In the preceding chapter, I have discussed how the ancient scriptures provided foundation for the works of Tulasi Das and John Milton. They were respected more for their holy character than for aesthetic and literary values. In this chapter, I propose to dwell mainly on the literary works of various types, to which these poets are indebted. Tulasi Das has emphatically admitted on a number of occasions how he has derived both materials and inspiration from the ancient literature for writing 'Ramcaritmanas'. Tulasi Das studied the lives and works of the great poets and sages who had written and spoken on the same theme before he began to write 'Ramcaritmanas'. He writes:

Valmiki, Narad and Augustya have described
In their own words how they got their lives.¹

The influence of Valmiki 'Ramayana' is so obvious in 'Ramcaritmanas' that often the work is mistaken to be an imitation of the former. To what extent 'Ramayana' of Valmiki

¹Ramcaritmanas, B.K., 11. 26, 5-6.
has really influenced Tulasi Das shall be discussed later in this chapter. Narad and Augustya are also mentioned in various contexts in the 'Ramcaritmanas'. Unlike Valmiki, they are saints only who have produced no work like "Ramayana". But Tulasi Das admires them, for they are the saints of high order. In the following lines Tulasi Das pays homage to Saints:

Without meeting saints wisdom is not attained
And without the Will of Rama none finds saints.
Of all blessings and bliss the fellowship of saints is root
All other means are flowers and that only is the fruit.

The tongues of Brahma, Vishnu, Mahesh, poets and the wise
The glory of saints hesitate to describe.

Tulasi Das thinks that saints occupy higher position than poets. But if a saint is poet too, he is considered unique.

Two such saints, who were poets too, are Valmiki and Vyasa. Though they have dwindled into legends now, Tulasi Das considers them to possess a real entity. He proclaims his indebtedness to them:

The acts of Hari the sages sang in the past
O brother! it is easy for me to follow their path.

Ramcaritmanas, B.K., ll. Rd, 13-22.
When on boundless river a King builds bridge
Even tiny ants cross over it with ease;
Having thus inspired myself
The pleasant story of Raghupati I shall tell.
Vyasa, Valmiki and other great poets who ever lived
And described with reverence the glory of Hari
May bless me all my aspirations to achieve
For I pray to their lotus feet.
Further I pray to the poets of Kali
Who have sung the profound virtues of Raghupati.
The Prakrit poets of highest gifts
who praised in language the acts of Hari,
The poets who have been and shall be
I pray being free from all conceits.
Be you all pleased and bless me so
That the saints may honour the poem I compose.3

And again:

O poets and philosophers! the lovely swans
Of the holy acts of the lake of Ram
Be pleased and grant your grace
.
To the lotus feet of the sage I bow
Ramayan who composed
Which is holy and delightful despite the demons,
And is devoid of vices despite Dusan.4

3Ramcaritmanas, B.K., ll. 12d, 19-36.
I believe the lines quoted above from 'Ramcaritmanas' will make it clear that Tulasi Das admitted his debt to many saints and poets, and probably, more than due to them. That is in keeping with the traditional humility of saints, because Tulasi Das was a saint also. Towards the end of the book he has very modestly said that the materials he borrowed were used by him according to his own understanding.

O Lord! I have described, now in detail and now brief, As I understand the unique deed of Hari.\(^5\)

How far he has used his own understanding and to what purposes shall be the subject of later discussion.

As regards John Milton, it can be said that he had not known Valmiki and Vyasa, and certainly had not studied Ramayana and Mahabharata. But he travelled to other countries for his materials and inspiration. He found that there were two great epic poets - Homer and Virgil - who had written in Greek and Latin respectively before. Milton's education had equipped him with the knowledge of Greek and Latin, and he, therefore, acquired the thorough grasp of the ideas and styles of the two poets by a personal study of

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\(^5\)Ramcaritmanas, B.K., 11. 122d, 1-2.
the original works. Milton deemed it essential not to ignore any of them, but to utilize them in building his own solemnly chosen edifice in the Paradise Lost. Homer was senior to Virgil and the latter, therefore, owed a good deal to the former. His indebtedness was not to consist in mere copying either the form or the content of Homer's work, but intended to create a separate, and entirely different, entity for himself by way of presenting a contrastive approach, while utilizing the characters and incidents of the same story. Milton's task was made easier and at the same time more difficult. He would run the risk of being called an imitator if he followed either Homer or Virgil. At the same time he could not deny the ground prepared by them for his stand. His critical and repeated study of Homer and Virgil rescued him from the risk. It is by familiarity with them that Milton could visualize where lay the scope for creating his own image as a great poet while conforming to the 'doctrinal' theme of Paradise Lost. Despite personally being indebted to Homer, as Virgil also was, for guidance as to the manner in which a long story might be told in verse without monotony, Milton accepted 'Aeneid' as the great neo-classical model before him. He was said to have known Homeric poems by heart and
often echoed them, but in the treatment of his subject he did not follow his honoured Greek predecessor for a variety of reasons, as Virgil had done. 'Paradise Lost' has some inner as well as surface affinities with 'Aeneid'. As Virgil, with his partly abstract theme, re-created what he imitated from the concrete Homer, so Milton, with his far more abstract theme - the assertion of Eternal Province, the justification of God's way to man - recreated what he borrowed from both. The invocations of the Muse, which in Milton mark new stages in the story, become addresses to the heavenly muse, Urania, and prayers for the aid of the creative spirit of God. As artist he links himself, both proudly and humbly, with the ancients, especially Homer and the blind bards of Greek myth, but he regularly ranks his Christian theme above the themes of the pagan poets. As he had said long before, in explaining why he must postpone his epic, it was a work not 'to be obtained by the invocation of the Dame Memory and her seven daughters, but by devout prayers to that Eternal Spirit who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and send out his seraphin, with the hallowed fire of altar, to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleases.'

Some other large features of the classical and
especially Virgilian pattern may be mentioned here in brief. Milton makes daring use of the prescribed plunge 'in medias res' since he gives the magnificent first two books to his 'villain'. Virgil has a roll call of the Italian chiefs who gather to oppose the heaven-sent Aeneas; Milton's roll call of the leaders of the fallen angels, in making them individuals, also becomes the survey of the spread of heathen idolatory over the eastern world. The realistic power of the debate in hell dwarfs all other epic councils. Epic accounts of Hades and of all funeral games are combined, in Milton's pictures of Hell, with Christian lore, but the lurid and dismal scenes and the physical and mental diversions of the fallen angels symbolize their spiritual death and futile striving. The wars of gods and titans and giants supply details of the war in heaven, which is a large metaphor for the anarchy of sin. The story of events that preceded the opening of the poem, which Odysseus recapitulated at the court of Alcinous and Aeneas at the court of Dido, becomes the archangel Raphael's account of Satan's revolt and war and the Son's creation of the world; and the great object lesson for Adam is underlined by a discourse on astronomical uncertainties which contrasts humble righteousness with the prideful quest of external knowledge. Finally,
while a prophetic picture of human history might figure in stories of the fall, Michael's revelation of Adam (Book XI - XII) recalls Anchise's revelation to Æneas; but whereas Æneas learns of the divinely destined Roman 'imperium', Adam is shown supernal grace contending with the sinfulness of man and the eventual triumph of love with the advent of man's Redeemer - though he is shown too how the gospel of salvation becomes corrupted. The prime example of this kind, though it goes far beyond classical parallel and contrast, is the characterization of Satan, who is one of the supreme figures in world literature. Satan has, on a super-human scale, the strength and courage and capacity for leadership that belong to the ancient epic hero, but these qualities are all perverted in being devoted to evil and self-aggrandisement.

Professor C.S. Lewis has classified the epic poetry into two classes - the primary epics and the secondary epics. This classification is based on chronology and not on the quality of epic poetry. He places the works of Homer - Iliad and Odyssey, and the 'Beowulf' in the first category and Virgil and Milton in the second category. The primary epics are the beginning of epic poetry. The works of Virgil and Milton - 'Aenied' and 'Paradise Lost' - are junior
in time but superior in quality. This classification may partly be applicable to the epic poetry of India also - 'Ramayana' of Valmiki being the primary epic and Adhyatma Ramayan and 'Ramcaritmanas' being the secondary epics. The poems of Homer were in essence those of "barrock-room ballads", a camp quarrel over a woman or a veteran's homecoming and the everyday events without any intrinsic quality of sublimity or grandeur. The sublimity and grandeur are lacking in his style also. Beowulf is a poem of crude adventure accompanied by external adornments in the Halls with feasts and music. But to Virgil the epic has to be 'sublime', a great poem on a great theme. To Milton it becomes sacred also. He adds solemnity to it by introducing a subject-matter into it, that is not only great but also doctrinal to a nation. I shall deal with it in detail later in this chapter.

