CHAPTER II
The greatness of a poet is not affected automatically by the borrowing of materials. Shakespeare was seldom original in his plots. He based his imperishable empire mainly on borrowed materials. The greatness may be of many kinds. The one of them is how remarkably and with what distinction a poet transforms his borrowed materials to his own purposes. This is how I propose to examine Tulasi Das and Milton in respect of 'Ramcaritmanas' and 'Paradise Lost'. Both the poets were born with a very rich literary, philosophical and religious tradition behind them. This tradition in India had been preserved in Sanskrit, and Tulasi Das plunged deep into it to comprehend the essence of the whole tradition before he began to write 'Ramcaritmanas'. He found his aspired work tremendously disproportionate to his talent and said:

The deeds of Rama I desire to tell
But my talent is small and his acts are boundless

My wisdom is low but ambition is lofty.\(^1\)

\(^1\)Ramcaritmanas, B.K., ll. 7d, 9-13.
The profoundity of the subject matter of 'Ramcaritmanas' bears testimony to the need of deep study of tradition on which the poet endeavoured to build his literary empire. John Milton also faced the similar problem in his endeavour to produce 'Paradise Lost' in order to make it "doctrinal" to a nation. He depended for his materials on ancient works, and the works of his predecessors, both of England and of the continental countries of rich culture. He studied many languages including Latin, Greek, French, Italian and Hebrew. The knowledge of these languages enabled Milton to acquire materials from various literary and religious works of great poets, prophets and reformers of the continent. Whereas the character and nature of the traditions of the two poets were different, their approach was identical in many respects to their respective traditions. To discuss now in detail I shall begin with Tulasi Das.

The obscurity and unauthenticity of the ancient works of India makes the task of scholars always difficult to ascertain with accuracy the chronology and the authorship of the works available in Sanskrit. In spite of this, a first hand reliable and convenient classification of the ancient works may be made for the purpose of this work.
Thus we may divide the period in Vedic, Puranic and classical ages. Tulasi Das, like any other Brahmin scholar of his age, studied Sanskrit literature extensively. In writing 'Ramcaritmanas' he makes use of the knowledge he derived from his studies. To speak in general, there is no occasion of great importance in 'Ramcaritmanas' when Tulasi Das does not refer to Vedas and Puranas. In fact he takes the Vedic doctrine, and the Puranic sanction to the ways of human life, as the supreme and unquestionable authority of the society. He foresees disaster in deviation from these principles. His views on the ethics of family, society, state and religion are Vedic and Puranic oriented and 'Ramcaritmanas' embodies this concept of the poet. The influence of the Vedic and Puranic scriptures on Tulasi Das appears in many spheres. The place of sacrifice and the performance of penance in human life has been repeatedly stressed by the poet in 'Ramcaritmanas'. The former is predominantly a Vedic, and the latter a Puranic concept. I shall now deal with them by turn.

The Vedic age for all purposes was basically the age of sacrifices. The concept of sacrifice has received continually an honoured recognition in 'Ramcaritmanas'. 

Sacrifices are treated as means for fulfilling the desires and achieving victory in war. For a section of people they are treated as routine affairs for self purification. Dasrath is advised by Vashistha to perform a particular kind of sacrifice to get sons. Being aggrieved when he meets Vashistha Tulasi Das says:

The king felt deeply aggrieved at heart once,
As he thought he had no son,
He went to the house of guru at once,
Bowed to his feet and paid reverence;
He described all his joys and grief,
Vashistha spoke and gave relief
Have patience, four sons you will have
Renown'd in the world, devotees' fear who will redress,
Sage Sringi then Vashistha summoned
And performed holy sacrifice for son.2

The desire of dasrath is fulfilled, and he gets four sons. This is the beginning of the story of 'Ramcaritmanas'. At the very outset Tulasi Das has accepted the belief in the efficacy of sacrifices in the exalted Vedic form. In Lanka-Kand of 'Ramcaritmanas' Meghnad takes resort to this practice when he finds the enemy hard to conquer. He runs away

2 Ramcaritmanas, B.K., ll. 188 d etc.
from the battle-field and begins to perform sacrifice to achieve victory:

The demons were deeply frightened; They fled away and on the fortress mounted. The swoon of Meghnad was over Ashamed he was to behold his father; He decided to perform sacrifice for triumph And entered into a holy mountain cave at once. On the other hand Vibhisan thought of advice He said, 'Listen, O Lord of matchless mercy and might! Unholy sacrifice Meghnad performs, A wicked sorcerer and tormenter of gods O Lord! if this sacrifice is completed Meghnad shall not quickly be defeated.³

Meghnad is, therefore, not allowed to complete the sacrifice. The practice of sacrifices used for self-purification is mentioned in 'Bal-Kand of 'Ramcaritmanas' where Vishwamitra is described as being troubled by the demons. Rama and Lakshman guard the sacrifice. Mareech is thrown away several hundred miles away by Rama when he tries to disturb the sage. Subahu and other demons are also destroyed; and Vishwamitra completes his sacrifice.

The Vedic concept of offering food to the gods through

³Ramcaritmanas, L.K., 11. 74d, 1-9.
sacrifices is emphatically referred to in the 'Ramcaritmanas'. In Bal-Kand Ravan says that the gods, in order to be made weak, must be deprived of their food, and therefore, all the sacrifices should be stopped:

When Ravan, proud by birth, beheld his force
with anger and pride he thus spoke
O all the legions of demons! hark;
Our enemies are all the gods;
They do not fight face to face
To behold a brave enemy they run away.
The only way they may die,
Listen now, the same I describe;
Brahmin's feast, sacrifices and ceremonies
You must go and cause to cease;
Deprived of these the gods will starve and become weak,
Thus hungry and weak easily they will come to meet,
Then I may kill or let them go
After having them fully in my control.

Rama himself is stated to have performed millions of sacrifices in 'Ramcaritmanas' for the proclamation of his supremacy:

The Lord performed millions of 'aswamedhas'.

There is specific and reverential acknowledgement of personal
indebtedness of the poet to Vedas also:

To the four Vedas I pay homage
Ships they are to cross the sea of birth and death.

