<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Nominal Compounds in the Yājñavalkyasmṛti</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>KOBAYASHI, Masato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citation</td>
<td>ZINBUN (2003), 36(2): 131-151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issue Date</td>
<td>2003-03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>URL</td>
<td><a href="https://doi.org/10.14989/48809">https://doi.org/10.14989/48809</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rights</td>
<td>© Copyright March 2003, Institute for Research in Humanities Kyoto University.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Departmental Bulletin Paper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textversion</td>
<td>publisher</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Nominal Compounds in the Yajñavalkyasmṛti*

Masato KOBAYASHI

0. Introduction

The original sources of the Yajñavalkyasmṛti range over the Dharma-sūtras, the Gṛhya-sūtras, the epics, and texts on Āyurveda (medicine) and Arthaśāstra (government), as well as the foregoing Smṛti literature. Condensation of such extensive literature into a compact code of one thousand ślokas, and the clear-cut policy to rearrange the whole material in three parts of ācāra ‘good conduct’, vyavahāra ‘procedures’ and prāyaścitta ‘expiation’, obtained it an unsurpassed popularity for ages. In order to abridge the source literature without leaving out important details, the Yajñavalkyasmṛti makes an ample, sometimes even extravagant use of compounds: To view it from the opposite side, we might be able to trace the process of editing by analyzing the compounds. The following study is aimed at explaining why some anomalous or highly artificial compounds were used in the Yajñavalkyasmṛti, attempting thereby to trace the procedure in which the author condensed foregoing literature.

In this paper, I assume the Manusmṛti and the Kauṭiliya Arthaśāstra as the primary source of the Yajñavalkyasmṛti,¹ and do not treat the Viṣṇu- smṛti with close attention on the working hypothesis of its posteriority to the Yajñavalkyasmṛti.

---

* I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Yasuke Ikari for his unsparing help and advice. I am grateful to the scholars who kindly read my draft and gave valuable advice, the scholars who participated in the joint seminar at the Institute for Research in Humanities, especially Dr. Masato Fujii, Dr. Werner Knobl (Kyoto), Dr. Peter Schreiner (Zürich), Dr. Ludo Rocher (Pennsylvania), and Dr. George Cardona (Pennsylvania). This paper is partly based on my research in Sanskrit nominal compounds, which was funded by the 1994 Sasakawa Scientific Research Grant from the Japan Science Society. This might be an oversimplification, especially in the case of the Kauṭiliya Arthaśāstra. See note 15, for example.
1. Influences of abridgement and versification on the compounds of the Yājñavalkyasṛti

a. The style of the Yājñavalkyasṛti shows an elaborate condensation of the foregoing literature. To take an example, KAŚ 3.16.30–31 yat svam dravyam anyair bhujyamāṇaṁ daśa varṣāṁ upekṣeta, hiḥṭasya .../ viṃśati-varṣōpektām anavastanā vāṣṭu nānuvyuṣita “When the owners ... neglect for ten years their property which is under the enjoyment of others, they shall forfeit their title to it. Buildings left for 20 years in the enjoyment of others shall not be reclaimed.” (Shamasastry) is condensed into one sloka, Yājñ. 2.24 pasyato 'brvato bhūmer hānir viṃśati-vārṣīki/pareṇa bhujyamāṇaṁ yā dhanasya daśavārṣīki “[If] one, seeing [his own] land deforced by another, does not claim it, [the land right is] annihilated in twenty years. If it is a movable property, [annihilation takes place] in ten years.” by means of a nominal sentence with a Dvigu compound viṃśati-vārṣīki ‘vicennial’ and daśa-vārṣīki ‘decennial’.²

More often, the Yājñavalkyasṛti simply intends to reduce the number of syllables by forming or reforming compounds: Yājñ. 2.95 uses the trisyllabic Dvandva compound agny-āpah for fire and water, which are mentioned as means of an ordeal, instead of longer expressions in Manu 8.114ab aṁnīm ... apṣu, KAŚ 7.17.7 agny-udaka-, Viṣṇu 9.11 dhaṭagñy-udaka-, 9.25–29 agniḥ ... udakam or Nārada 1.218d aṁgy-ambu- which would become quadrisyllabic -ambūṁ in plural.

In some cases, however, condensation goes so far that the meaning of the ensuing compound is hardly intelligible or the composition is grammatically questionable:

prati-pranava-saṁyuktam in Yājñ. 1.23 gāyatrīṁ śirasā sārdham japed vyāhṛtipürvikā/ pratiprānavasāṁyuktām trīr ayaṁ prāṇaṁśaṁyamaṁ “[A student] should mutter the Gāyatrī stanza three times together with Śiras, preceded by vyāḥṛtǐ [and] accompanied by praṇava for each: this is the control of breath” contains prati in the sense ‘for each’, but prati just means ‘per’ and is usually followed by its object when it has a distributive meaning, as in Yājñ. praty-aham ‘everyday’, prati-samvatsaram ‘every year’, prati-vedam ‘for each Veda’, prati-māsam ‘every month’, prati-daivatam ‘for each deity’, praty-ekam ‘one by one’ and prati-vāsaram ‘each day’.

śakty-alaṁkṛtā in Yājñ. 1.58ab brahmaḥ vivāha aṁya diyate śaktyaḷaṁkṛtā

² Cf. Aṣṭ. 5.1.79 for the function of the suffix -ika- (‘than’).
“The Brähma marriage: After [the father] invited [the bridegroom], [the girl] adorned according to [the father’s financial] power is given [to him]” seems to presuppose śaktivisyayenaṃkṛtya ‘having adorned [the bride] in the range of [the father’s] power’ in ApDhŚ 2.5.11.17 and HirDhŚ 27.4.32 (both are rules on the Brähma marriage like here). It should be noted that an instrumental form śaktyā is used a little before this stanza, in Yājñ. 1.45d śaktyādhīte hi yo ‘nvaham “he who learns [this and that texts] everyday according to his power,” as if it anticipates a similar case function for sakti- here.3

naṣṭonmyṛṣte occurs in Yājñ. 2.91ab desāntarasthe durlekhye naṣṭonmyṛṣte hrte tathā/ bhinne daṅghē ‘tha vā chinne lekhyam anyat tu kārayet “When [a document] is in a foreign country, badly written, damaged, effaced, taken away, split, burnt, or torn asunder, one should have another document made.” Why are only naṣṭa- and unmyṛṣta- put together among the other simple verbal adjectives, while they are neither co-referential nor correlated and have no title to form a Karmadhāraya or a collective Dvandva in neuter singular? A parallel passage in Nārada 1.126 chinnabhinnaḥtanaṃṣṭanaṃṣṭadurlikhiteṣu ca/ kartavyam anyal lekhyam syad eṣa lekhyavidhiḥ smṛtaḥ has a Dvandva compound of six verbal adjectives and takes a plural ending, but it does not seem to show any special link between these two adjectives unmyṛṣta- and naṣṭa-, which are divided by a pada boundary. Although commentators of the Yājñavalkyasmti do not give any variant reading for this expression, I think what the author originally intended was two separate words naṣṭe and unmyṛṣte, which first became naṣṭa unmyṛṣte by a Sandhi rule, which in turn was fed into another Sandhi cycle and ended up as naṣṭonmyṛṣte. Explanation by double Sandhi is also possible in the case of Yājñ. 3.284a kriyāmanopakāre tu myṛte vipre na pātakam ‘even if a Brahmin dies while (medical) care is being done, it is not a degrading sin’, which sounds more natural if kriyāmāne ‘being done’ and upakāre ‘(medical) care’ are separate.4

Yājñ. 3.202–203ab b antardhānām j smṛtiḥ g kāntir d drṣṭiḥ “śrotār” jñatā tathā/ “nijāṃ sarīram utṣṛjya parakāyapraśeṣanam// a arthānāṃ chandataḥ srṣṭir yogasiddhār hi lakṣaṇam “The signs of the perfection of Yoga are: Vanishing, remembering, brilliance, vision, aural perception, leaving one’s own

3 Dr. Masato Fujii (p.c.) suggested to me that the author may have originally intended *śaktyālāṃkṛṭā, which was then changed into śaktyālāṃkṛṭā to make the fifth syllable short as is preferred metrically.