To resume the discussion on Tulasi Das I refer to the classification of 'Ramayana' as primary epic and 'Adhyatma Ramayana' and 'Ramcaritmanas' as secondary epics. The Ramayana was written earlier than the latter two epics. But here
also, as in case of Homer and Virgil, being first in time does not attach a meaning of superiority in terms of quality. The classification is merely analytical to facilitate the study and pronounces only a historical sense. Scholars have admitted that Vyasa had read 'Ramayana' before writing his 'Adhyatma Ramayana'; and that Tulasi Das had read both 'Ramayana' and 'Adhyatma Ramayana' before he wrote 'Ramcharitmanas'. Needs no opinion to be accepted. As Virgil and Milton derived as well as differed from earlier predecessors so did Vyasa and Tulasi Das also. To deal with Vyasa's indebtedness to Valmiki may seem out of the purview of my discussion. Hence, I shall examine only how Tulasi Das has done so. Valmiki's 'Ramayana' is considered as "Adikavya", i.e., the beginning of poetry, and is written in Sanskrit. There is no evidence of any earlier work in the form of epic. That it is an "Adikavya" is written in the 'Ramayana' itself in the chapter dealing with the battles: 6

But Bhargava, as referred to, is a mysterious person and the work assigned to him is not traceable in any form. Some scholars believe that Bhargava is a name given to Valmiki. Aswaghosa says that 'the work which high sage Chyawan had failed to do was done by Valmiki.' This is not in agreement with what has been said earlier that 'the work which was composed by Bhargava on Rama's acts is knowable to us'. Mahabharat in its Swargarohan Parva (Chapter 6, Sloka 93) confirms the views that 'Ramayana' of Valmiki was an earlier composition. In Vanparva of Mahabharat there are seven hundred and four verses describing the story of Rama based on Valmiki's 'Ramayana'. There are three opinions about the composition of 'Ramayana' of Valmiki which must be mentioned here. (1) Valmiki had composed 'Ramayana' before Rama was born. (2) Valmiki was the contemporary of Rama and he had learnt the whole story of Rama from Narad to be able to write 'Ramayana'. First Valmiki had written a poem in which Seeta was elevated

above Rama. This was done to celebrate the greatness of Seeta in facing the miseries of life. Later, after Rama and Seeta were united Valmiki reversed the theme and gave Rama the highest position in the poem and named it as 'Ramayana'. (3) The third opinion holds the composition of Ramayana much later than the age of Rama. After Rama had ruled and passed away there grew many legends to glorify his reign. Valmiki collected all these to compose 'Ramayana'. This view believes that this was done by another Valmiki who is different from the Valmiki of Rama's age. The main question here is how Valmiki got the stories of 'Ramayana' and how those stories have been received and used in the 'Ramcaritmanas'.

The only answer, leaving aside the opinions that have no authenticity, is that the story of Rama was prevalent much before 'Ramayana' was written and in various forms served the purpose of social entertainment. In Vedic literature 'Akhyanas', 'Itihasa' and 'Puranas' have been designated as the fifth Veda. In ancient time in the court of the kings the ministerials used to narrate these stories and sing them having composed in verses. The origin of Ramanic literature is dated back to the reign of Ichhwaku
dynasty. Rama is the descendant of this dynasty. Hence it is held that in the courts of the kings of Ichhwaku dynasty the stories of Rama were composed and narrated to provide entertainment to the people. There are legends to make the attempt of dating more difficult. Brahma is said to have asked Valmiki to compose 'Ramayana' but the materials for the poem was provided by Narad. Once Valmiki spoke of Narad, 'who is at present virtuous, brave, righteous noble, learned, benevolent and almighty on the earth?' Narad described at length then the story of Rama from the beginning to the end. The same was composed by Valmiki in verses.

The second part of the question, how Tulasi Das received and used it in his 'Ramcaritmanas' will be answered in detail in the proceeding lines. Here it may suffice to say that Tulasi Das believes in the mysterious origin of the stories of Rama. His views about Rama makes the whole problem of ascertaining the beginning a transcendental issue. He says:

He is Rama, the Sum of Bliss
Birthless, Omniscent, Omnipotent and Beautiful
Omnipresent, all Himself, Invisible, Infinite
The God whose might is infallible
Attributeless, Mighty, transcending sounds and senses
All pervading Invincible and faultless.

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6 Ramayana, B.K. II1-3.
7 Ramcaritmanas, U.K., II. 71d, 5-10.
He considers the story of Rama of dateless origin which has neither beginning nor end. Shiva, Narad, Kagbhushindi, Valmiki, Vyasa, Yajyavalk and Tulasi Das are merely a few of many who described the story of Rama. This is what Tulasi Das holds all through the epic. But that the Ramcaritmanas is based on the profuse borrowings, and Valmiki Ramayana is the first of them, is admitted by Tulasi Das also.

The alterations, omissions, and additions which Tulasi Das makes in 'Ramcaritmanas' in the borrowed materials in order to make it his original work is an interesting study. I shall refer to only few of them to illustrate my point. In 'Ramayana' only after a short introduction Valmiki begins the story with a description of Ayodhya and her king Dasrath with his ministers and the king's desire for a son. Obviously, there seems to be nothing spectacular about the birth of a much desired son. In 'Ramcaritmanas' this is treated with a marvellous difference. Instead of coming directly to the point of Dasrath's eagerness for a son Tulasi Das strives to create an atmosphere of sanctity at the very outset by offering prayers and invocations to the various gods and goddesses, saints, poets, philosophers and all the creatures
of the universe, benevolent or beneful. He believes that
the beginning of a great work must be celebrated by pleas-
ing and propitiating the forces, human or divine, malignant
or benign, including animate and inanimate, for they are all
capable according to their nature. He bows to them having
considered them the manifestation of 'Rama and Seeta'. Then
he describes how Shiva and Parvati were married, how Narad
was trapped into illusion, how Pratapbhanu was deceived and
then how Ravana and his kiths and kins were born. He de-
scribes the reign of anarchy and unrighteousness on earth
resulting in the persecution of holy Brahmins, cows, gods
and earth. The description runs to several pages. In
order to bestow emphasis on the aspects of holiness of the
work Tulasi Das repeats the invocations to some of the gods
and goddesses. The desire of Dasrath for a son is pre-
conditioned by the necessity of the birth of Rama to revive
righteousness on earth, which has become extinct on account
of the domination of demons. 'Ramcaritmanas' has a glorious
beginning and the essence of the whole poem is understood
by the reader before he has reached the point of birth of
Rama. Tulasi Das holds the readers in awe and reverence,
and keeps them waiting for something great that is going to
happen.
In 'Ramayana' there are many stories told by Valmiki which find no place in 'Ramcaritmanas' or find only oblique mention. Most of these stories narrated in 'Ramayana' seem to be out of context and are obviously intended either to fill the gap or to serve informative purpose. The literary texture is lacking and their relevance to the main theme of the epic becomes questionable. This is not allowed in 'Ramcaritmanas' to happen. Tulasi Das does not forget even for a moment that his epic aims at glorifying the dominance of Rama only in all the episodes. Both in 'Ramayana' and in 'Ramcaritmanas' Rama is led by Viswamitra to Janakpur. But in the case of former the journey provides an occasion for story-telling whereas in the later the poet makes a passing reference only to those stories. Valmiki describes the story of Sagar and his sons, the efforts of Bhagirath to bring down the Ganges to the earth and the churning of sea by the gods and demons. The battle between the gods and demons is described in detail in Valmiki for the possession of nectar. These are interesting events, but according to an advanced aesthetic taste they appear irrelevant occurrences causing monotony in the epic. Tulasi Das makes only allusive reference to those legends with presumption of fore-knowledge on the part of the readers. About the
bringing down of Ganges to the earth Tulasi Das speaks only this:

Rama and Lakshman proceeded with the sage
And reached the world-purifying Ganges
The son of Gadhi narrated the tale
How to the earth descended the Ganges.

But the incident of Ahilya being revived by a touch of Rama's feet is emphatically treated by Tulasi Das. This is because the first incident celebrates the glory of Bhagirath whereas the second describes the marvels of the dust of Rama's feet. Ahilya was turned into a rock by the curse of her husband. The reasons and manners of the event are not described in 'Ramcaritmanas' presuming a fore-knowledge on the part of readers. Moreover, Rama is not involved in the events of the curse. His part happens in releasing Ahilya from the curse only. The act of Rama in restoring Ahilya to life by the touch of his feet is of valued importance for Tulasi Das because it reveals the greatness of Rama. The poet composes hymns in praise of Rama to be offered by Ahilya as a mark of gratitude. Rama's complete silence at what has happened and how he is praised is remarkably expressive of his greatness. Valmiki does

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8 Ramcaritmanas, B.K., 11. 221d, 1-4.
not provide any such occasion of elevated importance in 'Ramayana'. He plainly tells how Ahilya was cursed, and merely how she was purged. A line of reference to the gratitude of Ahilya seems to be enough in 'Ramayana'. But for Tulasi Das it is a great event and he lays all his devotional emphasis on it. He says:

The sage described the episode in detail.\(^9\)

But the poet himself drops the details and hangs on devotion:

The wife of Gautam had been cursed
She is lying patiently into stone being turn'd
Bestow upon her your grace O Raghbir!
For she needs the dust of your lotus feet.\(^{11}\)

At the touch of sacred feet which dispels all grief
That image of penance herself revealed.
To behold Rama, the delight of devotees
She stood up with folded hands in front of him
Overwhelm'd with devotion her body was thrill'd
And she was unable a word to speak,
The blessed woman clasped his feet
And tears like stream rolled down from her cheeks
Then calm she became and watched the Lord
And by his grace devotion got.
With sacred words sincerely she prayed:
Glory to Rama who is known by knowledge.
I am a woman unholy by birth
You are the holy Lord the universe to purge.