And again:

O Garud! this is the philosophy of the Vedas
Forget all works and worship Rama.

Besides references to the sacrifices in 'Ramcaritmanas' there are too many indirect allusions to Vedic customs and recognition of deities. Indra and fire occupy important place and are considered to be the eminent deities of worship. Tulasi Das, in various contexts, has referred to Indra declaring him to be the king of gods. The sanctity and supremacy of fire is expressed in the following analogy:

To those who are capable no vice is attached
Like fire, sun, and the divine Ganges.

Next to Vedas in chronological order are the Puranas. They are eighteen in number. Tulasi Das had studied all the Puranas and understood them. In fact Puranas have had much greater hold and influence on Hindu society in many ways.

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6 Ramcaritmanas, B.K., ll. 14d, etc.
7 Ibid., U.K., ll. 122d, 2-3.
8 Ibid., B.K., ll. 68d, 15-16.
than any other work. Tulasi Das is adequately indebted to Puranas in the formulation of his outlook. The references to Puranas in 'Ramcaritmanas' are brought in to glorify the institutions of Hindu society. Although there is no direct mention of the stories and themes of the Puranas in 'Ramcaritmanas', there are occasions when Puranic thoughts and ideas are used not only to accord sanction of sanctity but also as means of being productive of desired results. One of the greatest virtues and weapons of Puranic system is the observance of penance. Another aspect of the Puranic doctrine is the multiplicity of god and the varying forms of rituals and worship. Tulasi Das has extensively dwelt upon these Puranic beliefs in 'Ramcaritmanas' on various occasions. The worship of Shiva, the marriage of Shiva with Parvati, and the acknowledgement of Brahmin's class superiority are Puranic concepts.

The quality of penance has been described as productive of great things in 'Ramcaritmanas'. Parvati is advised by Narad to perform severe penance in order to get Shiva as her husband. There could be no other easy way for her to marry Shiva. In this context Parvati describes her dream to her mother in which a Brahmin spoke to her:
Go and take to penance, O daughter of the Mountain,
What Narad has said take for granted.
This view your father and mother uphold,
Penance bestows joy and destroys sins and sorrows,
By power of penance Brahma creates universe,
By power of penance Vishnu is the savoir,
By power of penance Shesa holds the Earth,
O Bhawani! penance is the cause of Creation;
Go for penance having deemed thus.9

The potency of the virtue of penance has been repeated on
other occasions also. The ascetic speaks to Pratapbhanu:

Let not your heart wonder O son!
Nothing is impossible for a man of penance;
By the power of penance Brahma made universe,
By the power of penance Vishnu became savoir,
By the power of penance Shiva is destroyer,
Nothing the world has, penance can not acquire.10

Penance is described in 'Ramcaritmanas' to have made the
Brahmins very powerful.

Even death shall bow his head to you
But O Lord of men! never shall the Brahmins do.
Brahmins are supreme ever by penance11

9Ramcaritmanas, B.K., ll. 72d, 1-10.
10Ibid., B.K., ll. 162d, 1-6.
11Ibid., B.K., ll. 164d, 2-4.
The demons of Lanka are also stated to have acquired their power by penance. In 'Ramcaritmanas' Ravan, Kumbhakaran and Vibhisan are shown as performing penance for achieving supremacy on the Earth. By their severe penance these three brothers are able to please Brahma, the giver of boons, and they get the desired results:

The three brothers practised penance of various types Extremely severe which cannot be described
When Brahma beheld the penance he spoke to them
O sons! ask for boon, pleased I am.\(^\text{12}\)

The Puranic world had envisaged the concept of multiplicity of god. This belief is revealed in 'Ramcaritmanas' on many occasions. The whole poem seems to have been supported and given life by the animation of gods and goddesses. The characters of 'Ramcaritmanas' derive strength from the worship of gods and goddesses. Seeta worships Bhawani to get Rama as her husband:

Janaki went to the temple of Bhawani again, Touched her feet and spoke with folded hands: Victory be yours! O daughter of the King of mountains! O partridge for the moon of Shiva's countenance! O mother of Ganesh and Kartik! Victory be yours, Your body gleams like lightning, O mother of Universe!

\(^{12}\) Ramcaritmanas, B.K., ll. 176d, 1-4.
You have neither beginning, nor middle nor end
Your infinite might even Vedas don't understand
You create, preserve and destroy the world

Thousands of Sheesas and Sarad fail to express
The greatness of your boundless grace,
Your worship grants four supreme goals of life,

O goddess! having worshipped your lotus feet
Gods, men, sages all derive bliss.\textsuperscript{13}

Tulasi Das himself derived the strength and inspiration from the worship of the gods to write 'Ramcaritmanas'. In the beginning of 'Ramcaritmanas' Tulasi Das composes hymns in praise of Saraswati, Ganesh, Parvati, Shiva and Hanuman. The Puranas had established a practice to begin any work, particularly of sacred nature, with the worship of gods; of whom Ganesh, Gouri and Shiva were given always the most honoured position. Tulasi Das while following that practice added to the list many more gods. He considered 'Ramcaritmanas' a holy work and began, therefore, with invocations:

\textbf{Ramcaritmanas, B.K., II. 234d, 7-24.}

\begin{align*}
\text{I pay reverence to holy Ganesh and Saraswati,} \\
\text{The source of sounds, words, meanings and music} \\
\text{I pray to Parvati and Mahesh}
\end{align*}
Who are the embodiment of devotion and faith,
Without whose grace even the adept cannot see,
Albeit the God in their hearts seated is,
I revere the holy guru in the form of Mahesh
Who is eternal and abounds in grace,
And everywhere being dependant on whom
Despite being curved is worshipped the crescent moon. 14

Tulasi Das is not content by writing few lines only but continues to worship gods, sages, poets, philosophers and holy scriptures before he comes to the actual life of Rama:

O poets and philosophers! the beautiful swans
Of the holy lake of the acts of Ram
Be pleased and grant your grace

To the lotus feet of that sage I bow
Ramayan who composed,
Which is delightful and sacred despite the demons
And is devoid of vices despite Dusan

To the dust of Brahma's feet I pray
Who created the sea of birth and death
From where appeared.