4 Another example of irregular Sandhi in the Yājñavalkyasmti is the absence of the crasis -a r- → -ar- in 1.300c udbudhyasveti ca rco. For the examples of double sandhi in the Dharmasūtras, see Bharadwaj (1982), pp.57f.
body and entering other's, and creating things at will.” is enumeration of
superhuman powers. If this passage is an adaptation of the eight ones enumerated
in Caraka 4.1.140 'ävesa b cetaso jñānam c arthānāṁ chandataḥ kriyā/
dṛṣṭih e śrotanā f smṛtiḥ g kāntir h iṣṭatas cāpyadarsanām,5 Yājñ. śrotra-jñatā
might have originally meant the same powers as śrotam 'hearing' and cetaso
jñānam 'mind reading' in the Carakasamhitā.6

uditàdittam occurs as one of the requisites of a family priest in Yājñ.
1.313 purohitāṃ prakurvitā7 dāivajñām uditàdītam/ daṇḍanītyāṁ ca kuśalam
atharvaṅgirase tathā “[A king] should appoint to family priest one who reads
fortune, is —, is skilled in politics and the Atharvaveda,” which is an abridgment
of KAŚ 1.9.9 purohitam uditàditakulaśīlām sāṅge vede daive nimitte
daṇḍanītyāṁ cābhivinitām āpadāṁ dāivamānuśīnām atharvahhir upāyaś ca
pratikartāraṁ kurvita. It appears to me too bold as an abridgement, if udità-
dītam is simply a curtailed form of uditàditakulaśīlām. Since udita-
can be derived both from ud-ay/i ‘go up, go out’ and from vad ‘say’ with -ta,-
the meaning of uditàdītam cannot be decided easily, as well as KAŚ uditàdi-
takulaśīlām.8

b. The same Dvandva madhu-sarpis-, used in Yājñ. 1.303cd hotavyā ma-
dhurasarpibhyāṁ dadhā kṣīrēṇa vā yutāḥ “[fuels] mixed with honey, liquid
butter, curds or milk [should be offered]” and in Yājñ. 1.44c pitṛṇāś ca ma-
dhurasarpibhyām “[he can satisfy] the manes with honey and liquid butter”
in the dual, appears as a singular in Yājñ. 1.43d and Yājñ. 1.46d pitṛṇāṁ
madhusarpisā “[he can produce satisfaction] of the manes with honey
and liquid butter”, where a short penultimate is required in the cadence of an
even verse of a śloka. Although some Dvandva compounds optionally take

5 I owe the reference to Dr. Kimiaki Shōshin.
6 In view of Bṛhadāyogāyānīvalkyaśaṣṭi 9.195d dṛṣṭiśrotajñātā parā (reference given by
Dr. Akihiko Akamatsu), dṛṣṭiḥ śrotra- in the Yājñavalkyaśaṣṭi might originate from
an incorrect Sandhi dissolution of manuscripts in scriptio continua, which would have
read dṛṣṭiśrotra- for both dṛṣṭiḥ(Ś) śrotar- and dṛṣṭi-śrotar-. For further examples
of similar questions on dissolution, see Yājñ. 3.257a brāhmaṇavarṇahāri and Yājñ.
3.277b (Mit.) daśāśvostṝādāyāsā. Shoshin (p.c.) proposes to emend śrotajñātā
into *śrotam jñatā.
7 Bāl., Apar. and Vit. read ca kurvita.
8 Shamasastri (1929) "Him whose family and character are highly spoken of"; Kangle
(1972) “who is very exalted in family and character” with a note “the repetition of udita
seems only to emphasize the exalted character of the kula and śīla.” Or a composite
of two Bahūvṛhīs udita-kula- and udita-śīla-: “him whose family is noble and whose
conduct is lofty.”

134
neuter singular forms according to Pāṇini (Aṣṭ. 2.4.2ff.), Aṣṭ. 2.4.14 na da-
dhipayaādīṇi rules out a singular form of this particular compound, referring
to a gāṇa that includes madhusarpiṣī (Ganapāṭha 113.3 in Böhtlingk’s edi-
tion).

Preference for a short fifth syllable in a śloka verse may not be as strong as
for a short penultimate syllable of the even pādas of a śloka, but that preference
seems to be the motivation for the following two peculiar compounds.

Instead of -danta- in KAŚ 3.19.13 ... pānipādantabhārige karṇanāśa-
cchedane ... and Viṣṇu 5.68 karapādādantabhārige karṇanāśāvivikartane ...
both texts are composed in prose), Yājñ. 2.219ab (Mit.) karapādādalo
bhārige chedane karṇanāsāyoh “When a hand, a foot or a tooth is broken,
when an ear or a nose is cut off” gives karapādādatah, the genitive singular of
cara-pāda-dant- ‘a hand, a foot or a tooth’. The clumsiness of this singular
Dvandva can be explained as a result of forcing a typical antispastic cadence
on the original word, which occurs in prose texts and hence has no rhythmic
restriction.

Another compound peculiar to the text of the Mitākṣarā is asteya-mādhur-
rye ‘abstention from stealing and mild disposition’. All of the ten yamas
enumerated in Yājñ. 3.312 (Mit.) brahmaçaryām dayā kṣāntir dānam satyam
akalkatā/ āhimsāsteyamādhurye damaś ceti yamāḥ smṛṭāh are traceable to
the foregoing literature according to Kane. However, adroha- ‘abstention
from doing harm’, which the Bālakṛṣṇa reads in the place of Mit. mādhurya-
, is also grounded on Bhagavadgītā 16.1–3, a list of qualities belonging to

9 Bāl. and Apar. read karapādādantabhārige. Mit. paraphrases karṇanāsāyoh also by
the singular form karṇanāsasya.
10 Though Aṣṭ. 2.4.2 dvandvāṣ ca prāṇīturyasaṁaṁganāṁ describes that a singular neuter
Dvandva is formed from the parts of a body, combination of ‘the limbs’ and ‘the
teeth’ sounds artificial compared with examples like śiro-grīvāṁ ‘head and neck’ (MaiS,
KāṭhS+). Without this rule, the last member dant- m. ‘tooth’ would mark this compound
with masculine.