\(^{9}\)Ramcaritmanas, B.K., ll. 209d, 24.
\(^{10}\)Ibid., B.K., ll. 210d, etc.
The enemy of Ravan you are
And for your devotees a giver of joy,
O lotus-eyed Lord! the worldly fear you dispel
I seek your shelter, be pleased to save,
Rightly I was cursed by the sage
I consider it to be his grace
A full sight of Hari now I view
Who redeems the distress of the world.
This is considered by Mahesh
The highest good for one to get.
O Lord! I am ignorant and I pray only this
Without asking for any other bliss,
May my mind be devoted to your feet
And feed upon its honey like bees.
The feet from where flows the Ganges
Which Shiva takes on his head as sacred
The lotus feet which Brahma worships, O Hari!
To put on my head you are pleased.
Thus again and again Ahilya clasped the feet of Hari.
And received that which she eagerly wished
To her husband's realm she went with bliss
The Lord is kind without reason the poor he helps
Hence Tulasi Das says:
O fool! give up the deceitful world and pray.  

These lines reveal that Tulasi expresses his own feelings
of devotion vicariously through Ahilya. This is completely
wanting in Ramayana of Valmiki. Valmiki's approach is
factual whereas Tulasi Das makes it an occasion of abundant

Ramcaritmanas, B.K., 11, 211d, etc.
overflow of powerful devotional feelings.

The meeting of Vishwamitra with Janak and his introduction of Rama and Lakshman to Janak is less spectacular in Valmiki. In *Ramcaritmanas* it is not a mere occurrence. The scene provides for amazement on the part of Janak and an impression of a pre-determined event is gathered from this happening. This becomes more obvious when Rama and Seeta behold each other in the royal orchard, as if in restrained confrontation aspiring for a union. Tulasi Das draws Rama and Seeta nearer before the bow contest and they appear psychologically so deeply won by each other that the bow contest seems unnecessary for the marriage. But Tulasi Das artistically, and in a highly dramatic style, maintains the usefulness of the bow-contest, not so much for the marriage of Seeta as for the display of Rama's valour and might—Rama speaks to Lakshman:

O brother! she is the daughter of Videh
For whom the bow contest is held,
The maidens have brought her for the worship of Gouri
And she roams in the garden scattering gleam,
Though chaste by nature my mind is disturbed
Her celestial beauty to observe.  

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The reason for this only Brahma knows
But O brother! my graceful limbs throb, behold.

How does Seeta react to it is described in the following lines:

Seeta watched all around being bewildered
Where the princes had vanished she wondered,
With her fawn-like eyes where ever she viewed
White lotus rained in multitude.
Then the maiden showed behind the creepers
Those handsome youths dark and fair,
The eyes became greedy to hold their forms
Having discovered treasure they were charm'd,
The eyes rejoiced Rama's grace to see
And their twinkling ceased,
The body became indolent with deep love
As a partridge she looked at the moon of Autumn,
She took Rama at heart through her eyes,
And closed her eyes being wise.13

From literary and aesthetic points of view the bow of love
is broken before the contest. The bow-contest after this
becomes a mere show to stage obstructions and fears. The
breaking of the physical bow is kept in suspense for expos-
ing the other kings and warriors to ridicule and thereby
to celebrate the greatness of Rama.

13 Ramcaritmanas, B.K., ll. 231d, 1-14.
In Valmiki 'Ramayana' also there is a bow contest but the art and skill of its organisation is not so purposeful and dramatic as in 'Ramcaritmanas'. A brief survey of the bow contest in both the works will explain the difference. In Ramayana a declaration has been made by Janak to the world that Janaki will be married to one who is able to break the heavy and tough bow of Shiva. The kings and warriors visit at their convenience and try their strength. They come and go but none except those with Janak see them. It has continued for some time, perhaps for months and years. The bow is not kept at any public place but on a wheeler in the palace. When Rama and Lakshman have visited the place Janak asks several thousand warriers to carry the bow to the place and Rama is asked to break it. The bow is ultimately broken by Rama without any dramatic expositions. Here it seems that the bow can be lifted by enormous manpower, because several thousand warriors have somehow been able to carry it. But in Tulasi Das the bow is treated on basis of as-is-where and not even ten thousand kings and warriors are able to move it. This shows that Tulasi Das does not compromise the integrity of the bow by any degree of human power. Here Rama goes to the bow and not that the bow is brought to him. The bow is lying
on the place since it was ever kept there. The kings and warriors of unsurpassing valour have assembled. A crowd of men and women to witness the contest makes the occasion romantic. Some have fears and some have hopes. Even Janaki with her mother and friends is there with wistful eyes to behold the contest. The kings and warriors try one after another, but fail to move the bow. Even thousands of them together try with no better success. This leads Janak to exasperation and he bursts into contemptuous remarks against the suitors. The situation becomes tense and Janaki and her mother and friends are plunged into grief. Then Rama stands up and in an unassuming style casts a glance at the bow first and then at Janaki. He breaks the bow considering it as a trifle obstruction in his love for Janaki. This causes unprecedented amazement in the crowd. This is followed by hymns and allegations resulting in a turmoil. The fruitless vauntings of the frustrated suitors add glory to the act of Rama. These are not found in Valmiki. The visit of Parasuram on the spur of the moment administers a temporary shock on the admirers of Rama. The vanquished kings, though yet present on the scene, derive an essenceless delight from the rebukes of Parasuram. The tension which was subsiding is revived for a while. The dialogue between
Parasuram and Lakshman and later between Parasuram and Rama is of great dramatic importance in the epic. In 'Ramayana' Parasuram meets Rama while the latter is on his way back to Ayodhya after marrying Janaki. In 'Ramcaritmanas' the scene is created by the poet to arouse devotion for Rama by bringing him in contact with the rivals. His supremacy becomes more dominant in the midst of hostile circumstances. He looks mighty not simply because he has broken the bow but because in his presence the other kings stand totally disgraced and the obstacles vanish without a touch of resistance. His valour casts a gloom on his enemies. The boastings of the lost suitors seem to drown as empty sounds in the admiring emotions of the audience for Rama. Even Parasuram, who creates terrors for others, is vanquished at the end and not only acknowledges defeat but offers hymns of praise to Rama also. All these episodes are wisely and skilfully presented to serve a useful purpose. In 'Ramayana' most of these events are either not found or occur as a matter of course without adding any solemnity and grandeur to the occasion. Tulasi Das borrowed the idea of a bow contest perhaps from Valmiki but the execution of it he borrowed from a similar story in Mahabharat where a huge gathering has assembled for a
bow-contest in connection with the marriage of Draupadi, and Arjuna as the disguised suitor performs the feat of honour to the utter amazement of the spectators. 14

There is another episode which is found in both the poets but is treated differently. In 'Aranyakand' of the epics there is a story of golden deer being killed by Rama. It is crafty deer and allures the mind of Seeta by his deceptive colour. Rama runs after it being asked by Seeta for the lovely skin of the deer. The deer is a demon in disguise. Rama is taken far away and when the deer is killed he reveals his real form and cries out for help. This voice is heard by Seeta and brings apprehensions to her mind. Believing Rama in trouble she asks Lakshman to run for Rama's help. This event has been dealt with differently in both the epics. In 'Ramayana' Lakshman expresses his reluctance to leave Janaki alone. This happens in 'Ramcaritmanas' also. Seeta is terribly annoyed in both the poems. But in Ramayana she speaks filthy words and administers undeserved rebukes suspecting the conduct of Lakshman. In 'Ramayana' (chapter 45 of Aranyakanda) there are forty verses which

narrate the feelings of Seeta towards Lakshman. Valmiki brings her down to the level of an ordinary woman unworthy of any respect. In Tulasi Das this is not allowed to happen. He casts only a passing glance at this event and in order that the stature of Seeta as the wife of Rama may not be impaired sums up the whole situation in an admiring way:

There the helpless cries when Seeta heard To Lakshman in terror thus she uttered: Run at once, in peril is your brother, Lakshman smiled and said; Listen O mother! At a frown of his brow the creation shall perish Can he, even in dream, be in peril? When Seeta spoke rude' words, Hari impelled and Lakshman was disturb'd. He entrusted Seeta with the gods of air and wood And went where for the moon of Ravan was Rahu.15

Both Seeta and Lakshman are in the same situations in 'Ram-caritmanas' as in 'Ramayana' but their words display restrained thoughts. Their conduct is more disciplined and their character is not allowed to fall from the elevated position.

15 Ramcaritmanas, Ar. K., 11. 27d, 3-12.
valmiki, apparently unaware of the sacred role they are supposed to play in relation to Rama, makes Seeta indulge in vociferous arguments. To valmiki the distinction between Seeta and an ordinary woman is not of any material significance. He lets loose the feelings of a frightened wife through Seeta regardless of her esteemed position as the wife of Rama.