I speak having bowed to the lotus feet of all:
O gods, Brahmins, scholars and stars:
May you all he pleased
To fulfil my holy wish. 15

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14 Ramcaritmanas, B.K., ll. 1–10.
15 Ibid., B.K., ll. 14d etc.
This practice of Puranic prayers and hymns is found not only in the beginning of the Bal-Kand but also in the beginning of every canto of 'Ramcaritmanas'. The poetic talent of Tulasi Das seems to have profusely fed upon the thoughts of Puranas, and it seems that he would pour everywhere the essence of it to adorn the 'Ramcaritmanas'. The sanction of Puranas to the human behaviour in society for all purposes is considered to be of supreme importance in 'Ramcaritmanas'. The Puranic doctrine of righteousness is the scale on which the quality of human conduct is measured. Whatever conforms to it is holy and commendable, whatever does not conform is contemptible and profane. The reign of Rama is based on Puranic code of conduct. In Uttar-Kand after the return of Rama to Ayodhya the normalcy has been restored; and Rama wears the crown and is declared as the ruler of Ayodhya, Tulasi Das describes:

Early in the morning having bathed in Sarjoo
He sat in the court with the Brahmins and the noble
On Vedas and Puranas Vashistha held discourse
Rama listened, he already knew although.16

And again:

In every house Puranas were read
And the holy deeds of Rama were told in various ways.17

17 Ibid., U.K., ll. 25d, 13-14.
Among the vices, Tulasi has described, one is the disrespect shown to Puranas by allowing Sudras to study it. The Sudras' conduct in doing so is questioned by Tulasi, for it will ruin the sanctity of Puranas. It is not that Tulasi Das held any notion of contempt toward 'Sudras', but according to the prevalent and prescribed norm of a caste-oriented Hindu society the reading of Puranas by 'Sudras', who formed a class by themselves for specific purposes, was considered to be a degradation of the whole society. The action was an act of sacrilege, for it would undermine integrity of Puranas according to Tulasi Das:

Sudras perform prayer, penance and vows
They sit on the dias and Puranas discourse.\(^{18}\)

And again he speaks sarcastically:

Those who revere not Vedas and Puranas in Kali Pass for true saints and devotees of Hari.\(^{19}\)

Besides these direct references there are lavish borrowings of materials from Puranas. The stories of marriage of Shiva and Parvati, Brahmins cursing Pratapbhanu and Kaghbusundi and Garud dialogue are derived from Puranas.

\(^{19}\) Ibid., U.K., ll. 100d, 15-16.
They form the constituent units of the 'Ramcaritmanas'. Vedas and Puranas are generally given co-related honour in 'Ramcaritmanas'. Tulasi Das makes it clear in the beginning that the poem, he writes, is a composition of the ideas derived from the Puranas, Vedas, Ramayana and other sacred books.

The story of Raghunath Tulasi Das writes:

In sweet language for his soul's delight
Which in Ramayana was described
And from other sources also derived,
Which was sung by the Vedas
And praised by the Agmas and Puranas. 20

To what source how much he is indebted is a difficult task to assess; but to Puranas he is indebted more than to any other holy book. Personally he does not discriminate between Vedas and Puranas because he deems the essence of both as the same. For historical reasons Puranas are given greater importance by the critics of Tulasi Das in respect of 'Ramcaritmanas'. One of the causes of the sacred position occupied in Hindu society by 'Ramcaritmanas' is its representation of the entire Puranic belief in a

20 Ramcaritmanas, U.K., 11. (Sloka) 7-11.
simplified and acceptable form. 'Ramcaritmanas', being a social poem, served a useful purpose in bringing about a concept of unity, which was being destroyed by those who were trying to create a difference between the Vedic and the Puranic views. Tulasi Das has, therefore, invariably mentioned Vedas and Puranas together to indicate that both are the same essentially. What is implicit in Vedas is made explicit in Puranas. Puranas give form to what is formless in Vedas. The theory of incarnation emerged in the Puranas and Tulasi Das drew the concept of the absolute descending in human form from the Puranas. Obviously, his indebtedness to Puranas is very deep. It is because of conceptual affinity in matter and style that 'Ramcaritmanas' is considered as holy as Puranas by a section of people.

Tulasi Das never gets tired of quoting the Vedas and Puranas in 'Ramcaritmanas'.

The Vedas and Puranas with joy he would listen
And then to the younger brothers explain.21

O infinite Lord! how shall I pray?
The Vedas and Puranas describe thee measureless.22

21 Ramcaritmanas, B.K., 11. 204d, 11-12.
22 Ibid., B.K., 11, 191d, 11-12.
O Lord! The Vedas and Puranas thus describe
In every heart thoughts good and bad lie.23

Vibhisan spoke in praise of ethics
Upheld by the learned, the Puranas and Srutis.24

The Vedas, Puranas, saints and sages all speak
Nothing is as hard as knowledge to achieve.25

These are not my personal thoughts
But the views of Saints, Puranas and Vedas.26

John Milton has become a towering phenomena in English
literature by writing Paradise Lost as Tulasi has become in
Hindi literature by writing 'Ramcaritmanas.' Both of them
are the product of many influences embodied in the tradition
of their respective culture. There are two important ideas
common to both the works: the idea of deviation from the
allotted path resulting in degradation and fall, not only of
man, but of human society as a whole also; and the pride of
power causing arrogance which leads to disaster. These
ideas had their genesis in the works of holy order. I have
already traced the thoughts on the Puranic model which

23 Ramcaritmanas, S.K., ll, 39d, 3-11.
24 Ibid., S.K., ll, 40d, 1-2.
26 Ibid., U.K., ll. 116d, 1-12.
'Ramcaritmanas' contains. Tulasi Das has described sarcastically the vices of the Kaliyug in which the holy order is violated:

There exist neither bonds of castes nor four orders of life
Men and women oppose what Vedas prescribe,
The Brahmins sell Vedas and Kings exploit subjects,
The command of Vedas no one obeys,
The ways of life are whatever one likes
He, who chatters, is alone called wise.
The people call him only saint,
Who is showy and arrogant,
He who robs others of their wealth,
Passes for a man of intellect,
He who is egoist and makes a fuss,
Is known a man of good conduct.
He who is funny and tells lies,
In the age of Kali is an artist described.
The deserter of Vedic paths and the characterless
Are known in Kali as ascetics and learned.
He who grows long nails,
And keeps locks of hair on his head,
In the age of Kali earns praise
And is considered a renowned sage.