An example of non-neuter singular Dvandva is Yājñ. 3.37d (Mit.) mṛccarmanupśa-
kutapakeśatakravīṣaktiḥ (Bāl. viśairakān, Apar. and Vir. kṣitiḥ).
11 Bāl. āhimsāsteyam adroho, Apar. āhimsāsteyamādhurya- damaś.
and brahmaçaryā- are traced back to Yogasūtra 2.30, akalkatā to Yuktidipīkā p.112,
dama-, dāna- and dayā to BĀU 5.2.3. The remaining two, kṣānti- and mādhurya-
would safely be ascribed to VaikhGS 9.4 (124.9–12), where kṣamā and mādhurya- rank
among the ten yamas for a Vānaprastha.
a man born to a divine fortune.\textsuperscript{13} Here as well, the preference for a short fifth syllable seems to underlie the fact that only asteya- and mādhurya- make a compound in the text of the Mitākṣara. The compound dhāraṇajīvita ‘maintaining and living’ in Yājñ. 3.174 (Mit.) ahaṃkāraḥ śmṛtir medhā dveṣo buddhiḥ sukham dhṛtiḥ/ indriyāntarasāṃcāra icchā dhāraṇajīvita also seems to be a Dvanda formed in order to avoid a pāda with a long fifth syllable like *dhāraṇāṃ jīvitaṃ.\textsuperscript{14}

c. In the following examples, the author of the Yājñavalkyāṣmṛti has changed the order of words in the source texts, presumably to make the text fit the typical cadence of a śloka verse.

apatitānyonyatayāgī occurs in Yājñ. 2.237 pitṛputrasvasthrātyāmpatya-ācāryaśisyakāḥ/ eṣāṃ apatitānyonyatayāgī ca satadāndabhāk “Moreover, father and son, sister and brother, wife and husband, teacher and pupil — one who, among them, abandons his undegraded partner is charged with a penalty of one hundred [paṇas],” which is an abridgement\textsuperscript{15} of KAŚ 3.20.18 pitāputrayor dampatyor bhrātrabhaginyor mātulabhaginayoh śisyācāryayor vā parasparam apatitām tyajataḥ ... “[The penalty for violence is imposed on] one who abandons one’s partner, though he or she is not degraded, between father and son, wife and husband, brother and sister, maternal uncle and sister’s son, or pupil and teacher.” The order of the words in the Kauṭilyārthaśāstra was changed when the Yājñavalkyāṣmṛti packed them into a compound (KAŚ parasparam apatitām tyajataḥ → Yājñ. apatit/a-ānyonya-tyāgī), probably with an intention to avoid metrical awkwardness of pāda c *eṣāṃ anyonyāpatita- with a long fifth syllable. Though Viṣṇu 5.113 anyonyāpatitātyāgī is also considered to be made from KAŚ parasparam apatitām tyajataḥ, it does not side with the Yājñavalkyāṣmṛti in the order of these members, in a similar way as is observed in Yājñ. 2.219a (Mit.) karapādādato bhaṅge :: Viṣṇu 5.68

\textsuperscript{13} Bhagavadgītā 16.1–3 abhayaṃ sattvasaṃuddhir jñānayogavāvatviṣhī/ dānāṃ damaś ca yajñaḥ ca svādhīyāya tapa ārjavam/ ahimsāsatyaṃ akrodhaḥ tyāgah śāntir apaisunam/ dayā bhūteṣo aloleṣuṣa mārdavaṃ hīr acāpalam// tejāḥ kṣamā dhṛtiḥ saucaḥ udhroḥ nātmānāḥ/ bhavanti sampadāṁ daivīṁ abhijñatasya bhārate.

\textsuperscript{14} Though anivedita-vijñātah in Yājñ. 2.35cd aniveditavijñātā dāpyas tāṃ daṇḍam eva ca “if one is found out [to have found a treasure] that was not announced [to the king], he should be made give it (the treasure) and fine” has a short fifth syllable similar to this, compounds of this type are attested already in MāṇavaŚ 3.1.25 naśṭadhigotam and described by Panini in Asṭ. 2.1.49. (See Wackernagel, AiGr II-1, p.172, §74c3.)

\textsuperscript{15} This assumption might be wrong, for here the Kauṭilyārthaśāstra looks as if it paraphrased the Yājñavalkyāṣmṛti into prose.
NOMINAL COMPOUNDS IN THE YĀJṆAVALKYASMRĪTI

karapādadantabhaṅge, in Manu and Yājū. vāg-yata- :: Viṣṇu 61.16 yata-vāc-, and in Yājū. 2.210a patanīyakṛte kṣepe :: Viṣṇu 5.29 patanīyakṣepe kṛte.

Yājū. 2.267d śuśka-bhinna-mukha-svarāḥ “those whose mouth and voice are [respectively] dry and changed [should be captured]” has a different order of members from that in KĀŚ 4.6.2 śuśka-bhinna-svara-mukha-varṇam “[one who] has his voice and complexion of the face dry and changed” (Kangle), evidently to make the sixth syllable long.

The order of kṛte and (ā)kṣepe is different between Yājū. 2.210a patanīyakṛte kṣepe “in the case of a [false] reproach made with a degrading crime” and Viṣṇu 5.29 parasya patanīyakṣepe kṛte “when a (false) accusation of a degrading crime is made to another.” Though I am not sure which the source of the other is, the reading of the Yājñavalkyaśmṛti fits the meter, while that of the Viṣṇusmrīti is free from the ambiguity inherent in Yājū. patanīyakṛte.

2. Position of the YĀJṆAVALKYASMRĪTI in philological history

a. Tracing the nominal compounds in the Yājñavalkyaśmṛti to the foregoing literature reveals that it was not composed simply on the principle of summarizing foregoing literature faithfully. Among those compounds in the Yājñavalkyaśmṛti which look unshapely at first sight, some reflect an enterprising policy to cover the preceding literature as extensively as possible, and at the same time to develop a more advanced legal system. Especially, the special heed of the author to the Dharmasūtras must have made him conscious of the discrepancies between them and the Manusmrīti.