There are many other incidents to which valmiki attaches great importance but Tulasi Das considers them of little significance. The killing of Kabandha and felling of seven palm trees in a circle by one shot of his arrow by Rama are dismissed by Tulasi Das in a line or two only but are described in detail by valmiki. On certain occasions the scene in 'Ramayana' seems to stoop low to the erotic and vulgar points. In 'Ramcaritmanas' such occasions are carefully avoided without any damaging effect on the integrity of the poem as a piece of literature. One of such occasions occurs in Sundar Kand when Hanuman has entered into the palace of Ravana at night in search of Seeta. Valmiki describes in detail the amorous scene of Ravana's harem. 16 There are thousands of women, unsurpassingly

16 Ramayana, S.K., Chap. IX.
beautiful, to entertain Ravana. The poet seeks to arouse amorous passion by a detailed description of their beauty. In 'Ramcaritmanas' the poet is completely silent on such aspects of Ravana's palace. In spite of the fact that it is night and Hanuman beholds the same scene the poet does not show any inclination to indulge in such descriptions. To do so might appear unnatural. While frantically searching for Seeta if the poet allows Hanuman to watch and observe the naked beauty of the women, it may appear deviation from the main purpose. The treatment of Valmiki here is incompatible with the sacred theme of the poem. It falls short of moral significance which Tulasi Das attaches to his poem. Hanuman has entered secretly the palace of Ravana with a purpose. His dedication to the main purpose of his mission does not permit him to while away his time in any other thing. To present Hanuman with a serious and risky job to be performed in an alien land of dangerous demons can not appropriately fit in with the kind of scene described in 'Ramayana'. Hence Tulasi Das does not describe in detail and the whole scene is carefully touched upon in merely few lines:

From palace to palace he searched for:
And countless warriors everywhere he saw
Then he entered the palace of Ravana
Unique it was which excelled description.
The monkey beheld him fast asleep
But Vaidehi in the palace he could not see. 17

There may be another reason why Tulasi Das does not treat
Hanuman observing the beauty of women of Ravana's palace.
The conduct of Hanuman, a celebate by birth, appears con-
tradictory to his character in the framework of Valmiki.
That is not allowed to happen in the scheme of Tulasi Das.
To him the image of Hanuman as a devotee is of as much
valued importance as the image of Rama as the Lord. The
poet in the Ramcaritmanas is not only wise but careful also.
He fashions his characters keeping in view the whole pur-
pose of his poem and no temptation of any kind, erotic or
chivalric, deviates him from the basic path.

The meeting of Hanuman with Seeta and the dialogue
between them is found in 'Ramayana' as well as in Ramcarit-
manas. But in 'Ramayana' there are descriptions which are
considered unnecessary in 'Ramcaritmanas'. Hanuman intro-
duces himself to Seeta by narrating a series of events that
had occurred in the life of Rama. He puts several questions

17 Ramcaritmanas, S.K., 11. 4d, 9-14.
to Seeta also to ensure that she is the wife of Rama. In Chapter XXXVII Hanuman proposes that Seeta may accompany him to Rama. He asks her repeatedly to sit on his back and he will then carry her unobstructed to Rama. Seeta argues and says,

"O high monkey! I know your valour, for you are the son of wind, a common monkey can not land into the territory of Ravan having crossed the vast sea. But it is not proper for me to sit on your back. I may fall down and faint. If I fall into the sea the creatures of the sea will devour me up. Moreover you will be then in the company of a woman and the demons will suspect you .... There is another reason, O high monkey! for not accepting your proposal by me. I do not like to touch the body of any male person willingly except Rama."

Thus, there are points of arguments in 'Ramayana' both for and against the proposal. In 'Ramcaritmanas' the whole episode is narrated in brief yet worthy and honourable style. Hanuman says:

O Mother! I can take you back now at once
But I swear by Ram, the Lord did not command.
O mother! have patience for a few days only
Rama shall come accompanied by monkeys.

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18 Ramayana, S.K. Chap. 31-36.
19 Ramcaritmanas, S.K., 11. 15d, 5-8.
Seeta doubts the assurance and says:

O son! all the monkeys are only like you
But the demons are valiant and huge
Hence with serious doubts my heart is filled.  

And then:
The monkey heard it and his stature revealed
Then in Seeta's heart confidence grew
And the son of wind a tiny form took.
Then Hanuman said: O mother! listen
Monkeys have not much valour and intelligence
But when the Lord grants his grace
Garud can be devoured by a tiny snake.  

This humility of Hanuman expressed in his conversation with Seeta is missing in 'Ramayana'. This is the admirable privilege of Tulasi Das only. On his return to Rama also Hanuman expresses his humility in a similar style, Rama asks:

O monkey? tell me how could you burn
The mighty fort under the care of Ravan?

Again Tulasi Das says:

Hanuman found the Lord well-disposed
Devoid of pride these words he spoke:

---

21 Ibid., S.K., ll. 14d, etc.
A beast of trees only this pride holds
From one branch to another he can go.
I cross'd the sea and the golden city burnt
The groves I ruin'd and killed the demons
O Lord! that was all by your might.
There is nothing for me to take pride. 22

Tulasi Das does not expose Seeta to any vulgar situation. In 'Ramcaritmanas' there is an incident of the crow hitting the feet of Seeta which does not find any mention in 'Ramayana'. This is to show respect to Seeta only.

The stupid son of Indra under the guise of a crow
The Power of Rama wanted to behold
That crow hit Seeta's feet with his beak
And flew at once away, ignorant and stupid. 23

In whatever position Seeta is placed, her honour remains well-protected in 'Ramcaritmanas'. In Ramayana, the poet is not very careful. He treats her as a mere character in the poem. There are over a hundred of points of difference between the two works. These have been dealt with in scholarly manners by some other scholars. Here I wish to draw

22 Ramcaritmanas, S.K., 32d, 9 etc.
23 Ibid., Ar. K., 11. 2d, 9 etc.
the circle of my reference to a few of them only for illustrative purpose.

The story of 'Uttarkand' in 'Ramayana' is totally different from that of 'Ramcaritmanas'. The former contains many things which have no place in 'Ramcaritmanas'. The one seems to be a document of historical events in the life of Rama, the other lays vigorous emphasis on the unearthly and mysterious entity of Rama. Instead of describing what Rama does and what happens to him at the end of his life Tulasi Das touches upon the miraculous restoration of Ayodhya to a new life of prosperity, religious and communal harmony and dedication to duty. He then describes the mysterious origin of the story of Rama. The end of 'Ramcaritmanas' is turned into a highly philosophical discourse. The story of Kagbushindi and Garud has no place in Valmiki 'Ramayana' whereas in 'Ramcaritmanas' it is dealt with in detail with pious serenity and seriousness. As a whole Ramcaritmanas casts no aspersion on the revered characters. The deeds of Rama, unique in all respects, receive elevated significance on the earth. Tulasi Das presumes the fore-knowledge of many events and scriptures on the part of the readers. This enables him to avoid unnecessary loading of his work with details. The situations,
dramatic or descriptive, are created and handled with eyes always centred on the divine personality of his hero. Nothing that is derogatory in the life of either Rama or Hanuman or any of his admired and adored personages is given place. This is in brief how Tulasi Das differs. He acts like a refinery converting the crudes collected from Valmiki into refined products. The episodes of 'Ramayana' are altered and alluded and occasionally omitted completely to make his work more relevant to his personal purpose, moral, solemn, philosophical and poetically beautiful. His purpose is moral because it refers to human ethics, is philosophical because it refers to philosophy of devotion and is poetically beautiful because it refers to tranquility of aesthetic emotions. In 'Ramcaritmanas' Tulasi Das establishes in a grand poetical way a link between the divine revelation and the performance of earthly duties and thereby elevates the values of social duties. In fact, the distinguishing feature of 'Ramcaritmanas' is the importance given to the inter-action of love of God and social duty.

'Adhyatma Ramayana' is the second great work from which Tulasi Das derived the materials of 'Ramcaritmanas'. The authorship of 'Adhyatma Ramayana' is obscure but the work has largely been attributed to the writer of Mahabharat.
who is popularly known as Vyasa. It will be useful to write a few words on the form and contents of the 'Adhyatma Ramayana' in order to understand the extent of indebtedness of Tulasi Das to it. It has many similarities with and differences from Valmiki 'Ramayana'. The poem retains the fundamental framework of the 'Ramayana' but it has been considerably reduced in size to almost a fraction of it. All that is not relevant to the transcendental entity of Rama is left out. There are several portions added to the story taken from Valmiki. These are mainly the hymns and philosophical discourses. The hymns glorify the supremacy of God and the philosophical discourses reveal the nature of God, man and the universe. Rama is the unfailing Lord of his devotees. Further, many changes have also been made in the story of the 'Ramayana'. The significant change that appears in the 'Adhyatma Ramayana' is the substitution of the real Seeta by a mere shadow. The other noteworthy difference is found in the treatment of Rama. In Valmiki he acts like a natural human being with nothing to amaze or bewilder us. In 'Adhyatma Ramayana' Rama is a man in form only but his acts and behaviour are all supernatural. His deeds and words are miraculous and he reveals only divinity all around himself. Whenever his conduct manifests
a natural human behaviour the poet creates a belief among the readers that Rama is merely acting. The story is narrated by Shiva instead of Valmiki. Shiva, with his consort Parvati, occupies a sacred position in the 'Adhyatma Ramayana'. There is an attempt in the 'Adhyatma Ramayana' to manifest the divine in earthly form. In Valmiki there is an attempt to make the earthly being strive for attaining divinity through perfection of action. There exists no pre-conceived notion of divinity about a man. In 'Adhyatma Ramayana' it does exist. The notion continues to hang around even when Rama does not act like the divine. Rama is described as:

\begin{quote}
राम; परामुक्त सुरक्षा पुराणः पुराणः \\
नित्यमुक्तीं नित्यमुक्तीं नित्यमुक्तीं।
तथास्माद्विजस्ते तोः वेदोऽस्मि
सुरभिरम हुः; रत्निन्द्रायुधायते उत्तुरः।
\end{quote}

(Trans: Rama is the Absolute Being
The soul of Puranas, the Eternal Light
The Eternal Bliss, Inalienable
But to ignorant men he looks as if
By sorrows and joys of Illusion affected he is.

Thus in 'Adhyatma Ramayana' the hero is a transcendental being.
In Valmiki, Rama is always on the earth.