O Lord! as a monkey dances as the acrobat wants
So men are all under women's command.
Shudras give Brahmins the discourse of wisdom
They wear holy threads and receive unholy remuneration
All men are given to lust, avarice and wrath;
They oppose saints, Vedas, Brahmins and gods.
The husbands of others the wretched women love
Their handsome and virtuous husbands having given up.

The teachers have no eyes, and pupils no ears
The former see nothing, and the latter do not hear.\(^27\)

The other idea of pride being the cause of disaster
and defeat is revealed on many occasions in 'Ramcaritmanas'.
Narad, a sage of high order and a devotee of Vishnu, is
humiliated by Vishnu himself. Having subdued Kama, the god
of amorous love, he becomes proud in spite of the warning
given by Shiva, Vishnu, the supreme deity, decides to quell
his pride:

Narad told with pride in his mind,
O Lord! this is all by your grace for you are kind
The benevolent Lord deeply thought
A tall tree of pride has grown in his heart.
He said, 'forthwith I shall root it out,
To do the welfare of devotees is my vow.'\(^28\)

When Narad has faced the consequences of his pride, the
Lord humbles him down by revealing to him the reality:

The force of illusion then
The gracious Lord withdrew at once;

\(^27\) Ramcaritmanas, U.K., ll. 17d etc.
\(^28\) Ibid., B.K., ll. 128d, 5-10.
when the illusion was withdrawn by Hari
There remained neither the princess nor Lakshmi.
The sage was then with fear filled
And humbly fell at Hari's feet.\(^{29}\)

Bali is also killed for his pride. He pays no heed to the advice of his wife. \(\text{Rama}\) tells him:

\begin{quote}
O fool! you are full of pride
You paid no heed to the advice of your wife.\(^{30}\)
\end{quote}

The main cause of the death of Ravan and his whole family is his pride. In spite of all the pleadings and persuasions of Mandodari, Ravan does not change his mind. Tulasi Das writes:

\begin{quote}
Mandodari then believed at heart
Fated to death, my husband's wisdom is lost.\(^{31}\)
\end{quote}

Being the victim of Rama's arrows Ravan falls, and Mandodari mourns his death:

\begin{quote}
O Lord! the earth trembled your might to behold
And before you, the fire, the sun, the moon lost their glow
The Tortoise and Shesa could endure not your weight,
\end{quote}

\(^{29}\) Ramcaritmanas, B.K., 11 137d, 1-6.
\(^{30}\) Ibid., K.K., 11. 8d, 17.18.
\(^{31}\) Ibid., L.K., 11. 15d, 16-17.
The same body lies in the dust today,
Varun, Kuber, Indra and Air
To face you in battle field never could dare;
O Lord! you conquered death and Yama by your might,
The valour of sons and Kinsmen none could describe.
But this is your plight to Rama being hostile,
To mourn your death no one survives

There are many more incidents in 'Ramcaritmanas' revealing the resulting miseries of Pride vividly. But a few quoted above may serve our purpose here.

Milton aspired for a great work to be written in such a way as to sum up the essence of the whole human existence for all purposes. It was fulfilled, but only after he had become blind, perhaps to compensate for the loss of his eye-sight. However, Milton's belief in the just ways of God remained unimpaired. There was only one doubt in the mind of Milton; and that was about the acceptability of his work by a large audience. He simply hoped that he might a fit audience find, though few for Paradise Lost. All great works meet the same destiny.

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32Ramcaritmanas, L.K., ll. 103d, 9-18.
Tulasi Das was also of the same view about 'Ramcaritmanas', and to appease the audience, he wrote a number of lines in the forms of prayers. Even the wicked have been worshipped by Tulasi Das in order that they may be pleased to refrain from creating obstructions. Milton differed with Tulasi on this point because he was, by nature, not a man to offer prayers to the wicked. He believed in open confrontation with them. He was not, therefore, deterred by what might follow such a work, in which his very soul was speaking. For a work of this kind Milton had created a trained talent in himself, partly by extensive study, and partly by meditation. The various sources to which he was indebted, and which contributed to his poetic genius in producing Paradise Lost, are of as many types as Tulasi Das had for writing 'Ramcaritmanas'. Milton studied many languages in order to have direct access to what was of great literary, religious and philosophical value in them. He read Dante, Petrarch, Plato and Greek and Latin classics. His training in the precepts of Christian religion bore special significance in his career. He travelled abroad and had meetings with distinguished men of learning in Europe. All these played important role in contributing to the knowledge and genius of Milton. In order to be relevant and brief, I shall
classify them in three categories only: the holy Bible and prophets; the Greek and Latin classics; and the philosophical works of Plato. The class of holy works corresponds to the Vedic and Puranic influences on Tulasi Das. I shall deal with the two categories of works only in my thesis.