Compare, for example, Manu kṛcchrātikṛcchrau with Yājū. kṛcchrātikṛcchraḥ. These two names of expiatory rites have different endings (masculine dual and masculine singular), though they are provided for the same sin according to Manu 11.208cd kṛcchrātikṛcchrau kuruviṣa vipraṣyotpāda  śroṇitam “When one spills the blood of a Brahmin, he should practice kṛcchrā- and atikṛcchra-” and Yājū. 3.292c kṛcchrātikṛcchro ’ṣṛkpāte “kṛcchrātikṛcchra- [should be practiced] in the case of bloodshed (of a Brahmin).” Since the Manusmrīti gives no special definition of kṛcchrātikṛcchrau, it must be a combination of (prājāpatya-)kṛcchra- and atikṛcchra-, each explained in Manu 11.211 tryahāṃ prātatas tryahāṃ sāyam tryahāṃ adyād ayācitam/ tryahāṃ paraṃ ca nāśnīyāt prājāpatyaṃ carana dvijāh “A twice-born man who performs (the Krikkhra penance), revealed by Pragāpati, shall eat during three days in the morning (only), during (the next) three days in the evening (only), during the (following) three days (food given) unmasked, and shall
fast during another period of three days” (Bühler) and in Manu 11.213 
edakīkam grāsam aśnīyāt tryāhāṇī trīṇi pūrvavat/ tryahāṃ copa vase ad antyam 
ātikṛćrāḥraṃ ca raṃ dvijaḥ “A twice-born man who performs an Atikrikkra 
(penance), must take his food during three periods of three days in 
the manner described above, (but) one mouthful only at each meal, and fast 
during the last three days” (Bühler). Yājñū. kṛćrātikṛćrāḥra- is explicitly 
laaid down in Yajjā. 3.320ab kṛćrātikṛćrāḥraḥ payaśa divasan ekaviṃśatim 
“kṛćrātikṛćrāḥra- [is to live only] on payas for twenty-one days.” Here I left 
the word payas open because, in spite of the prevalent meaning ‘milk’ (Yajjā. 
1.41a, 1.170b, 1.214a, 3.40c, 3.214c, 3.253b, 3.265c, 3.289b), a small room is 
left to take it as ‘water’ on the ground of Yajjā. 1.230 yavaśa navavakāryātha 
bhājane sapavitrake/ sām no devyā payaḥ kṣiptaḥ yavo 'sīti yavaṁs tathā 
“Having scattered barley to [the invited Brahmins], having put water in a 
vessel equiped with pavitra with [the mantra] ‘sām no devyār abhīṣṭaṇa āpo 
bhavantu pitaśe sām yor abhi sraṇantu naḥ’ (RV 10.9.4), and having put 
barley saying ‘You are barley’.”

The two durations, twenty-one days (Yajjā.) and (12+12=) twenty- 
four days (Manu), are compatible, if the final fast of the former is per- 
formed not twice but only once at the end of the period (9+9+3=21). 
kṛćrātikṛćrāḥra-, like kṛćchra- or atikṛćchra-, lasts only twelve days in the 
Śānavidhānabrāhmaṇa, the Baudhāyanadharmaśūtra, the Gautamadharmasūtra 
and the Vāsiśṭhadharmaśūtra. On the other hand, the source of the 
dietary prescription in the Yājñāvalkyaśūtrī is to be sought outside the Manu- 
smṛti, probably in SVB 1.2.8, BDhS 2.1.2.41, GDhS 26.20 and VaDhS 24.3, 
where kṛćrātikṛćrāḥra- is an expiation to live only on water (ab-bhaksā-). 
kṛćrātikṛćrāḥra- in the Dharmaśūtras is singular, because it is a se- 
verer kind of kṛćchra- in its content, and means ‘the Kṛćchra which is above 
other Kṛćchras [in its severity]’, with the same semantic structure as MBh. 
devātideva- ‘ein über alle Götter hervorragender Gott’ (pw). It does not 
share the same meaning as in the Yājñāvalkyaśūtrī though it has the same 
singular ending.

It would naturally follow from these, that Yājñū. kṛćrātikṛćrāḥra- is a 
compromise of the Dharmaśūtras and the Manusmṛti. The masculine sin-

---

16 MBh. 8.24.45a, 12.278.23c, 13.17.143a, 14.93.50c, 15.38.1c.
17 The Viṣṇuśūtrī made a similar compromise in Viṣṇu 54.30cd kṛćrātikṛćrāḥraṃ 
kurvita viprasyaotpādyā ˈsonitam, by copying Manu 11.208cd and simply replacing 
kṛćrātikṛćrāḥra with a singular form which had been used more widely.
nominal compounds in the Yājñavalkyasūrti

gular ending -ah, quite unusual for a Dvandva, might be a maneuver to cause
the application of the Sandhi rule (-ah + a- → -o ?) and to push the words
into a verse of eight syllables.\(^\text{18}\) But by mentioning the duration as twenty­
one days, two nine-days' terms of prescribed diet concluded by one final fast
of three days, the author might well have emphasized the oneness of this
expiation, justifying his own choice of the singular form. And when the
author gave the compromised description of this rite in Yājñ. 3.320ab, he has
virtually mitigated it into a more practicable one, by changing the wording
from ap-(bhakṣa-) 'living on) water' to slightly ambiguous payas- 'milk (or
water)'.

b. In the following three cases, the Yājñavalkyasūrti takes over the wording
of the Manusūrti, but also modifies it slightly.

Manu suvānasteyakṛd vipro :: Yājñ. brāhmaṇasvarṇahāri.\(^\text{19}\) Manu 11.99­
100 suvānasteyakṛd vipro rājānam abhīgamya tu/ svakarma khyāpayan brā­
yān māṁ bhavān anusāstu itī// gṛhitvā musalaṁ rājā sakṛd dhanyat tu tam
svayam/ vadhena śudhyati stena brāhmaṇas tapasaiva tu "A Brāhmaṇa who
has stolen the gold (of a Brāhmaṇa) shall go to the king and, confessing
his deed, say, 'Lord, punish me!' Taking (from him) the club (which he
must carry), the king himself shall strike him once, by his death the thief
becomes pure; or a Brāhmaṇa (may purify himself) by austerities" (Bühler)
and Yājñ. 3.257ab brāhmaṇasvarṇahāri tu rājīne musalam arpayet/ svakarma
vyākhyaṅgaṃ tena hato mukto 'pi vā śuciḥ "And a stealer of a Brahmin's gold
should hand a club to the king. He confesses his own deed, and when he is
beaten by him (the king), or when he is released as well, he becomes guilt­
less." The Brahmin’s status as a thief in the Manusūrti is changed into
a victim of the theft in the Yājñavalkyasūrti, unless we read \(^\times\)brāhmaṇas
svarṇahāri for brāhmaṇasvarṇahāri as discussed above s.v. dṛṣṭīḥ śrotraṇātā.
The Yājñavalkyasūrti amalgamates Manu 11.99–100 with Manu 8.316ab
śāsanād vā vimoksād vā stenaḥ steyād vimucyate "Whether he be punished
or pardoned, the thief is freed from the (guilt of) theft" (Bühler) and modi­
fied them into a rule for gold-robbers in general, probably in order to avoid
imposing a capital penalty just on a Brahmin.

\(^{18}\) Cf. Meyer (1927), p.244: "Wohl schon weil kricchrātikricchrau nicht in seinen Vers
gepasst hätte, und weil sein kricchrātikricchrau, sintemalen dieser 21 Tage Fasten be­
deutet, etwa gleich schlimm ist, wie beide zusammen"

\(^{19}\) svarna- comes from su-varna- by syncope. Another example of syncope is Yājñ. 3.300b
parṣadaḥ for pariṣadaḥ (AiGr I, p.60 §53c: "Hypersanskritismus").

