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Nominal Compounds in the Yājñavalkyasmṛti*

Masato KOBAYASHI

0. Introduction

The original sources of the Yājñavalkyasmṛti range over the Dharmasūtras, the Gṛhyaśūtras, 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 Yājñavalkyasmṛti 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 Yājñavalkyasmṛti, 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 Yājñavalkyasmṛti,¹ and do not treat the Viṣṇu-smṛti with close attention on the working hypothesis of its posteriority to the Yājñavalkyasmṛti.

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¹ 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 Yājñavalkyasṃṛti

a. The style of the Yājñavalkyasṃṛti shows an elaborate condensation of the foregoing literature. To take an example, KAŚ 3.16.30–31 yat svāṃ dravyam anyair bhujyamānaṃ daśa varṣāṇy upekṣeta, hiṣṭāṣya .../ viṃśati-varṣo pekṣitam anavasitaṃ vāstu nānuṛṣūjita “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.” (Shamasasty) is condensed into one sloka, Yājñ. 2.24 paśyato ’brvato bhūmer hānir viṃśativārṣikī/pareṇa bhujyamānā-yā dhanasya daśavārṣikī “[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-vārṣikī ‘vicennial’ and daśa-vārṣikī ‘decennial’.²

More often, the Yājñavalkyasṃṛti simply intends to reduce the number of the 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 agnim ... apsu, KAŚ 7.17.7 agny-udaka-., Viṣṇu 9.11 dhaṭāṇgy-udaka-, 9.25–29 agniḥ ... udakam or Nārada 1.218d agṇy-ambu- which would become quadrisyllabic -ambūni 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-praṇava-saṃyuktam in Yājñ. 1.23 gāyatrīṃ śirasā sārdham japed vyāhṛtipūrvikām/ pratiprṇavasaṃyuktām trīr ayaṃ praṇaṣaṃyamāḥ “[A student] should mutter the Gāyatṛi stanza three times together with Śiras, preceded by vyāhṛti [and] accompanied by prṇava 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. pratya-aham ‘everyday’, pratī-samvatsaram ‘every year’, pratī-vedam ‘for each Veda’, pratī-māsam ‘every month’, pratī-daivatam ‘for each deity’, pratī-ekam ‘one by one’ and pratī-vāsaram ‘each day’.

śaṅky-alaṃkṛtā in Yājñ. 1.58ab brāhma vivāha āhūya diyate śaṅkyalāṃkṛtā

² Cf. Aṣṭ. 5.1.79 for the function of the suffix -ika- (‘ṭhan’).
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“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 śaktiṣayenālaṁkṛtya ‘having adorned [the bride] in the range of [the father’s] power’ in ĀpDhŚ 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 ‘navaḥam “he who learns [this and that texts] everyday according to his power,” as if it anticipates a similar case function for śakti- here.3

naṣṭonmṛṣte occurs in Yājñ. 2.91ab desāntaraste durlekhya naṣṭonmṛṣte hrte tatha/ bhinne doghī ‘tha vā chinne lekhyaṁ 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 unmṛṣta- put together among the other simplex 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 chinnaṁhnahṛṭonnṛṣṭanaṣṭadurlekhiteṣu ca/ kartavyam anyal lekhyaṁ syad eṣa lekhyaṁdhiṁ mṛṣṭaḥ 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 unmṛṣta- and naṣṭa-, which are divided by a pāda boundary. Although commentators of the Yājñavalkyaṁloṭi do not give any variant reading for this expression, I think what the author originally intended was two separate words naṣṭe and unmṛṣte, which first became naṣṭa unmṛṣte by a Sandhi rule, which in turn was fed into another Sandhi cycle and ended up as naṣṭonmṛṣte. Explanation by double Sandhi is also possible in the case of Yājñ. 3.284a kriyāmānopakāre tu mṛṣte vīpre 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 upakārē ‘(medical) care’ are separate.4

Yājñ. 3.202-203ab b antardhānām j smṛṭīḥ g kāntir d drṣṭīḥ “śrotraḥ” jñātā tathā/ “nīrām śarīram utsṛjya parakāya-praveśanam//” arthānām chandataḥ sṛṣṭir yogasiddhier 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 *śaktyālaṁkṛtyā, which was then changed into śaktyālaṁkṛtya to make the fifth syllable short as is preferred metrically.