The Biblical stories and the sermons of prophets had a very powerful influence on Milton. His early biography gives pictures of a quiet daily routine. Milton got up at 4 PM and had the Hebrew Bible read to him. Meditation, reading and dictation filled the time till midday dinner. Milton's late and long poems were of course, composed in his head, especially at night. Hebrew Bible had a special charm for Milton. Initially he was inclined to write dramas and he had selected about one hundred Biblical and historical subjects. Ultimately he chose the most momentous event, next to the life and death of Christ in the world's history. He outlined dramatic treatments of his theme in four short drafts which suggest Italian allegorical representation of biblical story. It is held that the following part of Satan's address to the Sun was written early as the opening speech of drama.
Then much revolving, thus in sigh began
O thou that with surpassing Glory crowned
Look'st from thy sole Dominion like the God
Of this new world, at whose sight all the stars
Hide their diminisht heads; to thee I call
But with no friendly voice and add thy name
O sun, to tell thee how I hate thy beams
That bring to my remembrance from what state
I fell, how glorious once above thy sphere
Till Pride and worse Ambition threw me down
Warring in Heav'n against Heav'ns matchless King. 33

Later Milton shifted to the writing of epic, the
reason being the supreme place that the form held in Renai-
ssance theory. Moreover epic form could provide for the
much needed larger scope also. Whatever was the reason
for his wavering between the forms of drama and epic, his
choice about the theme was decided once for all, and it
was the story of Fall of Man. The story was not a new
invention of the poet, but he was fascinated by it for
his great purpose. For many centuries in the past, the
fall of man had received copious theological commentary
and innumerable imaginative treatments, narrative and dra-
matic. The simple tale in Genesis, and the more shadowy

33 Paradise Lost, IV, ll. 31-41.
role of Satan in heaven, earth and hell had acquired a good deal of interpretative and concrete imbellishment. One late, long and popular example which Milton had known in boyhood is the crudely vigorous poem on the creation and the fall by the Huguenot Guillaume Du Bartas' which, translated by Josuah Sylvester as "The Divine Weeks and Works", held sway in England until superseded by Paradise Lost. His knowledge of theology being very extensive and of complex nature, it is hard to claim that a particular work is the only source of Paradise Lost. But the general fact is that the main motives and events of Paradise Lost had more or less precedent, though Milton handled them with powerful originality. Milton was reworking on a story familiar in outline to his audience. His story, moreover, was one of unique truth, sacredness and universal and eternal import, and it gave the poet the advantage of immemorial belief and association in the minds of his earlier reader, an advantage that no longer operates in the same way, although, for modern readers, the fable possesses the immemorial and universal import of archetypal myth.

It is here that we find that there is undeniable
similarity between Milton and Tulasi Das in executing their plan for writing their great epics. The story of Rama had a remote beginning and was used in several ways for literary, and religious purposes. In abstract form it was found in the Vedas also where there was a recognition of a Being of endless entity. 'Ramcaritmanas' is written on the same pattern as 'Paradise Lost', basing the inspiration and theme on the already prevalent ideas of Vedas and Puranas with a powerfully original handling of the poet himself. The holy water is the same but it flows in a different stream. This is as much true in case of 'Ramcaritmanas' as it is in case of 'Paradise Lost'. The re-working on an already prevalent and familiar theme gives them an advantage to be more popular and purposeful for the human society. They get an audience familiar with the theme and the risk of obscurity can not exist there. This is how the ancient tradition is handled by the two poets in their respective works. Tulasi Das was conscious of the magnitude and immensity of his project in 'Ramcaritmanas' and he found its sources in a mixed holy culture, and it is difficult to pin him down to any one source whatsoever. He says:
The story of Raghunath Tulasi Das writes
In a sweet language for his soul's delight,
Which in Ramayana was described
And from other sources also derived,
Which was sung by the Vedas
And also praised by Puranas and Agmas.\textsuperscript{34}

So it is said about Milton's \textit{Paradise Lost} also, though not by Milton himself:

\begin{quote}
When I beheld the poet blind, yet bold
In slender Book his vast design to unfold
Messiah Crown'd, Gods reconcil'd Decree,
Rebelling Angels, the forbidden Tree
Heav'n, Hell, Earth, Chaos, All; the Argument
Held me a while misdoubting his intent
That he would ruin (for I saw him strong)
The sacred Truths to Fable and old Song
Yet as I read, soon growing less severe,
I lik'd his project, the success did fear,
Through that wide Field how he his way should find
O're which lame faith leads understanding blind
\ldots \ldots
Pardon me, Mighty poet, nor despise
My causless, yet not inpious surmise
But now I am convinc'd, and none will dare
Within thy labour to pretend a share
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{34} \textit{Rancaritmas}, B.K., Sloka 7.
Thou hast not missed one thought that could be fit
And all that was improper dost omit
So that no room is here for writers left
But to detect their ignorance or theft
That majesty which through thy work reigns
Draws the devout, deterring the profane
And things divine thou threat' st of in such state
As them preserves, and thee inviolate. 35

These lines in respect of Milton give identical views when
compared to the self spoken lines of Tulasi Das in 'Ram-
caritmanas':

Confidence I lack in the power of my gift
Hence to everyone I beseech
The life and deeds of Rama I desire to tell
But my talent is small and his deeds are boundless. 36

My fortune is small but aspirations are lofty
I hold therefore this belief
That the noble shall hear it with delight
And the villains only may deride
. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
From the scoff of the wicked I benefit
The melody of a 'Koel' all crows call shrill
The crane laughs at swan and frog at cuckoo
So the wicked laugh at serene voice too. 37

36 Ramcaritmanas, B.K., 11. 7d, 7-10.
37 Ibid., B.K., 11. 8d, etc.
No poetic merit my work doth possess
But the glory of Rama it manifests
The only faith in my heart I keep
Who receives not honour from noble fellowship?

My poem is clumsy but a noble theme describes,
The story of Rama, a boon for mankind.38

On one side is the boundless glory of Rama
On the other side I am with worldly thoughts,
Speak, how before the wind cotton stand
At whose blow flies the Sameru mountain
The boundless glory of Rama when I deem
To narrate the story very nervous feel
Sarad, Shes, Shiva and Brahma
Agmas, Vedas and Puranas
Ceaselessly sing his glory and speak
'He is not this, He is not this'.39

Infinite profundity of the theme of the works produces
doubts and apprehensions about the receptivity of the
audience in both the cases, despite the tremendous good
the works are capable of delivering. This is how Milton
And Tulasi Das hold the identical notion about their works.

Milton had drawn biblical theme for 'Paradise Lost'
and this made his work profound to a very large extent.