139
Manu dāsi ghaṭam :: Yājñ. dāsikumbham. Manu 11.183ab dāsi ghaṭam apāṃ pūṛṇaṃ paryasyet pretavat padā “A female slave shall upset with her foot a pot filled with water, as if it were for a dead person” (Bühler) and Yājñ. 3.294ab dāsikumbham bahir grāmān ninayeran svabāndhavāḥ20 “His own relatives should pour down the jar of a slave girl outside the village.” By putting dāsi and kumbha- together, the Yājñavalkyaśmṛti creates a difference from the Manusmṛti, that dāsi ‘a female slave’, who overturned the pot in the latter, becomes its mere possessor in the former. In this case, the Yājñavalkyaśmṛti presumably intended to reconcile the Manusmṛti with, or revert to, an older stage of regulation, which is shown in GDhS 3.2.4 dāsah karmakaro vāvakarād amedhyapātram ānīya dāsiḥaṭāt pūryaytva daksināmukho yadā viparyasyed amukam anudakaṇṭ karomiti nāmāgrāham “A slave or a labouror brings a dirty vessel from a dump, fills it from the pot of a female slave, and when he, facing south, turns it over, the name [of the patita] is mentioned with the formula ‘I make So-and-so without water.’”

varṇāśrametarāṇām (Mit.) in Yājñ. 1.1cd varṇāśrametarāṇām no brūhi dharmān aśeṣatah “Tell us completely the duties of the castes, the periods of life, and other [phases of life]”21 reflects an effort to be more strict about the range of dharma than Manu 1.2 bhagavan sarvavāṇānām yathāvad anupārvaśaḥ/ antaraprabhavānāṃ ca dharmān no vaktum arthasi “Deign, divine one, to declare to us precisely and in due order the sacred laws of each of the (four chief) castes (varṇa) and of the intermediate ones” (Bühler). What the Yājñavalkyaśmṛti means here by itara-, I think, is to comprise those dharmas which are not covered by varṇa- or āśrama-, i.e. the dharmas of a woman, a king, a couple, an area, a family or a guild, which the Manusmṛti enumerates in 1.114–118 as its topics.

c. In the following two examples, the Yājñavalkyaśmṛti enlarges compounds of the foregoing literature, probably in order to eliminate ambiguity inherent in them.

sahoḍha- :: Yājñ. sahoḍha-ja- in Yājñ. 2.131d garbhe vinnah sahoḍhajah

---

20 Bāl. dāsiḥaṭām apāṃ pūrṇaṃ.
21 Although itara- usually means ‘other than, different from’ when used as the last member of a compound, a Dvandva of the same makeup is also attested in ŚvetU 1.1 kim kāraṇaṃ brahma kutah jātā jīvā mahā kena ca sampratisṭhāḥ/ adhīṣṭhitah kena sukhetareṣu vartāmahe brahmaśiva vyavasthām. See also Stenzler (1849), p.1 “die pflichten der kasten, der orden und der anderen”; PW I col. 785 s.v. itara- 1 “hier bezeichnet itara- nur etwas vom Vorangehenden Verschiedenes”; G. Nakano (1950), p.3 “種姓住期その他の法.”
‘sahodha-ja- is [a son] found in the womb [already at marriage].’ Since the definitions of sahodha- in BDhS 2.2.3.25, V DhS 17.27, KAS 3.7.11, Manu 9.173 and Vīṣṇu 15.16 agree with that of sahodha-ja-, these two words must refer to the same kind of son. ja- of sahodha-ja- should therefore be translated not as ‘born from’, but as ‘born as’, which is an explanatory pleonasm. By attaching the redundant syllable ja-, the Yājñavalkyasmṛti probably intends to distinguish this word clearly from its homonym sahodha- ‘[a thief] having stolen goods’ which appears in V DhS 19.39, Nārada 14.17a, 19.13c and Manu 9.270c.

sahāsana- :: sahaikāsana- (Mit.) in Yājñ. 2.284cd (Mit.) adesakālasambhāsam sahaikāsanam eva ca22 “Conversation in improper place or time, and sharing one seat together [are counted as adultery].” The second member eka- ‘one’ is redundant, for sahāsana- would be enough for the meaning of sitting together, even if the place is not expressly mentioned in it like in Manu 8.357c saha khaṭṭvāsanam “sitting on a couch together.” The Yājñavalkyasmṛti (or possibly the Mitakṣarā) seems to suggest by eka- intimacy between the man and the woman in question, and thereby to emphasize immorality of the action; for the word sahāsana- is used in different context as well, e.g. in Manu 8.281a (sitting with a man of a higher caste), Manu 11.184b (sitting with a degraded man) and MBh 3.1.27 (sitting with a wicked man), and even if the context is on adultery, it includes innocent cases, e.g. BDhS 1.2.3.34.

3. Position of the Yājñavalkyasmṛti in linguistic history

a. cvi-formation

When kṛta- in the last position means “that which was made X”, X is always expressed by the cvi-formation in the Yājñavalkyasmṛti: Yājñ. 2.182a balād dāsikṛtaḥ “one who was made a slave by force,” Yājñ. 2.301d tad evaṣṭuṇīkṛtam “it (the penalty) is made eight times as much,” Yājñ. 2.307d triṃśadgūṇīkṛtam “made thirty times as much”. While no compound ending in kṛta- “that which was made (something)” is found in the Manuśmrī, it shows several cases where bhūta- is combined with a nominal stem as the first member: Manu 3.97c bhasmahūṭeṣu vipreṣu (Kullūka: bhasmibhūteṣu) “to Brahmins who are as good as ashes,”23 Manu 5.93d brahmabhūtā “like Brahman,” (Bühler) Manu 7.217ab ātmabhūtaiḥ...paricārakah “a servant as faith-

22 Bāl. sahāvasthānam, Apar. and Vīr. sahaikasthānam.
23 For the examples of bhasma- as a symbol of uselessness see Hara (1967), pp.414–409.
ful as [the king] himself,” Manu 9.33a kṣetrabhūtā “like a field,” b bijabhūtā “like seeds,” Manu 10.91c kṛmibhūtā “who has become a worm.” The function of bhūta- seems to be comparison or approximation in all cases except the last, where the original meaning of bhavī/bhū ‘to become’ might still be alive, with the first member kṛmi- functioning as its complement. Since it is the class beginning with śreṇī- that can be compounded with bhūta- to form Karmadhārayas according to Panini, Asț. 2.159 śrenyādayaḥ kṛtadibhiḥ, *kṛmibhūta-, a cvi-formation, would rather be expected.24

The Yājñavalkyasmrī uses bhūta- as the last member four times together with cvi-forms: Yājñ. 2.17c pūrvpakṣe dharibhūte “when the statement of plaintiff is turned down”, 2.64a dvigunibhūtam “which has become twice”, 2.100c pratimānasamibhūto “who has become the same in weight”, 3.218a nīskalmaśibhūtāḥ “who has become sinless”. And when such a compound is split up by a pāda border three times, the first pāda ends in a bare -a-stem, apparently because a cvi-form is too closely connected with bhūta- to admit a pause in between: Yājñ. 3.75ab sāṃkleda- bhūtaḥ “which has become moisture” Yājñ. 3.186d bija- bhūtaḥ “who have become seeds” Yājñ. 3.248ab lakṣya- bhūtaḥ25 “who has become a target”. Pāda borders are not crossed by a word in the Yājñavalkyasmrī except the one between 1.79c and d: brahmaçārya eva parvāṇy ādyāś cātāsras tu varjayet. We have already seen above in 1b the tendency that metrical conditions outweigh a consistent use of one form in the arbitrary change between madhu-sarpisā and madhu-sarpirbhyaṃ.

b. Position of verbal adjectives in -ta-

The following compounds, which have verbal adjectives ending in -ta- as their last members, admit of question as to the order of, or the government relationship among, their members. This is not a problem specific to the Yājñavalkyasmrī: For example, vāg-yata- ‘one who has restrained his speech, of restrained speech’ is found not only in Yājñ. 1.31b, 1.239d, 3.5b, 3.55b or Manu 3.236b, 3.258b (Kullūka), 9.60b, but also widely in the Sūtras. While the order of the members in vāg-yata- is acceptable when we consider yata- as actively governing vāc- as its object,26 as is suggested by the established

24 The Manusmrī has very few cvi-forms: 3.97c according to Kullūka bhasmībhūteṣu; 4.188d bhasmībhavati.

25 Bāl. lakṣabhūtah. According to Stenzler, Kullūka on Manu 11.13 reads lakṣyā- which is not supported by Asț. 6.4.152. His taste for cvi is shown in his reading bhasmībhūteṣu for Manu 3.97c bhasmabhūteṣu as well.

