision to remove Ramanujan's essay "Three Hundred Ramayanas" from the Delhi University undergraduate syllabus is a symbolic instance of the tension between these two positions. The scholar's task is not to take sides but to show, on the basis of sources and history, that the Bengali Rama story is itself polyphonic — the devotion of Krittibas, the pain of Chandrabati and the rebellion of Madhusudan are all parts of one tradition.

12.3 National Education Policy and Indian Knowledge Systems

The National Education Policy 2020 emphasises the inclusion of Indian Knowledge Systems (IKS) in higher education. The Ramayana is a natural component of such a curriculum. But the very hallmark of the Indian knowledge tradition is shastrartha — debate and plurality of opinion; hence keeping space for critical discussion, placing Krittibas, Chandrabati and Madhusudan side by side in reading the Ramayana, is true fidelity to this tradition.

12.4 The Globalised Ramayana

Thailand's Ramakien, Indonesia's Kakawin Ramayana and Cambodia's Reamker show that the Rama story is a shared cultural heritage of Asia. English retellings by diaspora Indian writers and Valmiki translations by translators such as Arshia Sattar have opened new doors to the Ramayana for world readers. In this global context, the Bengali Ramayana tradition — especially Chandrabati and Madhusudan — is gaining increasing importance in international discussions of comparative literature.

13. Comparative Table of Character Transformation

Character	Valmiki	Krittibas & medieval	Modern period (19th–20th c.)	Contemporary
Rama	Conflicted ideal human king	Devotee-loving, tender avatar	Antagonist in Madhusudan; domestic ideal in Tagore	Multivalent symbol of faith, politics and critique
Sita	Firm in self-respect, protesting	Forbearing; central in Chandrabati	Image of compassion in Vidyasagar	Independent narrator in feminist readings
Ravana	Learned, mighty, lustful antagonist	Seeker of liberation under veil of devotion	Tragic hero-father in Madhusudan	Politics of the "other"; alternative readings
Hanuman	Wise messenger and hero	Symbol of folk humour and devotion	Comic in Sukumar Ray's humour	Hero of animation and popular culture
Surpanakha	Object of ridicule, victim of mutilation	Largely the same	Voice of desire in Madhusudan	Re-evaluated in terms of gender and violence

Table 2: Transformation of Ramayana characters through the ages

14. Dharma, Duty and Humanity in the Light of Indian Knowledge Traditions

In reading the Ramayana, dharma is not merely a mode of worship; it is a broader concept of duty, justice, social responsibility and royal obligation. Mahatma Gandhi used the term "Ramrajya" to denote the ideal of just and moral governance. Yet moral questions about the slaying of Vali, the abandonment of Sita and the Shambuka episode of the Uttarakanda have long been raised in Indian thought. Facing these questions rather than avoiding them is what keeps the Ramayana alive. Bengali literature has done so again and again — sometimes through devotion, sometimes through compassion, sometimes through rebellion.

15. Directions for Future Research

- A manuscript-based critical edition of Chandrabati's Ramayana and comparative study of women's voices.
- Field studies of the Rama story in the chhau palas of the Purulia–Jharkhand border region, and the narratology of mask art.
- Collection and analysis of the Rama story in tribal languages and oral traditions.
- Adaptation studies of digital patachitra, social media and AI-generated Rama narratives.
- Comparative devotional theology of the Bengali and Hindi Rama stories (Krittibas and Tulsidas).

16. Conclusion

"From Rama to the Ramayana, from the Ramayana to Bengali literature" — this journey is the history of a long transformation of Indian cultural memory. Beginning with Valmiki's verse born of grief, the Rama story became a household song of Bengal in Krittibas's panchali, a testament to Sita's pain in Chandrabati's pen, a rebellious tragedy in Madhusudan's blank verse, the truth of the poet's mind in Tagore's imagination, and part of folk memory in the patua's song, the chhau mask and the kushan gathering.

Even amid the television, animation, social media and political debates of the twenty-first century, this journey has not stopped. Indeed, the greatest need in reading the Ramayana today is to recognise its polyphony. Bengali literature has not merely received the Ramayana; it has blended it with its own language, culture and worldview and given it new meaning. In this sense, the Bengali journey of the Ramayana is an ongoing cultural dialogue — in which the ancient and the modern, the mythological and the human, the folk and the literary continue to speak to one another.

REFERENCES:

A. Primary Sources

1. Valmiki. The Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa: Critical Edition. 7 vols. Ed. G. H. Bhatt et al. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1960–1975.
2. Krittibas Ojha. Krittibasi Ramayan. Ed. Harekrishna Mukhopadhyay. Kolkata: Sahitya Samsad.
3. Chandrabati. Ramayan (unfinished). Manuscript tradition of the Mymensingh region; various collections.
4. Vidyasagar, Ishwar Chandra. Sitar Banabas. Calcutta, 1860.
5. Dutt, Michael Madhusudan. Meghnadbadh Kabya. Calcutta, 1861.
6. Dutt, Michael Madhusudan. Birangana Kabya. Calcutta, 1862.
7. Tagore, Rabindranath. Valmiki-Pratibha (1881); 'Bhasha o Chhanda', Kahini (1900); 'Ramayan', Prachin Sahitya (1907).
8. Ray Chowdhury, Upendrakishore. Chheleder Ramayan. Calcutta.
9. Ray, Sukumar. Lakshmaner Shaktishel. Calcutta.
10. Basu, Rajshekhar. Valmiki Ramayan (abridged translation). Calcutta: M. C. Sarkar & Sons, 1946.

B. Secondary Sources in Bengali

11. Sen, Dineshchandra. Banga Bhasha o Sahitya. Calcutta, 1896.
12. Sen, Dineshchandra. Ramayani Katha (with an introduction by Rabindranath Tagore). Calcutta, 1904.
13. Sen, Sukumar. Bangala Sahityer Itihas, Vol. I. Kolkata: Ananda Publishers.
14. Bandyopadhyay, Asitkumar. Bangla Sahityer Itibritta. Kolkata: Modern Book Agency.

C. Secondary Sources in English and Hindi

15. Barthes, Roland. Mythologies. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1957.
16. Bulcke, Camille. Rāmkathā: Utpatti aur Vikās. Prayag: Hindi Parishad, 1950.
17. Dev Sen, Nabaneeta. "When Women Retell the Ramayan." Manushi, no. 108 (1998).
18. Divakaruni, Chitra Banerjee. The Forest of Enchantments. New Delhi: HarperCollins India, 2019.
19. Goldman, Robert P., gen. ed. The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki: An Epic of Ancient India. 7 vols. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984–2017. (Vols. II–III trans. Sheldon Pollock)
20. Hutcheon, Linda. A Theory of Adaptation. New York: Routledge, 2006.

21. Lutgendorf, Philip. The Life of a Text: Performing the Rāmcaritmānas of Tulsidas. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.
22. Pattanaik, Devdutt. Sita: An Illustrated Retelling of the Ramayana. New Delhi: Penguin, 2013.
23. Ramanujan, A. K. "Three Hundred Rāmāyaṇas: Five Examples and Three Thoughts on Translation." In Richman, ed., Many Rāmāyaṇas, 1991.
24. Richman, Paula, ed. Many Rāmāyaṇas: The Diversity of a Narrative Tradition in South Asia. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.
25. Richman, Paula, ed. Questioning Ramayanas: A South Asian Tradition. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.
26. Seely, Clinton B., trans. The Slaying of Meghanada: A Ramayana from Colonial Bengal. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.