38 Ramcaritmanas, B.K., 11. 9d, 1920
39 Ibid., B.K., 11. 11d, 19-28.
For the treatment of his well-chosen subject he followed the doctrine of St. Augustine. It is necessary here to write a few words about St. Augustine in order to have a glance into the theological aspects of the work. In spite of all that can be said for and against, "Paradise Lost" is related to the doctrine of St. Augustine in a substantial form. St. Augustine was born of a middle-class parents. His father was a Pagan and mother a pious Christian, a lady of intense but simple religious ideas. It is from her that Augustine learned a reverence for the name of Christ. At the age of 18 he was profoundly stirred by the reading of a treaties of Cicero with an enthusiasm for philosophy, which meant not only devotion to the pursuit of truth, but a conviction of the superiority of the life so devoted over any aims of secular ambition. The faith of Catholic Church, indeed, seemed to him too hopelessly bereft of philosophy to any man of culture to entertain; but he was easily carried away by the discovery in Manichaeism of a religion that professed to appeal to reason rather than authority. After sometime he was disillusioned by the Manichaeism. He developed his own view-points after he had entered the episcopate in Roman Africa. He was tireless in controversy with Manichaeism, Donatist and Pelagians. But the characteristic
pattern he imposed upon Christian theology was not the outcome of controversy. Augustine believed with Platonists that the God is the author of all existences, the illuminator of all truths, the bestower of all beatitude; and to it he added his own cosmology and ethics.

Donatists, despite their reluctance, agreed with the Catholics that the power of the Holy spirit is conveyed to the believer through the sacraments administered by the Church. The Donatists alleged that the sacraments required for their validity a ministry undefiled by moral sin. Augustine replied that the sacraments convey the spirit of virtue of Christ's ordinance alone, and that this validity can not be affected by the worthiness or unworthiness of the human minister. As the donatist controversy was gradually ending Pelagianism was already beginning to threaten doctrines of sin and redemption, traditional in the Western Church. Pelagins had set himself to resist the slackening of Christian moral standards. Against those who pleaded human frailty in excuse for their failing, he insisted that God has made every man alike free to choose and perform the good; that it is the essence of sin to be a voluntary act which God's law forbids and which the sinner was free
to avoid; and that were not this freedom real, there could be no justice in God's punishments and rewards. Augustine found at once in Pelagianism a fatal misconception of the relationship between God and man. To assert that man can achieve righteousness by his own effort is to contradict the fundamental truth that God is the giver of all good. St. Augustine worked out his own rationalizations of the doctrines of Original sin and divine grace. He accepted the traditional belief in the transgression of Adam and in the penal consequences of it. He defined transgression as man's refusal to accept his place in the created order and the penal consequences as a dislocation of the order of man's own nature - the revolt of flesh against spirit. Augustine accepted the traditional belief that all men are involved both in Adam's fault and its punishment and argued that this involvement takes effect through the dependence of human generation on the sexual passion, in which the impotence of spirit to control flesh is most clearly seen. This was severely criticized by the Pelagian Bishop Julian who asserted the moral neutrality of the instincts that belong to man's created nature. This is an impulse which man is bound to fight and conquer and cannot therefore be evil. But it is important to distinguish Augustine's profound understanding of the nature of human sinfulness
from his disastrous attempt to explain its propagation. The fall of man according to him means that in all of us the true order of love has been violated. Departing from the love of God above us we have followed the love of self and become subject to what is below us. Man has fallen by the act of his own will. He cannot, by similar exercise of will, reverse the consequences of that fall. The subjection of spirit to flesh is a slavery from which the perverted will has no power to deliver itself, just because it cannot will the deliverance. What is needed is a kind of reversal of gravity - the substitution of an uplifting for a down-dragging love. It was Augustine's belief that this could happen only by that gracious descent of the divine love to dwell within the sinner which is the Gospel of Incarnation.

Pelagius claimed to recognise the grace of God in creation and revelation. All men have been created free to do what is right when they see it, and Christians have received the needed morals in Christ's teaching and example. Augustine knew the unreality of Pelagian conception of freedom as an innate and absolute power of choice, unaffected by circumstances. He pointed to the inescapable conditioning of all moral activity by the situation of the agent -
outside whose control are in general not only the presentation of an object but also the kind of feeling that the presentation excites. The act of will is dependent on feeling as well as on cognition. According to Augustine men will not do what is right, either because the right is hidden from them or because they find no delight in it, but that what was hidden may become clear, what delighted not may become sweet: this belongs to the grace of God. St. Augustine held that no event in time can alter the eternal setting of God's will toward any human soul: his elect alone receive the grace that will win their acceptance. He dealt with this doctrine thoroughly and on an appalling scale in 'De Curtate Dei' (The City of God). The Fall story of Milton in Paradise Lost may be correctly understood in relation to this doctrine of Augustine. Professor C.S. Lewis has dealt with this aspect of Paradise Lost in his "Preface" to the book and I consider it necessary to dwell upon it here for supporting the view point of this thesis.

The first argument in this connection given by C.S. Lewis is about the nature of things created by God. All things were created good by God and He made no exception.

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at all. Milton's god says:

I made him just and right
Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall
Such I created all th' Ethereal powers
And spirits, both them who stood and them who failed.  

Together with the native goodness of character the human beings created by God are given the faculty of reason and the free will to either exercise that faculty or to wisely obey the injunction of God. The angel says:

O Adam, one Almighty is, from whom
All things proceed, and up to him return
If not deprav'd from good, created all
Such to perfection....  

The possibility of deviation from the ordained path is very strong in Paradise Lost. It is as powerful as in 'Ramcaritmanas'. Ravan and his clan being left to appropriate their faculties in right direction would remain unfallen and undestroyed. But the pride of power makes them unable to foresee the consequences and they deviate from the right path to the audacity of rising against their Creator. The doctrine of power by its nature, if not carefully controlled, pollutes the ability for free thinking.