\footnote{Adhyatma Ramayana, Yuuddha Kand, Chap. I, Sloka 54.}
In Tulasi Das we find closer affinity with 'Adhyatma Ramayana' which he considers more useful for his poem. 'Ramcaritmanas' and 'Adhyatma Ramayana' are identical in many respects and obviously Tulasi Das is more indebted to 'Adhyatma Ramayana' than to any other work not excluding Valmiki Ramayana. I have described earlier how Tulasi Das made omissions, additions and alterations in the story of Rama. Similarly in preceding paragraph we have noticed how in 'Adhyatma Ramayana' the same kind of omissions, additions and alterations have been made while retaining the framework of 'Ramayana'. It is therefore clear that Tulasi Das made the scrutiny of 'Ramayana' after 'Adhyatma Ramayana' had already processed it. Touched by two hands the story of Rama gets a much improved and solemn reception in the framework of Tulasi Das. The long story of Valmiki was considerably reduced by 'Adhyatma Ramayana' in size. Tulasi Das felt that the story should be neither too long nor too short. He therefore enlarged the theme of 'Adhyatma Ramayana' and abridged the voluminous version of Valmiki. Thus 'Ramcaritmanas', as we find it now, is unique in size and it occupies a compromising position between the two great works. In 'Ramcaritmanas' the first chapter, Balkand, is the longest next followed by Ayodhyakand, the second chapter.
In 'Ramayana' and 'Adhyatma Ramayana' the sixth chapter is the longest. It deals with the battles. The second chapter of 'Ramayana', 'Adhyatma Ramayana' and the 'Ramcaritmanas' are proportionately of equal size, more or less. The Aranyakand, Kishkindhakand and Sundarkand have been diminished to one third of Ayodhyakanad in size. In Valmiki Ramayana and 'Adhyatma Ramayana' they are not reduced to that extent and are kept at a size to equate about half of the Ayodhya kand in respective poems. Uttar kand is the third longest chapter in 'Ramcaritmanas' which corresponds to Valmiki Ramayana but differs from the 'Adhyatma Ramayana'.

The one thing that is strikingly different, and is found neither in Valmiki nor in 'Adhyatma Ramayana' is the prologue of 'Ramcaritmanas' in the form of hymns and prayers. 'Adhyatma Ramayana' strives for adding a touch of unearthly solemnity to the contents of the story by converting the story into a dialogue between Shiva and Parvati. Tulasi Das following the same style has surpassed the 'Adhyatma Ramayana'. He converts the dialogue into something unique by way of corollary. He involves the four stages of it in the story - the first dialogue between Shiva and Parvati,
the second between Kaghushindi and Garud, the third between Yajyavalka and Bharadwaj and the fourth between himself and the readers. The beginning of 'Ramcaritmanas' is entirely original contribution of Tulasi Das to the epic and the hymns have been composed to reveal his devotion for Rama. He acknowledges the inadequacies of his resources to express the greatness of his Lord and seeks apologies for writing in the language of common man. He exalts the 'name' of Rama and considers it above everything, not excluding Rama himself. He declares that his poem is a holy lake for it deals with the acts of Rama. All this he writes to foretell the sanctity to be attached to the work. None of the works of the other two poets contains such beginning. Further the stories dealing with the causes of incarnations of Rama are not found in 'Ramayana' and 'Adhyatma Ramayana'. These are the stories of Narad, Manu and Satrupa, Bhanu, Pratap and the birth of Ravana and demons. They are borrowed from Puranas and are purposefully inserted into the general framework of 'Ramcaritmanas' to glorify the incarnation of Rama. Rama and Seeta have seen each other before the bow-contest in Tulasi Das but as I have said earlier this is not found in 'Ramayana' and 'Adhyatma Ramayana'. In 'Ramcaritmanas' Tulasi Das introduces a visit of Janak to Rama in the forest which
finds no mention in the earlier works. Apart from Atri's hymns and the opening salutations and the closing exhortations which are always distinctive of Tulasi Das in the third chapter of 'Ramcaritmanas' is the introduction of an episode showing the sage Narad paying an unexpected visit to Rama which is not mentioned in the other two works of his predecessors, namely the 'Ramayana' and the 'Adhyatma Ramayana'. The meeting of Hanuman and Vibhisan on the former's visit to Lanka is not found in the earlier "Ramayana". The first meeting of Hanuman and Vibhisan takes place in 'Ramcaritmanas' before Hanuman's first confrontation with Ravan. This is new. In Lankakand there are many instances of fresh additions made by Tulasi Das. Mandodari tries three times to persuade Ravan by her requests, fears and warnings to surrender to Rama. Hanuman while on his way back to Rama with the life-giving herb is shot down by Bharat who mistakes him for a demon. Rama saves Vibhisan from being hit by the spear of Ravan by standing himself in front of him. These incidents find no place in either 'Ramayana' or 'Adhyatma Ramayana'. The acknowledgement of the omnipotence and over-all supremacy of Rama by Mandodari, the wife of Ravan, in her dialogue with her husband is an admirable contribution of Tulasi Das.

\[25\] Ramcaritmanas, Ar. K., 11. 3s, 1-24.
to the story of his poem. This makes the situation significantly devotional. It provides an occasion, on the other hand, to display the pride of Ravan also before his total disaster takes place.

Scholars there are who believe that 'Ramcaritmanas' is the 'Ramayana' rewritten by Tulasi Das filling it with the substance derived from 'Adhyatma Ramayana' and clearing out the portions not relevant to the philosophy of devotion. Since I have described how much he has not derived from 'Adhyatma Ramayana' it will be useful to write briefly how much he has derived from it. He follows 'Adhyatma Ramayana' in Balkand where he writes several verses closely similar to passages in 'Adhyatma Ramayana'. The revelation of divine stature by Rama to Kauslya and her devotional hymns, Brahma's hymn to Shiva, Ahilya's hymn to Rama are akin to the spirit of 'Adhyatma Ramayana'. Later in Ayodhyakand of 'Adhyatma Ramayana' there is a lengthy and philosophical discourse by Lakshman on the nature of God, man and universe to Guha while Rama is resting; there is a short hymn of praise of Bharadwaj to Rama and by Valmiki an extensive hymn of praise to Rama. Tulasi Das follows the 'Adhyatma Ramayana' in all these matters, either directly or indirectly. The
philosophical discourse of Vashistha to Bharat and the conversation between Rama and the boatman are in the same process of borrowing of Tulasi Das. To sum up, it may be said that he borrows the body from 'Ramayana' and life from 'Adhyatma Ramayana'. The beauty and charm that make 'Ramcaritmanas' unique is his own original contribution.

It will be straining too far to prolong the discussion on the two works only in determining the value of 'Ramcaritmanas'. There are other works also whose influences obviously can not be denied. All that is not taken from either of the two works and also not created by himself is believed to have been taken from Puranas and Mahabharata. There is a direct evidence of borrowing from Mahabharata. Lord Krishna explains to Arjuna the reasons of his being incarnated. In 'Ramcaritmanas' Tulasi Das translates almost literally the same ideas:

When righteousness begins to diminish
And the demons, the villain and the proud increase
Lawlessness they create which excels all words
They torture the Brahmins, cows, gods and earth
Various forms then the merciful Lord assumes
And the agonies of the saints removes.
He kills the demons and restores god
Protects the integrity and honour of Vedas.

26 Shrimad Bhagavat Gita, Chap. 4, Sloka 7.
27 Ramcaritmanas, B.K., ll. 120d, 11-18.
The story of Rama's life was available in Mahabharata also but Tulasi Das had enough of other resources already for 'Ramcharitmanas' and therefore he borrowed only few things from Mahabharat, the important of them being of philosophical nature. The central idea of Mahabharat is to expose the proud and the wicked to disastrous failures. No victory can be achieved at the cost of reason, righteousness, truth and honesty. In 'Ramcharitmanas' these ideas are working in the life of Ravana, who pays no heed to these qualities. Thus Tulasi Das makes use of the morals of Mahabharat in fashioning his characters.

Tulasi Das takes materials from Bhagwat Purana also. This is done to achieve deeper solemnity. The sacrifice sponsored by Daksha to which all the gods excluding Vishnu, Brahma and Shiva are invited is taken from Bhagwat Purana. The style of childish pranks of Rama are derived from the same source where such pranks are beautifully described in respect of Krishna. The miraculous manifestation of Rama's supremely divine form before Kaushlya is a replica of Krishna's self-manifestation of divinity at his birth to his mother. The description of the city of Janak bears close resemblance to the city of Mathura in Bhagwat Purana. The bow contest provides a scene in 'Ramcharitmanas' where
Rama is seen by each of the men and women assembled there according to personal attitudes. This is what we find in the Bhagwat Puran also where Krishna is the central figure of similar attraction:

"When Lord Shri Krishna accompanied by Balram presented himself in the arena he appeared as mighty warriors with a body of thunderbolt to the wrestlers; as a jewel of mankind to the common men, as 'Kama' personified to the women, as kinsmen to the cow-boys, as administrator of justice to the cruel kings, as a lovely child to the old men and women, as death itself to Kansa, ....... as the absolute to the wise sages and as the adored God to the people of Brishni race." 28

This is what echoes all through the lines in 'Ramaritmanas' given below:

28 Bhagavat Purana, Section X, Chap. 3, Slokas 16-17.
Everyone beheld the image of the Lord
According to the feelings of one’s heart
The warriors saw in Rama’s form
Valour itself having been transformed.
The demons who were there in the guise of princes
Beheld in the Lord an image of Death.
The residents of the city beheld both the brothers
As the monarchs of men, for eyes a pleasure.
with glee at heart the women watch’d
According to the feelings of their heart.
The felt that the concept of beauty itself
With unique form was present.
The Lord appear’d as the Absolute to the sages,
With many hands, legs, eyes and heads.
The Kinsmen of Janak looked at him
He was closely related as if.
..............................
To the ascetics he seemed Absolute supreme. 29

Another example of the total identification of views appears
in the Lankadand of ‘Ramcaritmanas’ in the verses attributed
to Mandodari when she strives to persuade her husband to
give up enmity with Rama:

Believe me for what I say
The Absolute he is, in the form of gem of Raghu race,
The Vedas personify the existence of
The spheres of the universe in his every part

29 Ramcaritmanas, B.K., 11. 200d, 7-20.
The netherworld is his feet and the Heaven his head
The other spheres in his other limbs dwell
The frown of his brow creates terrible time
The clouds are his hairs and the sun dwells in his eyes.
Ten directions make his ears, the Vedas say
The Vedas are his words and air his breath
His lips are avarice and teeth Lethe (Yamraj)
Illusion is his laugh and arms are Dikkpal.
His face is fire and tongue firmament
His acts are Creation, Preservation and End.
Countless herbs of kinds of eighteen are his pores
Rivers are the network of his veins and mountains his bones.
Shiva is his ego and Brahma his genius,
The moon is his mind and the Absolute his wisdom.  