26 Wackernagel, AiGr II-1, p.195 §83b and Debrunner’s Nachträge, p.58. Cf. Pāli
use of vācam with yam or the compound vācamyamā- in the Brāhmaṇas, it seems to have struck even the old writers as strange, for MaiUp 6.9 and Viṣṇu 61.16 uses yata-vāc-, a Bahuvrīhi in the regular order.27

karma-duṣṭāḥ in Yajñ. 1.224cd parapūrvvāpatih stenā karmaduṣṭāś ca ninditāḥ28 “The husband of a remarried woman, a thief, and people of degraded conduct are blamed.” The usage in the Manusmrīti indicates both possibilities in the position of duṣṭa- in compounds: Manu 3.225d duṣṭa-cetasāḥ, 8.386b duṣṭa-vāk :: 5.108c mano-duṣṭāḥ, 3.156d vāg-duṣṭāḥ, 8.345a vāg-duṣṭāt.

vṛddha-sevitaḥ (Bāl.) in Yajñ. 1.309ab (Bāl.) mahotsāhāḥ sthūlalakṣaṇaḥ krtajñova vṛddha-sevitaḥ29 “Of great spirit, ambitious, grateful, attentive to the seniors” (Tokunaga 1993, p.5). sevita-, a verbal adjective in -ta- with an active meaning, governs vṛddha- as its object, as is obvious from the established teaching of devotion to the elders, and from the use of the same compound in MBh 1.45.14 and 3.261.3.30

lakṣaṇa-bhraṣṭaḥ in Yajñ. 3.217cd jáyante lakṣaṇabhraṣṭā daridrāḥ puruṣādhamahāḥ “They are born as the meanest of men, poor and with any auspicious marks fallen.” Since the verb bhraṣ/ bhraṁś is used with the ablative, as in TS 1.6.11.1 prāti yajñēna tiṣṭhati nā yajñād bhraṁśate, an ablative case relationship can be considered as the basis of this compound, though Aṣṭ. 2.1.38 does not include bhraṣṭa- in the verbal adjectives which form compounds with nouns in the ablative. Mit. duṣṭalakṣaṇah and Apar. bhrasṭasubhalakṣaṇah paraphrase this compound as an inverted Bahuvrīhi, which is described by Pāṇinī in Aṣṭ. 2.2.37.

dhātu-vimūrcchitaḥ in Yajñ. 3.75ab prathame māsi saṁkledabhūto dhātu-vimūrcchitaḥ31 “In the first month [after conception, the ātmān] is as it were moisture, congelation of the elements.” If vimūrcchita- ‘congealed’ qualifies dhātu- as an adjective, it should rather precede dhātu- according to the general order of the members of a Karmadhāraya compound (Aṣṭ. 2.1.57).

kūṭacihna-krtaḥ (Bāl.) in Yajñ. 2.212cd (Bāl.) draṣṭavyo vyavahāras tu

---

27 Or an Upapada compound with an adjectival first member like RV. ranīyavāc-. Cf. Reuter (1892) pp.202f. with notes.
28 Bāl. karmaduṣṭaś.
29 Mit. and Apar. vṛddhasevakāḥ.
31 Dr. Tsutomo Yamashita pointed out to me that Caraka 4.4.9 prathame māsi saṁmūrcchitaḥ sarvadhātukalūṣikṛtaḥ khetabhūto bhavaty ... provides source for this passage.
kūṭacihnakṛtādaḥ bhayā†32 “But a case should be examined for fear of one who made false signs.”

kāla-kṛtaḥ in Yājñī. 2.58c kāle kālakṛto nasyaet “[A pawn] — will be forfeited at [the expiration of the] term.” The Mitāksaṇā understands this as a Bahuvarhi with an inverted order, ascribing it to the ākṛti-gaṇa referred to by Pāṇini in Aṣṭ. 2.2.37. Judging from the usage of kālaṃ kṛ ‘eine Zeit festsetzen’ noted in PW II, col. 249, s.v. 2 kāla 1, with a quotation from Rām. 6.38.29 kālaś ca kriyatāṃ asya svapne jāgarane tathā, interpreting kāla-kṛta- as ‘[a pawn] for which a term is set’ sounds convincing. By inverting the usual order of a Bahuvarhi, kāla- is put side by side with kāle, probably to make the logic of this proverbial phrase more evident and convincing.

c. Louis Renou points out that the verb kar/kṛ and its derivatives like kṛta- are often used in combination with action nouns in Bhāravi’s Kiratārjunīya.33 The Yājñavalkyasmrṭi is also characterized by a similar dependence on this verb: Although the author employs every possible means to make the text short, he uses this verb with various action nouns merely to simplify inflections, e.g. 1.155c na mīndātādane kuryāt, 1.329c balānāṃ darsanāṃ kṛtā, 2.204c kṣepaṃ karoti ced, 3.8b-c sāramārgaṇāṃ karoti yaḥ, 3.56a kṛtveṣṭim. This root is also used as a substitute for other verbs, e.g. Yājñī. 1.147c kṛte ˈntare (cf. Manu 4.126c antarāgamane), 1.287a kṛtākṛtāms taṇḍulān and 2.164d kṛtvetanah.

4. Different readings

The differences among the readings given by the commentators reveal their academic and philosophical background, and also help us understand the history of the transmission of the text of the Yājñavalkyasmrṭi.

a. We have seen above s.v. karupādadatāḥ that the text of the Mitāksaṇā looks as if it manipulates Pāṇini’s grammar skillfully compared with that given by the Bālakṛṣṇa. varṇāsrametarānām in Yājñī. 1.1cd (Mit.) shows a

32 Mit. kūṭacihnakṛto. Meyer’s translation ‘[die (Gerichtssache)] eines solchen, der aus Furcht (vor Entdeckung und Strafe) falsche Zeichen angebracht hat’ (Meyer 1927, p.135), which takes this reading as a genitive of -kṛ-, does not apply to the unequivocal ablative of Bāl. -kṛtād.