42 P.L., v, ll. 469-72.
with disastrous results. This is what we find in Paradise Lost also. It is through pride that all good things are perverted. Pride is the daughter of power and a resulting sin. This perversion arises when a conscious creature becomes more interested in itself than in God and wishes to exist on its own. This is the sin of Pride. The first creature who ever committed it was Satan, the proud angel who turned from God to himself, not wishing to be a subject, but to rejoice like a tyrant in having subjects of his own. The prime concern of Milton's Satan is with his own dignity; he revolted because he found his position humbled:

but not so wak'd
'Satan', so call him now, his former name
Is heard no more in Heav'n, he of the first
If not the first Arch-Angel, great in Power
In favour and prominence, yet fraught
With envy against the son of God, that day
Honoured by his great Father, and proclaimed
Messiah King anointed could not beare
Through pride that sight and thought himself impair'd.

He endeavours to maintain that he exists on his own in the sense of not having been created by God:

That we were formed then saist thou? and the work
Of secondarie hands, by task transferred
From father to his son? strange point and new.
Doctrine which we would know whence learnt; who saw
When this creation was? rememberest thou
Thy making, while the maker gave thee being?
We know no time when we were not as now
Know none before us self-begot, self-rais'd
By our own quickening power. 44

Satan is a "great Sultan" and "monarch" a blend of oriental
despot and Machiavellian prince.

From the doctrine of good and evil it follows that
good can exist without evil as in Milton's Heaven and
Paradise, but not evil without good. That good and bad
angels have the same nature, happy when it adheres to God
and miserable when it adheres to itself. The existence of
good and bad as enemical forces has been described in
'Ramcaritmanas' in the following lines:

O Lord! Vedas and Puranas thus describe
In every heart thoughts, good and bad lie,
But prosperity dwells there where mind is high
Where mind is malicious only miseries multiply. 45

44 P.L., V. 11. 852-60.
45 Ramcaritmanas, S.K., 11. 39d, 9-12.
The nature of Satan had some parts of excellence but through the perversion of his will it becomes obscure. This is what Milton wants to say. If no good at all remained to be perverted Satan would cease to exist.

he above the rest
In shape and gesture proudly eminent
Stood like a Tower; his form had yet not lost,
All her original brightness; nor appeared
Less than Arch-Angel ruined, and the excess
Of glory obscured.46

St. Augustine remarks that though God has made all creatures good He foreknows that some will voluntarily make themselves bad and also foreknows the good use which He will then make of their badness. For as He shows His benevolence in creating good natures, He shows His justice in exploiting evil wills. Milton follows the same doctrine in his poem. God beholds the attempt of Satan to pervert man and says:

And Man here plac't, with purpose to assay
If him by force he can destroy, or worse
By some false guile pervert; and shall pervert
For man will heark'n to his glozing eyes
And easily transgress the sole command.47

He knows that sin and death "impute folly" to him for

46 P.L., I, ll. 589-94.
47 P.L., III, ll. 90-94.
allowing them so easily to enter the universe but sin and death do not know that God called and drew them thither, His hell hounds to lick up the draff and filth:

See with what heat these Dogs of Hell advance
To waste havoc younder world, which I
So fair and good created, and had still Kept in that state, had not the folly of Man
Let in these wasteful (furies) who impute Folly to me, so doth the Prince of Hell And his Adherents, that with so much ease I suffer them to enter and possess A place so heavily, and cunning seem To gratify my Enemies
That laugh, as if transported with some fit Of passion, I to them had quitted all At random yielded up to their misrule And know not that I called and drew them thither My Hell hound to lick up the draff and filth Which man polluting sin with taint hath shed. 48

It was the ignorance of the sin to mistake this Divine calling for sympathetic and some co-natural force, between herself and Satan:

Whatever draws me on
Or sympathetic, or some co-natural force Powerful at greatest distance to unite With secret amity things of like kinde
By secretest conveyance. 49

49 P.L. I, 11. 245-249.
In Book I when Satan lifts his head from the burning lake by high permission of all ruling Heaven the same idea is repeated:

but that the will
And high permission of all-ruling Heaven
Left him at large to his own dark designs
That with reiterated crimes he might
Heap on himself damnation, while he sought
Evil to others.

The angels point out that whoever tries to rebel against God produces the result opposite to his intention -

who seekes
To less' n thee, against his purpose serves
To manifest the more thy might

At the end of the poem Adam is astonished at the power

That all this good of evil shall produce
and evil turn to good

This is the exact reverse of the programme Satan had envisaged in Book-I, when he hoped, if God attempted any good through him, to 'pervert that end', instead he is allowed to do all the evil he wants and finds that he has produced good.

P.L. I, 11, 246-250
Augustine holds that women are less intelligent and more credulous. That was the reason why Satan attacked Eve rather than Adam. So Milton's Satan says:

Then let me not let pass
Occasion which now smiles: behold alone
The woman, opportune to all attempts
Her Husband, for I view far round, not nigh
Whose higher intellectual more I shun.\(^{51}\)

The other points in the character of Adam and Eve which Milton has drawn from Augustine is the obligation to the social bond between them. Adam was not deceived. He did not believe what his wife said to him to be true. His surrender was not on account of Eve's better knowledge but being fondly overcome by female charm. Adam says:

How can I live without thee, how forgoe
Thy secret converse and Love so dearly joined
To live again in these wilde woods forlorn?\(^{52}\)

The concepts of fall, being the results of deviation from the commanded path, and pride being the cause of such deviation have already been mentioned. This is as much true in case of Satan as in case of Adam and Eve.

\(^{51}\)P.L. IX, 11. 479-83.
\(^{52}\)P.L. IX, 11. 908-10.
Disobedience is deviation from the command of the God. Apple was a visible reality to keep Adam and Eve ever mindful of the command. It would be productive of no harm and being left to remain uneaten the quality of obedience would also remain unimpaired. The idea that God created all things good applies to the apple also. In Eve's dream apple has a holy significance:—

O fruit Divine
Sweet of thy self, but much more sweet thus cropt
Forbidd'n here, it seems, as only fit
For Gods, yet able to make Gods of Men.53

Good characters in Milton speak of apple as the 'sole pledge of obedience', 'the sign of obedience' and the subject of a single and just command. But Satan, a bad character, assumes that knowledge is magically contained in the apple and will pass to the eater whether those who have forbidden the eating wish or no. Pride plays the destructive role. First the pride of beauty, and then the pride of knowledge to be acquired from the eating of apple impair the virtue of holy bond with the apple. Eve felt admired by the appreciation of her beauty. This is the beginning of pride.