Let us compare the ideas in Bhagwat Puran when Shiva addresses to Krishna after the latter's victory over Bana:

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"O Lord! thou art the supreme Absolute in the form of Eternal Light purposefully hidden in the Vedas. The righteous sages behold thy Omnipresent and serene form with its vastness of the sky. The firmament is the navel, the fire is thy mouth and water thy semen. The Heaven is thy head, the directions are thy ears and the earth is thy feet. The moon is thy mind, the sun thy eyes and I, Shiva, thy pride. The sea is thy belly and Indra thy arms, the herbs are thy pores, the clouds are thy hairs and Brahma is thy wisdom etc.\textsuperscript{31}

The works of Kali Das and some other authors have also been occasionally usefully utilised by Tulasi Das. They have helped Tulasi Das in style and poetic skill. But to deal with the topic in further details will be a deviation from the main subject of the thesis. The purpose of the illustrative references to the works on the life of Rama prior to Tulasi Das is merely to show that Tulasi Das had plenty of materials before him to rework on the same theme. He strove for making use of all of them to restricted extent only depending on the degree of their relevance. I may conclude by saying that Tulasi Das procures the raw materials from all available sources and when these materials are processed through the refinery of his imagination they are turned into a miraculously different product resulting in the creation of a totally separate and original entity for Tulasi Das.

\textsuperscript{31} Bhagwat Puran - Section X, Chap. 63, Sloka - 34-36.
The following points may briefly be mentioned in this connection. Firstly, he rejects all that seems to him vulgar and unworthy of his admired characters in 'Ramcaritmanas'. This is more obvious in the use of materials borrowed from Valmiki. Secondly, he is scrupulously conscious of the sanctity of his purpose for which he is writing the poem. A grandiloquence of prayers in the introductory portion of 'Ramcaritmanas' bears witness to it. Before the readers come to the main theme they are given an impression that a high and heavenly act is going to be performed on earth and they must be prepared to behold it. Anything short of this may profane the sacred cause for which the poem is written. Thirdly, he follows a middle course between Valmiki Ramayana and 'Adhyatma Ramayana' by abridging the former and amplifying the latter while casting his inquisitive glances at the works of other authors now and then. His work, therefore, is neither too long nor too short. This is done with a view to doing away the monotony of the 'Ramayana' and improving the aesthetic values of 'Adhyatma Ramayana'. Fourthly, by the variety of verses and episodic intensifications he makes the poem suit the literary and dramatic taste of cultured readers. Fifthly, he makes it serve a useful social and philosophical purpose.
The poem is unique in these respects and the readers forget its borrowed character while reading it.

I I

Earlier I have briefly referred to the reliance of Milton on his predecessors and his typical approach to the subject matter of his epic. Here I propose to examine in detail the quality and content of the sources which he used for writing his great epic. The prevalent idea of an epic in the time of Renaissance was that it was a large narrative poem with some reference to the gods and a grand hero. The gods became the part of myth and hero the part of history. The deeds of hero according to the Renaissance theory celebrate the nation in which the poem is produced. The hero is often seen as the founder of that nation. This concept did not totally suit the temperament of revolutionary Milton. He would not like to accept epic as a nationalistic genre nor a literary form of ancestor-worship. 'Paradise Lost' contains both, myth and history, yet is different from the conventional approach to myth and history for literary purpose. A survey of the epic before Milton will reveal many important informations about the kind of hero and quality of the form of epic which the world was familiar
with for centuries.

The Anglo-saxon Beowulf has the form and the hero conforming to Anglo-Saxon society. The society being primitive the hero of the epic is most active in single combat. The hero displays strength, courage and loyalty by conquering monsters and men. This can be the subject matter of military epic only and in an 'Iron age'. Such themes may have the relation with Babylonian myth wherein the supreme God glorifies his son Marduk. Marduk fights on the side of order and light against a female dragon named Tiamat and defeats her. Her forces include a host of devils and monsters. Marduk kills her by blowing into her mouth and putting an arrow into her underparts. Then he cuts her in two and of her two great halves makes heaven and earth. Milton's Sin is much more like Tiamat, snaky, an inhabitant of Chaos, spawner of the monster Death, and sexually related to Satan. In 'Paradise Lost' it is Satan who first conquers chaos - by travelling through it. The Greek epics 'Iliad' and 'Odyssey' were composed perhaps 1500 years before the Anglo-Saxon. Though more primitive, as literature and in some cultural aspects they are more advanced. They still concentrate on warfare, but it is organized between armies. There are fights with monsters but there is also intervention
by anthropomorphic gods, and as the world is more complicated, so are the heroes. Achilles sulks, Odysseus travels home to a wife threatened by suitors and is tempted on the way by Circe. One extract from each 'Iliad' and 'Odyssey' may give a better understanding of their nature:

"The wrath of Achilles is my theme, that fatal wrath which, in fulfilling the will of Zeus, brought the Achaens so much suffering and sent the gallant souls of many noble men to Hades, leaving their bodies as carrion for the dogs and passing birds. Let us begin, goddess of song, with the angry parting that took place between Agamemnon, King of men and the great Achilles, son of Peleus. Which of the gods was it that made them quarrel?" 32

Tell me, Muse
Of the man of many ways (Odysseus)
Who was driven for journeys
After he had sacked Troy's sacred citadel
Many were they whose cities he saw
Whose minds he learned of
Many the pains he suffered in his spirit on the wide sea
Struggling for his own life and the home coming
Of his companions. 33

The Greek epics were composed orally and so was Anglo-Saxon Beowulf and perhaps by more than one author to be recited to the harp at feasts. In both those stages of epic we find repetitions, standardized phrases and so on to help

33 Ibid.,
memory and audibility. Oral poetry requires this. At a later stage with Virgil begins the age of writing epics in stead of orally producing it. The techniques of the oral epics were however carried on into the poetry of Virgil also. He writes epics to celebrate his nation. Aeneas was his hero, the legendary Trojan who escaped from Troy and founded Rome:

"Of arms I sing and of the man who first, driven in exile from the coasts of Troy, came to Italy and Lavinian shores. In the end through much suffering poured on sea and land from Juno's resentless enmity, and through much also he endured in war, he was to build, a city and set up his gods in Latium; whence came the Laton race, the lords of Alba and the walls of lofty Rome."

The oral techniques by the time of Virgil had become conventions. The production of epics was aimed at joining the present with the past.

During the middle Ages two more elements were added to the qualities of epics - romance and Christianity. This is a new stage in the history of epic. The romance contained Knight errantry, romantic love, magic and allegory. The most famous epics of the 16th Century were romantic. The dominance of a tribe on a nation gave way to Christendom.

Aniosto's 'Orlando furioso' is about Charlemagne's defence of Christian Europe against the Saracens. There are several stories in it too and an ascent to the moon on a hippogriff to fetch back Orlando's lost sanity. The first stanza as translated by Sir John Harrington in 1591 is given below:

Of dames, of Knights, of arms, of love's delight
Of courtesies, of high attempts, I speak.
Then the Moons transported all their might
Of africk seas, the force of France to break
Incited by the youthful heat and spite
Of agramont their king, that vowed to wreck
The death of King Traiano
Upon the Roman Emperor Chalemagne.

Another Italian poet Jorquato Jasso wrote an epic on the crusades. Its hero is the crusader Godfrey of Boulogne who besieges Jerusalem. This is in an attempt of Europe to reassert itself against the races of south and east of Mediterranean. Ariosto glorifies the expansionist drive of Europe in terms of Charlemagne, Tasso in terms of the Crusades. Another stage in the writing of epic poems followed with the appearance of Edmund Spenser whose 'Fairy Queene', written between 1580-1590, though in unfinished form, is a highly patriotic poem. King Arthur stands as a national hero and queen Elizabeth as heroine. The ethos is

36 Ibid.
that of Christian humanism, but the Knights in the poems direct their energies at perfecting their own behaviour rather than changing other people's. The virtues represented in the poem are holiness, temperance, truth, chastity and friendship.