33 Renou (1959), p.39 with note 167: “Avec la racine kṛ- le nom d’action est presque seul en usage, l’abstrait proprement dit est rare. ... Avec les noms verbaux, notamment avec kṛta-”
similar attitude of the Mitākṣarā. Finding in this stanza an influence of Manu 1.2 bhagavan sarvavarṇānāṁ yathāvad anupūrvāsaḥ/ antaraprabhāvānāṁ ca dharmān no vaktum arhasi, the Bālakṛṣṇa interprets this compound as a Dvandva, “[the duties] of the [four] castes, of the [four] periods of life, of the classes other than the [four] castes [like the mixed castes], and of the lifestyles other than the [four] periods of life [like the heretics].” While the Mitākṣarā agrees with the interpretation of the Bālakṛṣṇa, it gives a different inflection -i/tarāṇāṁ, seeking its authority from Aṣṭ. 1.1.31 dvandve ca, which excludes the title as a pronom from the group of stems comprising itara- when they are used as the last members of DVandva compounds. The un-Pāṇinian ending of Bāl. varṇāśrametareśām, is however not necessarily to be rejected, for Yājñ. 2.199d uses another itara- with an adjectival ending -ād, i.e. an anomaly in the opposite direction.

The following two cases could be added as reinforcing arguments for the inclination of the Mitākṣarā toward grammatical strictness: The Mitākṣarā reads vrddhā-sevakāḥ for Bāl. vrddha-sevitah in Yājñ. 1.309b. The word vrddhā-sevakāḥ, a formation from the root sev with the agent suffix -aka- (‘nauḥ’) sounds an innovation of vrddha-sevita-, for it suggests an intention to shut out the possibility to take vrddha- as the agent of sevita- with a passive meaning, and vrddha-sevita- is attested in the Mahābhārata.

kūtacihna-kṛtāḥ (Mit.) :: kūtacihna-kṛtād (Bāl., Apar.) in Yājñ. 2.212d. Judging from its paraphrase kūtacihnakāridvauṣṣapuruṣabhayit ‘for fear of a wicked person making a false sign,’ the Bālakṛṣṇa understands kṛtā- actively governing kūṭa-cihna-. In the reading of Mit. kūtacihna-kṛtāḥ ‘[for fear] of one who makes a false sign’, kṛt-, a root noun with the augment t, is used for kṛtā-, probably in order to exclude the possibility that it is understood in passive meaning like in vrddhasevita- :: vrddhasevakā-. [35]

---

34 Bāl. varṇā brāhmanādayāḥ/ āśramā brahmacāryādayāḥ/ varṇetarā antaraprabhavā anulomādayāḥ/ āśrametarāḥ pāṣaṇādayāḥ/ teṣām varṇāśrametareśām/ .../ anyāḥ pāṭahā — ‘varṇānāṁ sāśramāṇāṁ’ iti.

35 Mit. ‘iṣṭa-sādasya ‘dvandve ca’ iti sarvanāmasamāyanaḥpratīṣedhāḥ. The Bālakṛṣṇa might have been conscious of this sūtra when it offered an optional reading varṇānāṁ sāśramāṇām.

36 kūtacihnakṛtād yte.

37 The commentary part of the Mitākṣarā, however, seems to explain not kūtacihna-kṛt- but kūtacinha-kṛt-, and that differently from the Bālakṛṣṇa: kūtacinha-kṛt-sambhāvānāhhayāt ‘for the fear, which feeling is caused by a false sign’. The difficulty with this interpretation is the redundancy of kṛtā-, for kūtacinha-bhayāt or kūtacinha-bhayāt would be enough for this meaning.
b. Some readings of the *Bālakṛiḍā*, which the *Mitākṣarā* does not follow, are grounded on the *Mahābhārata*, just as the above-mentioned form, Bāl. *vyuddha-sevitaḥ*, has its source in the *Mahābhārata*, and Yājñ. 3.312c (Bāl.) *adroho* in *Bhagavadgītā* 16.3b. Another example of the same sort is *sahasra-kah* (Mit., Apar.) :: *sahasrasaḥ* (Bāl.) in Yājñ. 3.119 (Mit.) *mohajālam apāsyeha puruṣo drśyate hi yah/ sahasrakarpanṇetaḥ sūryavarcāḥ sahasrakaḥ* "If one cast off the net of delusion, Puruṣa, who has a thousand hands, feet and eyes, whose lustre is like the sun, and who has a thousand heads, becomes visible [to him]." Puruṣa of a thousand heads, eyes and feet must have been widely known by the famous verses of RV 10.90.1ab (=VS 31.1ab etc.). *sahasra-kara- ‘thousand-handed’ and sūrya-varcas- ‘of lustre like the sun’ can be traced back respectively to AV 19.6.1a sahāsrabāhuḥ and to VS 31.18b ādityāvārṇam.38 Though *ka- ‘head’ as a single word sounds like lexicographer’s invention, it is not necessarily to be rejected here as such, for *kaṇḍharaḥ* is used in Yājñ. 2.220c, which might be a compound having this word as the first member (*kaṃ-dharā ‘holding the head → neck’), or from which this word might have been abstracted through such interpretation. While the reading of the *Mitākṣarā* is in accordance with the ambitious attitude of the *Yājñavalkyaśāstra* to cover as many sources as possible, Bāl. *sahasraśaḥ ‘by thousands’ agrees with the frequent use of this word in the cadence of the even pādas of the ślokas in the *Mahābhārata*.39

c. When a difference in reading seems to have its origin in the background of each commentator, it makes us hesitate to arrange the readings in one linear genealogical order. The *Bālakṛiḍā* has sometimes a philosophical rather than a practical bent. For example, the *Mitākṣarā* on Yājñ. 3.174 (Mit.) *icchā dharmaṇajīvite* considers the latter two of *icchā, dharmaṇa- and jīvita-as forming a Dvandva *dharmaṇa-jīvite ‘sustaining [the body] and [supporting] the life’*. Though isolation of the first word *icchā ‘wish’ is avoided in Bāl. *icchādharmāṇajīvite* which joins *icchā with a-dharmaṇa-, its interpretation ‘non-sustaining (i.e. renouncement) of a body at will’40 together with its paraphrase of b *dhṛtiḥ by dharmaṇā ‘concentration’ sounds too spiritualistic, and is also unlikely judging from the enumeration of *icchā and dharmaṇa- in the similar list of the signs of paramātman- in Caraka 4.1.70–72. This does not mean,

