

Veda. Vyākaraṇa also provides an analogy, parallel but quite different, finding the standard of correct speech in learned brahmins (śiṣṭas), prompting dharma-experts to find the standard of correct behavior in the same place. Finally, Olivelle's close engagement with Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra proves highly productive. That the extensive section on rājadharmā in Manu's smṛti is an innovation without precedent in the dharmasūtras has long been evident, well before the rediscovery of the Arthaśāstra; and, as Olivelle shows, the Arthaśāstra is the likely source of much of the material in this section (see the formal demonstration of this by Mark McClish in *JAOS* 2014: 241–62), especially its third and fourth books, on the eighteen topics of lawsuits, criminal law, and the procedures of courts of law, including the technical vocabulary through which these things are discussed.

An important finding emerges from this attention to adjacent disciplines. A major theme of the book, carried throughout, is that there is within the Dharmaśāstra a never-ending debate over two contradictory propositions: that dharma comes from the Veda (*vedamūlyatvā*) and shares with it the qualities of being eternal and non-man-made (*apauruṣeya*); and that dharma is unmeasurably plural, being drawn from regions, villages, corporations (e.g., guilds of merchants or artisans), and lineages. The debate never truly ends, as both propositions are indispensable. Olivelle analyses the debate at length and explains it as the result of the great but conflicting influence upon the formation of Dharmaśāstra of the two neighbor disciplines of Mīmāṃsā and Arthaśāstra. This is very convincing. The second is purely pragmatic and its use-value for the state is evident. The first is highly theoretical, but it also has a use-value, not for the state but for the religion; because if dharma is plural and has many sources it would be impossible to exclude the scriptures of Buddhism as authoritative sources of dharma.

Although the treatment is selective, the chronological scope is comprehensive, giving readers a conspectus of about two millennia of debate and text-production. One of the special pleasures of the book, for me, derives from this comprehensiveness. I get from it a greater appreciation of the special importance of the early commentaries, which constitute a kind of golden age for dharma theory, to which Olivelle gives approximate brackets of seventh to tenth centuries CE. Ten major commentaries are known by name, but only four survive, and only in part. Of these he chooses Bhārucci and Medhātithi on Manu, and Viśvarūpa on Yājñavalkya, giving longish passages of each. He considers Medhātithi "perhaps the greatest jurist of ancient India."

It is difficult to overstate the value of this work, for all who seek to connect with the intellectual debates over dharma in ancient India. It is the ripened fruit of a long and distinguished scholarly life and, one might add, an exceptionally productive one. While this work is a culmination of many of his previous works, Patrick Olivelle, we may confidently guess, is even now at work on new writings with which to delight his readers.

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The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki: An Epic of Ancient India. Vol. 6: Yuddhakāṇḍa. Translation and annotation by ROBERT P. GOLDMAN, SALLY J. SUTHERLAND GOLDMAN, and BAREND A. VAN NOOTEN. Introduction by ROBERT P. GOLDMAN and SALLY J. SUTHERLAND GOLDMAN. Princeton Library of Asian Translations. Princeton: PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2009. Pp. 1655 + xviii. \$210 (cloth), \$75 (paper).

The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki: An Epic of Ancient India. Vol. 7: Uttarakāṇḍa. Introduction, translation, and annotation by ROBERT P. GOLDMAN and SALLY J. SUTHERLAND GOLDMAN. Princeton Library of Asian Translations. Princeton: PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2017. Pp. 1522 + xxii. \$175 (cloth).

The two volumes under review culminate a mammoth seven-volume project, whose first volume appeared in 1984. A team of North American scholars, spearheaded by Robert P. Goldman at the University of California, Berkeley, have translated into English the critical edition of Vālmiki's Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa* produced by an Indian team of scholars, spearheaded by V. S. Sukthankar at the Bhandarkar

Oriental Research Institute in Poona between 1933 and 1970. Volume 6 recounts the war between the armies of Rāma and Rāvaṇa, Sītā's *agni-parikṣā* (fire ordeal), and Rāma's coronation. In addition to some stories not directly related to the main narrative, Volume 7 deals with Rāma's reign including Sītā's banishment, a śūdra's beheading, and Rāma's return to heaven. Now that the project is complete, scholars of Sanskrit, South Asian Studies, History of Religions, and Comparative Literature—as well as general readers—can consult Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa* in a fully annotated, accessible English translation that also incorporates the latest scholarship in the field.