4 Another example of irregular Sandhi in the Yājñavalkyaṁloṭi is the absense of the crasis -a → -ar- in 1.300c udbudhyaveti 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 a śveṣa b cetaso jñānam c arthanāṁ chandataḥ kriyā/
dṛṣṭiḥ e śrotāṁ f smṛtiḥ g kāntir h iṣṭataś cāpyadarsanam,5 Yājñī. śrotā-jñatā
might have originally meant the same powers as śrotām ‘hearing’ and cetaso
jñānam ‘mind reading’ in the Carakasamhitā.6

uditotītām occurs as one of the requisites of a family priest in Yājñī.
1.313 purohitāṁ prakurvīta7 daivajñām uditotītām/ daṇḍanītyāṁ ca kuśalam
atharvāṅgirase tathā “[A king] should appoint to family priest one who reads
fortune, is —, is skilled in politics and the Atharvaveda,” which is an abridgemen
t of KAŚ 1.9.9 purohitām uditotikulaśīlām sāṅge vede daive nimitte
dāṇḍanītyāṁ cābhivinitām āpadāṁ daivamānuśīṇām atharvahāk upāyais ca
pratikartāraṁ kurvīta. It appears to me too bold as an abridgement, if udi
totītām is simply a curtailed form of uditotikulaśīlām. Since udita-
can be derived both from ud-ay/i ‘go up, go out’ and from vad ‘say’ with -ta,
the meaning of uditotītām cannot be decided easily, as well as KAŚ uditoti
takulaśīlām.8

b. The same Dvandva madhu-sarpīṣ-, used in Yājñī. 1.303cd hotavāya ma
dhusarpīrhīyāṁ dadhānā kṣīreṇa và yutāḥ “[fuels] mixed with honey, liquid
butter, curds or milk [should be offered]” and in Yājñī. 1.44c pitṛṇās ca ma
dhusarpīrhīym “[he can satisfy] the manes with honey and liquid butter”
in the dual, appears as a singular in Yājñī. 1.43d and Yājñī. 1.46d pitṛṇām
madhusarpīṣā “[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

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5 I owe the reference to Dr. Kimiaki Shōshin.
6 In view of Bṛhadāyāvijñānakalayanṣṭi 9.195d dṛṣṭiḥ śrotājñātā parā (reference given by
Dr. Akikiko Akamatsu), dṛṣṭiḥ śrotā- in the Yājñīavalīkalyanṣṭi might originate from
an incorrect Sandhi dissolution of manuscripts in scriptio continua, which would have
read dṛṣṭiḥśrotā- for both dṛṣṭiḥ/ś) śrotā- and dṛṣṭi-śrotā-. For further examples
of similar questions on dissolution, see Yājñī. 3.257a brāhmaṇasvarṇahārī and Yājñī.
3.277b (Mit.) daśaśvostṛūdiviśasāiḥ. Shoshin (p.c.) proposes to emend śrotajñātā
into śrotām jñatā.
7 Bāl., Apar. and Vīr. read ca kurvīta.
8 Shamasastro (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 udīta
seems only to emphasize the exalted character of the kula and śīla.” Or a composite
of two Bahuvrīhis udīta-kula- and udīta-śīla:- “him whose family is noble and whose
conduct is lofty.”
neuter singular forms according to Pāṇini (Aṣṭ. 2.4.2ff.), Aṣṭ. 2.4.14 na
dhipaṇādāṇi rules out a singular form of this particular compound, referring
to a gāna that includes madhusarpīṣī (Ganapāṭha 113.3 in Bōhtlingk’s edition).