---

38 I owe the reference to Mr. Makoto Fushimi.
39 *sahasraśaḥ* occupies this position in 349 out of the 366 passages which I looked up in Tokunaga’s electronic text.
40 *icchayā yad adhāraṇāṃ sarīrasya tatparityogaḥ tad icchādhāraṇam.*
of course, that the reading of the Bālakṛīḍā is more interpolated than that of the Mitākṣarā: In Yājñ. 3.154ab (Bāl.) jñe 'jñe ca prakṛtau caiva vikāre cāviṣeṣavān “not discriminating between one who knows and one who does not know, and between an original and a modification,” the logic of the Bālakṛīḍā is more transparent than that of Mit. jñeyajñē ‘about ātman which knows what is to be known,’ and it agrees with Caraka 4.5.12.41

d. The fact that the text of the Aparārka does not agree uniformly either with that of the Bālakṛīḍā or with the Mitākṣarā might mean that it had assumed editorship on the texts of preceding commentators and worked them up into its own text through selection and emendation; the following example is interesting in this respect. The word pākhaṇḍyanāśritāh (Mit.) in Yājñ. 3.6 (Mit.) a pākhaṇḍyanāśritāh b stenā c bhartrghīnyaḥ d kāmāgāḍikah3/ e surāpya f ātmatyāgīnyo43 nāṣaucodakabhājanāh “—, lady thieves, husband-killers, wanton women etc., liquor-drinking women, who have committed suicide, do not deserve water libation for impurity” should be understood in the light of Manu 5.89cd-90 ātmanas tyāgināṁ caiva nivarteto-dakākriyā/a pāsaṇḍam āśritānam ca carantināṁ ca kāmataḥ/ garbhābhārtrdruḥāṁ ca surāpināṁ ca yosītāṁ. The expressions carantināṁ ‘[women] who through lust live (with many men),’ garbhābhārtrdruḥāṁ ‘[women] who have caused an abortion, have killed their husbands,’ surāpināṁ ca yosītāṁ ‘to women ... [who] drink spirituous liquor (Bührer)’ in Manu 5.90 support the interpretation to take pāsaṇḍam āśritānam also as women: “[to women] who have joined a heretical sect” (Bührer). The Yājñavalkysmṛti has three different readings according to the three commentators: Mit. pākhaṇḍyanāśritāh, Bāl. pāsaṇḍam āśritāḥ and Apar. pāsaṇḍan āśritāḥ. The Bālakṛīḍā follows the Manusmṛti not only in its reading but also in commenting b kāmāgās tathā as tathāsadbahī smṛtyantaroktvrthāsāṅkaravatādyarthāḥ “The word tathā means ‘those born in vain or from mixture [of castes] etc.’ mentioned in another law book (i.e. Manu 5.89)”44. The reading of the Mitākṣarā

41 I thank Professor Kyō Kanō for the reference.
42 Bāl. kāmāgās tathā.
43 Apar. ātmaghātīnyo. The reading of the Mitākṣarā and the Bālakṛīḍā seems to be taken from Manu ātmanas tyāgināṁ, whereas that of the Aparārka goes with ātmaghātīn- m. in Yājñ. 3.21b avvakṣam cātmaghātīnām.
44 Agreement with the Manusmṛti is not particular to the Bālakṛīḍā. Take for example vratalopah...vratalopam (Mit., Apar.): vratalopah...brahma-lopinam (Bāl.) in Yājñ. 3.236c–238d nāstikyam vratalopas ca kaustikam vratalopam or brahma-lopinam “..., atheism and violation of a vow, ... fraud, violation of a vow (or chastity), ...”

147
shows a tendency to load the text with much meaning as in sahasrakaḥ, and interprets this as a Dvandva of 'heretics' and 'those who have not undergone proper modes of life'. Though the Aparārka agrees with the Bālakrīḍā in its interpretation, its reading paśaṇḍaṁaṁśrītāḥ can also be divided as paśaṇḍ/a-aṁśrītāḥ, i.e. a Dvandva like Mit. pākhaṇḍya-anāśrītāḥ. The reading of the Aparārka is compatible with both the Mitākṣarā and the Bālakrīḍā in this case.

5. Conclusion

The tendency of the Yājñavalkyasṛti to incorporate as much foregoing literature as possible is reflected in the frequent deviation of its nominal compounds from phonological and morphological rules of traditional grammar. Grammatical irregularities of its compounds are also caused by the effort to fit as many words as possible in the śloka meter. On the other hand, some of the modest revisions made to the compounds in the foregoing literature, such as the singular form kṛcchrātikṛcchrāḥ compared to the dual form kṛcchrātikṛcchrāu in the Manusṛti, might suggest an enterprising policy of the author to integrate the ordinances of the foregoing literature into a more self-consistent legal system. Among the original texts cited in the commentaries, the one in the Mitākṣarā shows less grammatical irregularities than that of the Bālakrīḍā, but it might be a result of correction of the original text.

List of Abbreviations


These two synonymous action nouns vratalopaḥ and vratalopanam, formed from the root ṭup/loṣ: ṭunpāṭi ‘break’ respectively with suffixes -a- (‘ghaṅ’) and -aṇa-, appear in the list of upapātakas (234–242). Choice of the two different formations in the same context seems to be simply for filling meter. The reading of Bāl. brahmaḥalopanam ‘violation of abstinence’ saves the senselessness of repeating the same offense vratalopa- and vratalopana- in Mit., but it is not grounded on the foregoing literature. Mit. vratalopanam agrees with Manu 11.61b vratalopanam.
NOMINAL COMPOUNDS IN THE YĀJÑAVALKYASMṚTI


Index of Sanskrit Words

| agnyāpah       | 1a naṣṭonmṛṣte | 1a |
| aniveditavijñātaḥ | 1b pataniyakṛte kṣepe | 1c |
| apatitāntyonyatyāgī | 1c payas | 2a |
| aṣteyamādharuye | 1b parṣad- | 2b |
| ātmatyāgīṇyaḥ    | 4d pākhaṇḍyanāśritāḥ | 4d |
| icchā(-)dhāraṇaṝajīvite | 1b pratiprāṇavasaṃyuktām | 1a |
| uditoditam     | 1a brahmaḥpanam | 4d |
| kāṃḍharā       | 1b madhusarpīṣ- | 1b |
| karapadadataḥ   | 4b brahmaṇasvarṇahārī | 2b |
| karmaduṣṭaḥ     | 3b varṇāśrametarāṇām, -eṣām | 2b, 4a |
| kālakṛtaḥ       | 3b viṃśatīvārṣikī | 1a |
| kūṭaṅkhaṅkṛtād | 3b vāgyata- | 1c |
| kročrātkṛcchraḥ  | 2a vṛddhasevitāḥ | 3b |
| kriyāmāṇaṇopakāre | 1a vṛddhasevakaḥ | 3b |
| cvi-formation   | 3a vratalopanam | 4d |
| jñē 'jñē, jñeyajñē | 4c laṅkaṇaḥbraśṭaḥ | 3b |
| daśavārṣikī     | 1a śaṅkalamkṛtā | 1a |
| daśṭaṅsvṛtrādiyāsaiḥ | 1a śuṣkabhinnamukhasvarāḥ | 1c |
| dhātuvimūrcchitaḥ | 3b (drṣṭi)śrotajñatā | 2b |
| dhāraṇaṝajīvite | 1b sahasrakaḥ | 4b |
| daśikumbham     | 2b sahodhaja- | 2c |
| devāṭivedava-    | 2a sahāṅkāsanam | 2c |
Bibliography


Richter, Oswald. 1898. Die unechten Nominalkomposita des Altindischen und Altiranischen, 2 pts. (Leipzig, Phil. Diss 1897). *Indogermanische
NOMINAL COMPOUNDS IN THE YĀJÑAVALKYASMṚTI


Electronic Texts
Ikari, Yasuke, org. The Dharma Files by the joint research seminar “Law and Society in Classical India” at the Institute for Research in Humanities, Kyoto University. ftp://ccftp.kyoto-su.ac.jp/pub/doc/sanskrit/dharmas