The last two volumes are the largest of the seven. The *Yuddha* [War] *kāṇḍa* [book, canto], the longest *kāṇḍa* in Vālmiki's entire text, includes the most (and most elaborate) battles: monkeys attack with fangs and claws; Indrajit launches serpents transformed into arrows; Lord Indra lends Rāma his own chariot for part of the battle; Kumbhakarna consumes monkeys by the thousands; Hanumān fights with unmatched valor; in high-stake duels, Lakṣmaṇa slays Indrajit and Rāma slays Rāvaṇa. For different reasons, the *Uttara* [Final] *kāṇḍa* also looms large: most Indologists argue that a later hand, rather than Vālmiki, composed substantial parts of this *kāṇḍa*; its style, tone, and linguistic usage differ notably from Vālmiki's middle books (volumes 2–6). Thirty-six *sargas* (chapters) interrupt the main story to set out the history of the *rākṣasas*, from the start of the dynasty to Rāvaṇa's conquest of the three worlds—like a little *Rāvaṇāyaṇa*—and two *sargas* deal with Hanumān's mischievous deeds as a child. Questions about the *kāṇḍa*'s heterogeneity have fueled debates by medieval commentators as well as recent textual scholars. Indeed, this volume's copious annotations run three times longer than the translation.

Both volumes also contain other helpful back matter, including glossaries of Sanskrit words, proper nouns, and epithets that help readers discern rhetorical nuances. For example, when a speaker addresses Hanumān as “Māruti” (Son of Māruta), this stresses his mobility, power, and ability to change form like his father, the Wind God. Volume 6 includes a glossary of weapons, informing modern readers of the respective capacities of half-iron arrows, barbed darts, nooses, cudgels, axes, ploughshares, and double-edged swords. Volume 7 contains genealogical charts of Rāvaṇa's paternal and maternal lineage that clarify blood relations and marital alliances that led to his mixed parentage and unique physical appearance. The indices are huge in length and specificity of entries.

Each volume includes a list of corrections and emendations to the critical edition. Taking a stand against critical editors who judged certain passages to be interpolations (relegating them to appendices), the Goldmans use universal manuscript support as the basis to re-insert such passages into the translation. Passages that they agree are truly *prakṣipta* (interpolated), because they have only partial manuscript support and have long been deemed interpolations, appear translated and annotated in an appendix. Each volume also contains a multi-chapter introduction that identifies the *kāṇḍa*'s role in the larger text and provides a synopsis, an analysis of characters, and an overview of its structure. These chapters present a critical summary of the extensive past scholarship on the text and initiate new readers into the themes and significance of that *kāṇḍa*.

A chapter in Volume 6's introduction, for example, titled “Statecraft and Violence,” suggests ways to delve beneath the oversimplified view that this *kāṇḍa* is all about battles, weapons, and death. These topics dominate the *kāṇḍa*, but the chapter draws attention to other crucial aspects. For example, the Goldmans identify rhetorical strategies that Vālmiki uses at times to distance his audience from “the grim realities of the killing fields of Lanka” (p. 24). And, by comparing the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* wars, the Goldmans throw into relief the oddity of a war in which Rāvaṇa's forces fight from chariots in military formations but Rāma's monkeys and bears use stones, boulders, and uprooted trees. The Goldmans also point out how debates in Rāvaṇa's court over ethical versus expedient action draw upon discourses from treatises on dharma, *nīti* (worldly wisdom), and logical argumentation.

In Volume 7's introduction, several chapters stand out. “The Work of the *Uttarakāṇḍa*” argues that the *Uttarakāṇḍa* plays a crucial role in bringing the narrative to completion, whether Vālmiki or a later author wrote it. The Goldmans point out that it balances emphasis in previous *kāṇḍas* on Rāma's ancestry, character, and deeds with a body of material about Rāvaṇa's ancestry, character, and deeds, since “to show the greatness of Rāma, the hero of the epic, it is necessary for the audience to understand the grandeur of his enemy” (p. 55). Further, past *kāṇḍas* contain only brief idealized accounts of Rāma's reign (I.1.71–76, VI.116.82–90), while the *Uttarakāṇḍa* details how he rules, what problems

arise, and how conflicts develop between his private life and his public duties. Further, to complete the account of Viṣṇu's descent to earth as avatar, the narrative needs to recount Rāma's return to heaven (*sargas* 99–100). Finally, Sītā's banishment echoes the motif of loss evoked at the *Rāmāyaṇa*'s beginning, when a hunter killed a *Krauñca* bird's mate, inspiring Vālmīki to compose the *Rāmāyaṇa* in the *śloka* meter. "Who Knows the *Uttarakāṇḍa*?" is another informative chapter, demonstrating that the *Mahābhārata* and *Raghuvamśa* show familiarity with certain incidents from the *Uttarakāṇḍa*.