Preference for a short fifth syllable in a śloka verse may not be as strong as
for a short penultimate syllale 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 ... pāṇipādaṇattabhanīge karṇaṇāśā
cchedane ... and Viṣṇu 5.68 karapaṇādaṇattabhanīge karṇaṇāśāvīkārtane ...
 boobtexts are composed in prose), Yājñ. 2.219ab (Mit.) karapaṇādaṇata
bhanīge chedane karṇaṇāśāyoh “When a hand, a foot or a tooth is broken,
when an ear or a nose is cut off” gives karapaṇādātah, the genitive singular of
kar-a-pāda-dant- ‘a hand, a foot or a tooth’. The clumsiness of this singular
Dvandva⁹ 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.) brahmaṇa-yaṁ dayā kṣaṇīr dānam satyaṁ
akalkata/ ahimsāsteyamādhurye damaś ceti yamāḥ smṛtāḥ¹¹ are traceable to
the foregoing literature according to Kane.¹² However, adroha- ‘abstention
from doing harm’, which the Bālakṛṣṇā reads in the place of Mit. mādhurya-
, is also grounded on Bhagavadgītā 16.1–3, a list of qualities belonging to

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⁹ Bāl. and Apar. read karapaṇādaṇattabhanīge. Mit. paraphrases karṇaṇāśāyoh also by
the singular form karṇaṇāśasya.

¹⁰ Though Aṣṭ. 2.4.2 dvandvās ca prāṇītīryasenaṁgānāṁ 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 śīra-grūvān ‘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. 3.37cd (Mit.) mṛcchānapuṣpa-
kutapakeśatakraviṇakṣitiḥ (Bāl. ²viṣairakān, Apar. and Vir. ²kṣitiḥ).

¹¹ Bāl. ahimsāsteyam adroha, Apar. ahimsāsteyamādhurya- damaś.

and brahmaṇa- are traced back to Yogasūtra 2.30, akalkata to Yuktidīpikā p.112,
dama-, dāna- and dayā to BĀU 5.2.3. The remaining two, kṣaṇīti- and mādhurya-,
would safely be ascribed to VaikhGŚ 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 dhāraṇa- jīvite ‘maintaining and living’ in Yājñ. 3.174 (Mit.) ahaṅkāraḥ smṛtir medhā dveśo buddhiḥ sukham dhṛtiḥ/ indriyāntarasāṁcāra icchā dhāraṇa- jīvite also seems to be a Dvandva formed in order to avoid a pāda with a long fifth syllable like *dhāraṇaṁ jīvitaṁ.\textsuperscript{14}

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

\textit{apatitānyonyatāyā} occurs in Yājñ. 2.237 pitṛputrasvasonsṛdhātrampatyan- acāryaśisyakāḥ/ eṣām apatitānyonyatāyā ca sātadāṇḍabhāk “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 rampatyan bhrātṛbhaginyor mātulabhaginyayoh śisyācāryayor vā parasparam apatitaṁ 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 Kautiliyārtha- sāstra was changed when the Yājñavalkyaśṛṇṭi packed them into a compound (KAŚ parasparam apatitaṁ tyajataḥ → Yājñ. apatiña-ajnyonya-tyāgi), probably with an intention to avoid metrical awkwardness of pāda c *eṣām anyonyāpatita- with a long fifth syllable. Though Viṣṇu 5.113 anyonyāpatitāyā is also considered to be made from KAŚ parasparam apatitaṁ tyajataḥ, it does not side with the Yājñavalkyaśṛṇṭi 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 abhayāṁ sattvasaṁuddhir jñānayogavavyavasthitih/ dānam damaś ca yājñas ca svādhīyāṁ tapa ārjavam// ahimsāsatyam akrodhas tyagah śāntir apiśunam// dayā bhūteso alooluptvaṁ mārdavaṁ hīr ācāpalam// tejāh kṣamā dhṛtiḥ saucam adroho nātmānaśa/ bhavantī sampadaṁ daivīm abhijātasya bhārata.