53 P.L. V, ll. 67-70.
Wonder not, sovereign Mistress, if perhaps
Thou canst, who are sole Wonder, much less arm
Thy looks, the Heav'n of mildness, with disdain
Displeas'd that I approach thee thus, and gaze
Insatiate, I thus single, nor have feared
Thy awful brow, more awful thus retir'd—
Fairest resemblance of thy Maker faire
Thee all things living gaze on, all things
By gift, and thy Celestial Beautie adore.54

Satan proceeded to arouse suspicion in Eve about the God's intention:

I have discussed here in detail how Milton depended on St. Augustine. Professor C.S. Lewis has given ample proof of
this dependence of Milton on Augustine. There are scholars

54 P.L. IX, 11. 532-40.
who do not agree with Lewis but from the lines quoted above, and the arguments offered, it becomes clear that the core of entire Miltonic doctrine of the fall is in conformity with the views expressed by Professor Lewis. The great moral which reigns in Milton is the most universal and most useful that can be imagined, that obedience to the will of God makes men happy and that disobedience to the will of God makes them miserable. Disobedience causes fall through pride, the pride of self-possession.

Paradise Lost has received many interpretations in respect of Milton's theology, but the most significant feature of it is his dynamic creed of Christian liberty, a reformation doctrine, which he deepened and widened beyond its common limits. Milton argued that 'it is not lawful for any power on earth to compel in matters of religion:

So many Laws argue so many sins
Among them; how can God with such reside?
To whom thus Michael! Doubt not but that sin will reign among them, as of thee begot;
And therefore was Law given them to evince Their natural pravities, by stirring up
Sin against law to fight, that when they see
Law can discover sin, but not remove,
Save by those shadowie expiations weak
The blood of bulls and goats, they may conclude
Some blood more precious must be paid for man
Just for unjust, that in such righteousness
To them by faith imputed, they may find
Justification towards God, and peace
Of conscience, which the law of ceremonies
cannot appease, nor man the moral part
Perform, and not performing can not live,
So law appears imperfect, and but giv'n
With purpose to resign them in full time
Upto a better Cov'nant, disciplined
From shadowie types of truth, from flesh to spirit
From imposition of strict laws, to free
Acceptance of large Grace, from servile fear
To filial, works of law to works of faith.56

Milton has written elaborately about his ideas on scriptures
which helped him in his great work. His 'De Doctrina Christina' is a very large treatise which held a central place
in his thoughts and labours. Here is contained much acute
argument and it spells out with clear precision the ideology
that operates in Paradise Lost. Most of Milton's essential
beliefs are those of traditional Christianity but always on

56 P.L. XII, 11 283-306.
authority he finds in the Bible. He departs from orthodoxy on some notable point. God created the world, not out of nothing but out of his own substance. God, the Father, the Son and the Ghost, are not co-equal trinity, but a descending order. Man's soul dies with his body, until revived at the resurrection. The significance of the first point is that, in Paradise Lost Milton expounds a monistic and optimistic metaphysics, a sort of Christian materialism:

Inhabitant with God, now know I well
Thy favour, in this honour done to Man
Under whose lowly roof thou hast voutsaf't
To enter, and these earthly fruits to taste
Food not of Angels, yet accepted so
As that willingly thou could not seem
At Heav'n's high feasts to have fed; yet what compare?
To whom the wing'd Hierarch replied -
O Adam, one Almighty is, from whom
All things proceed, and up to him return
If not deprav'd from good, created all
Such to perfection, one first matter all
Of substance, and in things that live, of life;
But more refin'd, more spiritous and pure
As nearer to him plac't ...............57

Since the one first matter of God's own substance is good,

57 P.L., V, ll. 461-676.
since all creation proceeds from God and, if not depraved
from good, returns to him, matter is not essentially diffe-
rent from spirit but is forever in the process of becoming
spirit.

In Chapter II pp. 25-61 of 'De Doctrina' Milton gives
expositions to his doctrine of God. God is incomprehensible,
but the statements about Him in the scriptures should be
taken quite literally.

"Our safest way is to inform our minds such
a conception of God as shall correspond with
His own delineation and representation of
Himself in the sacred writings........ If it
repented Jehovah that He made man. .......
let us believe that it did repent Him, only
taking care to remember that ....... repen-
tance when applied to God does not arise
from inadvertency as in men; for so He Him-
self has cautioned us. God is not a man that
He should repent."

Milton thus attempts to combine the theological transcen-
dence with the literal acceptance of the scriptures.

The mysterious and incomprehensible nature of the
Almighty God as incarnated in the form of Rama in 'Ramcarit-
manas' of Tulasi Das is very nearly comparable to what
Milton speaks of his God or the God of Christianity. In
The beginning and end of whom none can comprehend --

The Vedas by their knowledge like this sang.

He walks without legs and hears without ears.
Without hands he does deeds many and various.
He has no tongue but relishes all the tastes.
He has no voice but most ably orates.
He touches without body and sees without eyes.
Without nose he inhales fragrance of all kinds.
Unworldly are his deeds in all the ways.
His greatness can not be expressed.

He who is described thus by the Vedas and the wise
And on whom the sages concentrate their minds
Is Rama, the son of Dasrath, and the God
The benefactor of devotees, Ayodhya's Lord.

I have quoted profusely from the texts of 'Ramcaritmanas' and Paradise Lost to examine the influence of the ancient scriptures both on Tulasi Das and on Milton in their respective areas. The influence of Vedas and Puranas on Tulasi Das, and of Bible and St. Augustine on Milton have been

of immense value in formulating their views about the theological aspect of their works. They viewed the whole framework of their planned work with their eyes on an eternal God, while relating Him to the social and human behaviour.
Ramcharitmanas and Paradise Lost are baptised in the sacred precincts of holy thoughts that have given light of wisdom to mankind in all the ages. The relevance of these holy works has become a changeless reality and Milton and Tulasi have therefore survived through centuries. They have become the parts of unforgettable antiquity.