No introduction to the final *kāṇḍa* would be complete without analysis of its two most controversial episodes, which modern critics of gender- and caste-based inequality have used as evidence of the *Rāmāyaṇa*'s complicity in legitimating social oppression within Hindu society. In "The *Uttarakāṇḍa* and Its Critics" the Goldmans analyze two categories of responses to Sītā's banishment: ethical objections and attempts to rationalize or alter the episode. They show that ethical objections to Sītā's banishment begin in the *Rāmāyaṇa* itself, where Lakṣmaṇa calls Rāma's act "cruel and destructive to his reputation" (p. 86). The Sanskrit playwright Bhavabhūti exemplifies the other response by altering the episode: in his *Uttararāmacarita* Rāma accuses himself of cruelty and the play ends with Rāma and Sītā reunited. The Goldmans also note that Sītā's banishment does not appear in most Vaiṣṇava *purāṇas* or in Śakta texts that depict Sītā as the Great Goddess.

The second controversy, over Rāma's beheading of a śūdra named Śambūka because he is performing *tapas* (a practice reserved exclusively for members of the twice-born varnas), also has been foregrounded in modern responses to the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The Goldmans show how Bhavabhūti depicts Rāma as acknowledging his lack of compassion for Śambūka, how Kalidasa adds that Śambūka attained his goal not due to *tapas* but because he died at the hand of King Rāma, and the anonymous *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa* portrays Rāma offering Śambūka a boon before his beheading—he asks that all śūdras be enabled to reach heaven and Rāma agrees, if they recite his name. In addition to the Sanskrit texts that the Goldmans cite, one could add that twentieth-century plays about Śambūka have been published and performed at Dalit meetings. For example, Swami Achhutanand's play, *Rām-Rājya Nyāya* [The Justice of Rāma's Reign], portrays Brahmins in Rāma's kingdom coercing him into slaying Śambūka, who is depicted as a wise teacher with numerous Adivasi ('indigenous') disciples. The play culminates with a song that urges Dalits to strive for rights (*Nationalism in the Vernacular: Hindi, Urdu, and the Literature of Indian Freedom*, pp. 447–62 [2010]). In twentieth-century South India as well, plays on Śambūka call for "low-caste" people to demand equality ("Why Can't a Shudra Perform Asceticism?" in *The Ramayana Revisited*, pp. 125–48 [2004]).

In Volume 7's chapter titled "The Structure of the *Uttarakāṇḍa*," the Goldmans make the case that all the sections of the *kāṇḍa* contribute to the representation of Rāma as experiencing guilt because he killed a Brahmin, namely Rāvaṇa, and because of his enjoyment of pleasure with Sītā. Some of the main claims in this chapter remain at the level of speculation, for instance the statement that "the anxieties of the main narrative are displaced and replayed" in stories not directly connected to the main narrative and the assumption that such anxieties are not openly voiced so that the authors can "avoid directly implicating Rāma and Sītā in any transgressive behavior" (pp. 142–43).

The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki: An Epic of Ancient India supersedes all previous English translations, serving as an indispensable reference work that befits the text's status as a major sacred text from one of the world's oldest religions and as an ancient epic that still wields influence today in certain circles of Indian society. Public libraries that contain translations of the *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, and Norse epics should also acquire this multi-volume translation of the story of Rāma and Sītā. Those teaching courses on Indian religion, culture, history, or art will find it indispensable. They will also want to complement their teaching about the narrative with later retellings in India's regional languages that reveal the effects of growing devotion to Rāma and the ways in which such texts alter problematic incidents such as Sītā's abandonment. Thus, scholars of the *Rāmāyaṇa* tradition will welcome the first four volumes of Philip Lutgendorf's translation of the Hindi *Rāmcaritmānas* of Tulsīdās (Harvard Univ. Press, 2016) and a multi-volume translation by scholars of the Tamil *Irāmāvataṛam* of Kampan (forthcoming).

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