\textsuperscript{14} Though anivedita-vijñātaḥ in Yājñ. 2.35cd aniveditavijñātā dāpyas taṁ 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 Mānavāśī 3.1.25 naṣṭādhigatam and described by Pāṇini in Aṣṭ. 2.1.49. (See Wackernagel, AiGr II-1, p.172, §74c3.)

\textsuperscript{15} This assumption might be wrong, for here the Kautiliyārtha- sāstra looks as if it paraphrased the Yājñavalkyaśṛṇṭi into prose.
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karapādadantabhaṅge, in Manu and Yājñ. vōg-yata- :: Viṣṇu 61.16 yata-vāc-, and in Yājñ. 2.210a patanīyaṅkṛte kṣepe :: Viṣṇu 5.29 patanīyaṅkṣepe kṛte.

Yājñ. 2.267d śuṣka-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 śuṣka-bhinna-svāra-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 (a)kṛte is different between Yājñ. 2.210a patanīyaṅkrte kṣepe “in the case of a [false] reproach made with a degrading crime” and Viṣṇu 5.29 parasya patanīyaṅkṣepe 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 Yājñavalkyasmṛtī fits the meter, while that of the Viṣṇusmrī is free from the ambiguity inherent in Yājñ. patanīyaṅkṛte.

2. Position of the YĀJṆAVALKYASMRĪTI in philological history

a. Tracing the nominal compounds in the Yājñavalkyasmṛtī to the foregoing literature reveals that it was not composed simply on the principle of summarizing foregoing literature faithfully. Among those compounds in the Yājñavalkyasmṛtī 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 Yājñ. 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 viprasyotpādyā śoṇitam “When one spills the blood of a Brahmin, he should practice kṛcchra- and atikṛchra-” and Yājñ. 3.292c kṛcchrātikṛcchriaḥ 'ṣrpāte “kṛcchātikṛcchra-[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-)kṛchra- and atikṛchra-, each explained in Manu 11.211 tryaham praṭas tryaham sāyām tryaham adyād ayācitaḥ/ tryaham paraṁ ca naśniyāt prājāpatyaṁ caran dvijāḥ “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 ekaikaṃ grāsamaṃ aśnīyā tryahāṇi trīṃi pūrvaṇaḥ/ tryahāṃ copaśadeśaṃ antyamaṃ atikṛchḥraṃ caran dvijah “A twice-born man who performs an Atikrikkhra (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). Yājñi. kṛcchṛti kṛcchhra- is explicitly laid down in Yājñi. 3.320ab kṛcchṛti kṛcchhraḥ payasaṃ divasaṇaṃ ekaviṃśatim “kṛcchṛti kṛcchhra- [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’ (Yājñi. 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 Yājñi. 1.230 yavaīr anvavakīryātha bhajane sapavitake/ saṃ no devyā payaḥ kṣiptvā yavo 'sīti yavāṁs tathā “Having scattered barley to [the invited Brahmins], having put water in a vessel equiped with pavitra with [the mantra] ‘saṃ no devyār abhīṣṭaya āpo bhavantu pitaẏe saṃ yor abhi sra vantu naḥ’ (RV 10.9.4), and having put bar ley saying ‘You are barley’.”

The two durations, twenty-one days (Yājñi.) and (12+12=) twenty-four days (Manu), are compatible, if the final fast of the former is performed not twice but only once at the end of the period (9+9+3=21). kṛcchṛti kṛcchhra-, like kṛcchhra- or atikṛchḥra-, lasts only twelve days in the Sānavidhānabrāhmaṇa, the Baudhāyanadharmasūtra, the Gautamadharmasūtra and the Vāsiṣṭhadharmasūtra. On the other hand, the source of the dietary prescription in the Yājñavalkyaṃsṛti is to be sought outside the Manusmṛti, probably in SVB 1.2.8, BDhS 2.1.2.41, GDhS 26.20 and VāDhS 24.3, where kṛcchṛti kṛcchhra- is an expiation to live only on water (ab-bhakṣa-). kṛcchṛti kṛcchhra- in the Dharmasūtras is singular, because it is a severer kind of kṛcchhra- in its content, and means ‘the Kṛcchra which is above other Kṛcchras [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 Yājñavalkyaṃsṛti though it has the same singular ending.