With Milton an other new element entered into epic poetry. In Ariosto and Tasso Christianity had been the zeal of colonizing Europeans, merchant missionaries; in Spenser it was veiled in allegory which celebrated virtues of various kinds, Milton went deeper into the matter and did not accept Christianity merely as expanding religion in space and time. He wanted to deal with Christianity as world-wide and eternal religious truth; he wanted to be explicit. He considered it useful to write 'with a gravity and strictness which he felt to be both more pure and more classical, than the proliferant incident and decoration of the romantic epics.\textsuperscript{37}

In Anglo-Saxon England the Christian monks had composed Bible stories in heroic verses. These poems are 'Genesis', 'Exodus' and 'Christ and Satan'. Of these, Genesis A and Genesis B are more important than others. Milton may have seen some of these Bible poems. Here are some extracts translated by R.K. Gordon:\textsuperscript{38}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{37}John Broadbent: \textit{Paradise Lost, Introduction}, C.U.P. 1972, p.34.
\item \textsuperscript{38}Ibid., p.35.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
They performed naught in heaven save right and truth, till the leader of the angels in his pride fell into error. They would no longer follow in their own way of life, but turned from the love of God. They made great boasting that they could share with God the glorious abode, wide and radiant, amid the splendour of the host. Grief came upon them there, envy and presumption and the pride of that angel who first began to work and weave and stir up that wickedness, when, thirsting for strife, he declared that he would possess a dwelling and throne in the northern part of the kingdom of heaven .... Nothing had been wrought here as yet save darkness, but this wide land stood, sunk and dark, remote from God, empty and useless. The resolute king looked thereon with his eyes, and beheld the place bare of joys, saw the dark mist brooding in eternal night, black under the heavens, sombre and wastes, till at the command of the glorious king this creation came into being.

Satan uttered speech; he who henceforth must needs dwell in hell, have the abyss in his keeping, spoke in sorrow - he was once God's angel, radiant in heaven, until his mind led him stray, and his pride most strongly of all, so that he would not honour the word of the Lord of hosts, within him pride swelled about his heart, outside him was not grievous torment.

He spoke these words:

"This desolate place is very different from that other which once we knew, high heaven which my Lord gave me, though we could not hold it before the ruler of all ... Yet he has not done right
to hurl us into the fiery abyss, to hot hell, reft of the heavenly realm. He has determined to people it with mankind. That to me is the greatest of griefs, that Adam, who was wrought from earth, shall not hold my mighty throne, dwell in bliss, and we suffer this torment, affliction is this hell. Alas! had I but the strength of my hands and could win free for one hour, but for a winter hour, then I with his host .... ! But around me lie iron bonds, the chain of the fetter is on me. I am powerless. The hard bonds of hell have seized me so closely. Here is a great fire above and beneath; never have I looked on loathlier landscape; the fire ceases not, hot throughout hell ....

Leaving aside many other writers of poems and mystery plays that deal with the themes of Romance and religion in restricted ways I refer here to Dante whose 'Divine Comedy' was a useful source of Milton's 'Paradise Lost'. The poem is heroic and religious; patriotic yet allegorical. The journey of Dante through the three parts of the poem, 'Inferno' 'Purgatorio' and 'Paradiso' contains many standard epic qualities. There are scenes more ghastly than Milton's hell:

"As frogs before their enemy the snake all scatter through the water till each is squatting on the bottom; so saw I a thousand and more broken spirits fleeing from approach of one who Passed over Styx with sole unwet."

Paradise Lost Book I, 331-345:

They heard, and we abasht, and up they sprung
Upon the wing; as when men wont to watch
On duty, sleeping found by whom they dread
Rouse and bestir themselves ere well awake.

The 16th Century produced some more epics also. They strove to be more heroic than Dante but, at the same time more religious than Asiosto and Tasso. They story of the creation of the world was given epic form by these renaissance poets. It was clear that the interest had shifted from the life of Christ to the fall of man. The creation story also gave writers an opportunity to display their expanding scientific knowledge, and what they felt about it. The fall displayed the guilt that renaissance man felt, like Dr. Faustus, at knowing too much. The most typical and influential work was written by Guillaume du Bartas, a Huguenot, which was later translated into English by Joshua Sylvester under the title "Divine weeks and works". It became very popular throughout the 17th century. The first half was about the creation and fall, followed by the entire subsequent history of man. It was an enormous work which contained Christian mythology and doctrine, world history, popular ethics, and the whole corpus of geography, astronomy and Science. Here is an extract from Sylvester's "Divine weeks and works" which is closest to Paradise Lost in content and form:
Some have their heads grovelling betwixt their feet
As the inky cuttles and the many feet
Some in their breast, as crabs, some headless are,
Footless and finless (as the beneful hare
And heatful Oyster), in a heap confused
Their parts unparted, in themselves diffused
The Tyrian merchant of the Portuguese
Can hardly build one ship of many trees;
But of one tortoise, when he left to float
The Arabian fisherman can make a boat
And one such shell him in the stead doth stand
Of bulk at sea and of a house on land, etc. 38

Here is another extract from the work of a writer named Hugo
Grotius, a Dutch scholar and reformer with Whom Milton was
familiar by personal contact. Their education, career and
religious and political attitudes were similar:

What is that creature moving with slantwise path
That crawls by winding ways and writes along to meet?
Its flat and scaly head twists back a hissing mouth
And snakes a three forked tongue, its two eyes
gleam like fire,

Its coiling spiral twine and twist with hue of gold
Resplendent; in long slipping volutes it extends,
And folds its back in many a sinuous labyrinth ... 40

39 Week 1 Day 5
John Broadbent: Paradise Lost, Introduction, C.U.P.
1972, p. 40.
40 Ibid., p. 41.
Eve sees the flaming sword keeping them out of Paradise:

What sudden gleam is that?
What light shines fiercely forth?
A flame has caught the Garden and the lofty trees
Are burning without fire, a gleaming conflagration
That wanders hastily, as when the bright sky shines
With cometary lights, the whole grave is ablaze.\textsuperscript{41}

Another Italian dramatists Andreini, writes in 'Adams' in 1963 how Adam wakes from the creation of Eve out of his rib:

What white and sacred rose in Heaven's garden
Wet with empyreal dews have I beheld
Open its bosom to these sums?\textsuperscript{42}

A Dutch writer named Joost Van den Vondel in 1954 writes 'Lucifer' wherein Uriel describes the fall of Lucifer:

As the clear day, turned to insensate night
When the sun sinks, forgets to shine with gold
So all his beauty, in that dread descent
Changed to deformity, accursed and vile;
The heroic visage to a brutish snout,
His teeth to fangs, able to gnaw through steel;
His feet and hands into four sorts of claws;

\textsuperscript{42} Ibid.
The skin of opal to an inky hide,
Out of his bristled back burst dragon's wings. 43

I have described a possibly long list of materials from which John Milton could prepare the framework of Paradise Lost. Italian and Dutch writers who had sung and dramatized the Adam and Eve story in one way or the other. With these materials Milton, for some time, experienced the difficulty of choice. Tragedy, he thought first, could be suitable mode of expression. Later he changed to epic which he believed would provide larger scope for his project. Further he chose Christianity in stead of Romance and patriotism which were the themes of Tasso, Ariosto, Dante and Spenser. Thus he writes epic and he writes on Christianity. Both these aspects have been dealt with in the works of many critics. These critics have so many controversies and to examine them here will land me into difficulties in coming to an impartial and detached judgement about the value of 'Paradise Lost'. Unlike the other epic writers of the past, as has been told, he decided to write a poem and not a history. But this happened to him at a later stage. First he began with a conviction that he had a burden to bear, a message to deliver, a poem to write which was to be an elaborate song to generations celebrating

the great work done for the church and people of England, a reform of reformation. But this was followed by a long and bitter process of disillusionment which resulted in the abandonment of thought of an historical poem, and what took place in its place was the indictment of human weakness. The poem, therefore, possesses no appeal if one wants to find in it a chapter of history as the Greeks saw in the 'Iliad'. But the theological position of the poem, its central justification of God's ways to men must need be discussed for a while. That Milton recognizes that some justification is needed, and therefore lays such stress on man's complete freedom, is something, and distinguishes Milton from his Calvinist contemporaries who believed in the doctrine of determinism. Milton insisted on finding an intelligible, a reasonable justification. Adam was created free and he was forewarned of what may follow as a result of disobedience to an arbitrary command. But he chose to disobey under the influence of his love for Eve and thereby entailed on all his unhappy posterity guilt, and a deprav'd will which led only too easily to fresh falls and the continuous degeneration of mankind. God, indeed, by the death of His son has relieved those who accept that Atonement of their inherited guilt, and by His grace helps
those who strive to recover their freedom and render God service due to Him. But those who accept are few and never will be many. Such a justification is quite a different thing from Pope's attempt to "vindicate God's ways to man." Milton's defence of God's condemnation of the whole race in Adam in the 'De Doctrina' is rather on the lines of Butler's 'Analogy'. This entailing of the sin of the parents on the children is in line with the way God works:

"It is however a principle uniformly acted on in the divine proceedings, and recognized by all nations and under all religions from the earliest period, that the penalty incurred by the violation of things sacred (and such was the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil) attaches not only to the criminal himself but to the whole of his posterity. It was this in the Deluge etc. ............ God declares this to be method of justice. . . . . Visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children ... into the third and fourth generation of them that hate me etc. etc."

It is a little strange to hear Milton speaking of the tree as a holy thing, in view of his general refusal to recognize holiness in things at all. Is he not here confounding the holiness of principles, of justice, etc., and the sacredness of tabus, the breach of which entails mischief on good and bad alike? These and similar things in 'Paradise Lost'

cause difficulties to the readers. We cannot read the poem without troubling ourselves about the theology of the poem, for the poem is a Christian poem. Mr. Tillyard feels that this great poem of Milton is pessimistic, and attributes this tone to the failure of the poet's high hopes. But it must be remembered that the pessimism, so far as it is made explicit, is inherent in the Evangelicalism, indeed is inherent in Christianity in any form that is historical: 'Many are called but few are chosen'. The great scheme of salvation will benefit only the few, the Elect. The poem was welcomed by Protestant Christianity from Ellwood, Addison, and others to Cowper, Foster, and the nineteenth century Evangelicals. The chief reason for this is that all the main and prominent doctrines of the poem are those of Evangelical Protestant. It avoided only the Calvinist doctrine of determinism. Everything else is in the poem - the fall (through man's own free will); the corruption (though not the complete corruption) of man's will through the fall, the Atonement through the Death of Christ; the renewal of man's will through the spirit, the Grace of God.

If 'Paradise Lost' seems to many people today imperfectly Christian in spirit, it is not because of any
explicitly heretical doctrines the poem gives expression to, such as Arianism, but because Milton's scale of values is not that of the Orthodox and sincere Christian, Evangelical or Catholic. The two of the doctrines - the Atonement and the Doctrine of Divine Grace - may be referred to in brief. It is not accurate to say that Milton ignores the atoning death of Christ in his 'Paradise Regained' and makes the temptation great atonement as has been said by some critics. The temptation is expressly declared to be preparatory to the death:

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But first I mean
To exercise him in the wilderness,
There he shall first lay down the rudiments
Of his great warfare, ere I send him forth
To conquer sin and Death the two grand foes,
By humiliation and strong sufferance.45
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The only thing, of course, can be said that the thought of Christ's atoning death does not move Milton in the same passionate way as it moves the Evangelical poet of:

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There is a fountain fill'd with blood
Drawn from Emmanuel's veins46
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Or the Catholic Crashaw

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46 William Cowper: Olney Hymns XV, 'Praise for the Fountains Opened'.

Jesu no more, it is full tide
From thy head and from thy feet
From thy hands and from thy side
All the purple rivers meet.

This thy blood's deluge, a dire chance
Dear Lord to thee, to us is found
A deluge of deliverance
A deluge least we should be drown'd. 47

This is because Milton had seen much of this emotional religion and come to believe that it was a source of weakness as well as of strength, made for a self-centred regard for personal salvation rather than such a reform of Church and state as he longed for. To him the Atonement appears as a legal transaction, once carried through, by which the debt incurred by Adam had been paid and man set free again to serve God by the right use of his will.

The doctrine of God's divine grace receives the same kind of treatment in Paradise Lost as the doctrine of atonement. There is difference between his express recognition of the doctrine and the value he attaches to it. To recover the full freedom forfeited by the fall man needs the grace of God:

47 Crashaw: Upon the Bleeding Crucifix, 'A Song'.
Thus they in lowliest plight repentant stood
Praying, for from the Mercy-seat above
Prevenient grace descending had removed
The stone from their hearts, and made new flesh
Regenerate grow instead. 48

But in practice he seems to lay small stress on grace as communicated directly through the mediation of sacraments. Man's will is free, and on himself it depends whether tempted he falls like Adam, or overcomes every temptation like Christ, or falling repents and sincerely repenting recovers his freedom like Samson. Man is free and thereby responsible for what happens to him in this world and the next. To prolong the discussion on this aspect any more may put me to the risk of being drifted away from the main issue. In brief, I would conclude now by saying that Milton chose Christianity in stead of patriotism and romance. The feat of heroic performances of deadly duels is transformed into a display of angelic gymnastics; the glamorous romantic adventures give way to confrontation between the God and the fallen angels. There is an expedition of the fallen angel to the prohibited realms of the chosen being of God with a malicious purpose. These are treated on gigantic scale. Milton interweaves his own concept of Christianity, political ideology and cosmology throughout the poem. Thus the materials borrowed from the earlier works are synthesized in the

Miltonic mould. And this is the unique creation of Milton. Christianity is not treated as something sovereign in itself. It is humanized by the poet in 'Paradise Lost.'

Now coming to the other aspect, that is, the framework of Paradise Lost, it must be repeated that Milton adopted epic and not tragedy in spite of his earlier leaning towards it. The theme of epic has already been discussed. It has been said that epic poetry in Milton aspired to achieve solemnity and religious bias than earlier found in the poetry of Homer or Beowulf. Virgil had, of course, guided Milton by indicating that the future epic should have religious subject. This was an elevation of epic poetry to a sacred position. This caused the need for an elevated style for that kind of poetry. As Milton had entered into an obligation of writing epic by his own well considered choice it lay on him the responsibility of evolving a style different from those who had written epic earlier. This is in brief the clue to the understanding of the epic style of 'Paradise Lost'. The theme of 'Paradise Lost' is not of the kind where there are spacious halls or sacred elevated altars, or a grand feast or a glamorous pursuit of suitors or even big battles between two countries, which all can take place on the earth alone. Milton has introduced non-human
personages in his epic and everything is supposed to happen in the imaginary spheres of Heaven, Hell, chaos and Paradise. The readers are compelled to activate their minds to have a corresponding response in the airy-world of Milton's cosmology. This is a tough job and Milton adopts a new technique in absence of external aids to solemnity for the abstract theme of his epic. According to Professor C. S. Lewis this technique consists of the following methods. Firstly, he uses unfamiliar words and constructions including archaisms. Secondly, he uses proper names for the splendid remote, terrible, voluptuous or celestial things. Thirdly, he makes use of allusions to all the sources of heightened interest in our sense experience (light, darkness, storm, flowers, jewels, sexual love and the like), but all over-topped and managed with an air of magnanimous austerity. Hence comes the feeling of sensual excitement without surrender or relaxation, the extremely tonic, yet also extremely rich, quality of our experience while we read. But all this may happen in poems which are not epic. Milton's distinction lies in persistent manipulation of his readers by these things. He makes the readers feel that they are attending an actual recitation and they are nowhere allowed to settle down and luxuriate on any one line or paragraph.
To analyse the manipulation of the readers by Milton throughout the poem we may first examine the opening paragraph. The philosophical purpose of the poem being the justification of the ways of God to man appears to be of secondary importance. The main function of the following lines is to give us the sensation that something great is now about to happen:

Of man's First Disobedience and the fruit of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste Brought Death into the world, and all our woe With loss of 'Eden' till one greater Man Restore us, and regain the blissful seat, Sing Heav'nly Muse, that on the secret top Of 'Oreb' or of 'Sinai' didst inspire That Shepherded. . . . . . . . . . . . .
In the beginning how the Heav'ns and Earth Rose out of Chaos . . . . . . . . . . . . I thence Invoke thy aid to my adventurous song, . . . . . . . . . . . . . . while it persues Things unattempted yet in Prose or Rime. And chiefly thou O Spirit, that dost prefer Before all Temples th' upright heart and pure, Instruct me, for thou know'st . . . . . . . . . . Dove-like satst brooding on the vast Abyss . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . What is in me dark Illumin, what is low raise and support;
That to the height of this great Argument
I may assent Eternal Providence,
And justify the ways of God to man.49

This is in line with the great spiritual preparation of the readers to receive something of holy nature found in the opening of 'Ramcaritmanas'. It is a great art and if the poet can successfully give that impression to the readers his purpose is served for the rest of the book. Milton has succeeded in this respect in 'Paradise Lost' as much as Tulasi Das in 'Ramcharitmanas'. Milton achieves this firstly by the quality of weight produced by the fact that nearly all the lines end in long, heavy mono-syllables. Secondly, the deep spiritual preparation is suggested by use of allusions, such as 'O spirit that dost prefer' and 'What in me is ... dark, illumene' or 'Dove-like satst brooding', etc.

Thus Milton while depending on the resources of various kinds mentioned in the preceding lines, creates his own unique entity in 'Paradise Lost' in the same way as Tulasi Das does in 'Ramcaritmanas'. He does this both in substance and in form. The substance, being one of Christian ideologies, is not exactly as he found in the earlier Biblical writings. Milton quotes God's words in Exodus 8:17: 'I Have

come down from that place to liberate them ..... and to lead them out into a good land.' 'In fact', Milton adds dryly, 'they perished in the desert.' God's decrees are always conditional on Man's freedom of action. He wills the good, but men may refuse to co-operate. The essential point is human responsibility. Men cannot blame God if they freely choose to fall. And if adversity comes - then they must analyse and learn from their mistakes. Similarly in the matter of structure Milton knew all about Homer, Virgil Beowulf, Tasso, Ariosto, Dante and Spenser. But he made his style peculiarly different. He introduced a grand style of playing upon the imagination of his readers whose minds he continually kept under his control by presentation of his cosmic world through allusions, similes, rime and the narrative style by making one stroke of creative and surpassing genius follow another. The following few lines may well sum up the achievement of Milton:

Three poets in three distant ages born
Greece, Italy, England did adorn
The first in loftiness of thought surpass'd
The next in majesty; in both the last.
The force of nature could no further go:
To make a third she join'd the other two.50

Thus greatness of Milton lies in producing a synthesis. In Milton there is no struggle between the Pagan and Christian element. They are not being kept in water-tight compartments but being organised together to produce a whole. Thus fusion is the characteristic of his style. His hesitation between the classical and the romantic types of epic which runs through all his works establishes a co-existence of apparent opposites. Similarly, his rebelliousness, his individualism, and his passionate love of liberty co-exist with his equal love for discipline and respect for hierarchy in his works.