It would naturally follow from these, that Yājñi. kṛcchṛti kṛcchhra- is a compromise of the Dharmasūtras and the Manusmṛti. The masculine sin-
gular ending \(-ah\), quite unusual for a Dvandva, might be a maneuver to cause the application of the Sandhi rule \((-ah + a \rightarrow -o\)) and to push the words into a verse of eight syllables.\(^{18}\) 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 \(Yājñavalkyasmr̥ti\) takes over the wording of the \(Manusmr̥ti\), but also modifies it slightly.

\(\text{Manu sv̥arṇaṣṭeyakṛd vipro :: Yājñ. brāhmaṇasvarṇahārī.}\)\(^{19}\) Manu 11.99-100 sv̥arṇaṣṭeyakṛd vipro rājānam abhigamya tu/ svakarma khyāpayan brāyañ mām bhavān anuśāstv iti// ghṛtvā musalam rājā sakrd dhanyāt tu tam svayam/ vadhena śudhyāti steno 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 brāhmaṇasvarṇahārī tu rājīne musalam arpayet/ svakarma vyākhyaṁs tena hato muktā ‘pi vā śucih “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 guiltless.” The Brahmin’s status as a thief in the \(Manusmr̥ti\) is changed into a victim of the theft in the \(Yājñavalkyasmr̥ti\), unless we read ‘brāhmaṇas svarṇahārī for brāhmaṇasvarṇahārī as discussed above s.v. dṛṣṭih śrotrajñata. The \(Yājñavalkyasmr̥ti\) amalgamates Manu 11.99–100 with Manu 8.316ab sāsanād vā vimoksād vā stenaḥ steyād vimucyate “Whether he be punished or pardoned, the thief is freed from the (guilt of) theft” (Bühler) and modified them into a rule for gold-robbers in general, probably in order to avoid imposing a capital penalty just on a Brahmin.


\[^{19}\] svarṇa- comes from su-vārṇa- by syncope. Another example of syncope is Yājñ. 3.300b pārṣadaḥ for pāriṣadaḥ (AiGr I, p.60 §53c “Hypersanskritismus”).
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Manu dāsī ghātam :: Yājñ. dāsikumbham. Manu 11.183ab dāsī ghātam apāṃ pūrṇam 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 svabāndhavāḥ “His own relatives should pour down the jar of a slave girl outside the village.” By putting dāsī and kumbha- together, the Yājñavalkyasmṛti creates a difference from the Manusmṛti, that dāsī ‘a female slave’, who overturned the pot in the latter, becomes its mere possessor in the former. In this case, the Yājñavalkyasmṛti presumably intended to reconcile the Manusmṛti with, or revert to, an older stage of regulation, which is shown in GDhs 3.2.4 dāsāḥ karmakaro vāvakaṛād amedhyapātram āniyā dāśīghātāt pūrayitvā daksināmukho yadā viparyasyed amukam anudakaṇṭ karotāti nāmāgraṇam “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 sarvavarṇānāṃ yathāvad anupūrvaśāḥ/ antaraprabhavānāṃ ca dharmān no vaktum arṭahā “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 Yājñavalkyasmṛti 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 Yājñavalkyasmṛti enlarges compounds of the foregoing literature, probably in order to eliminate ambiguity inherent in them.

sahōda- :: Yājñ. sahōda-ja- in Yājñ. 2.131d garbhe vinnaḥ sahōdhajah

20 Bāl. dāśīghātam apāṃ pūrṇam.
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 kiṃ kāraṇaḥ brahma kutah jāta jīvāmah kena ca sampratisthāḥ/ adhiṣṭhitāḥ kena sukhetareṣu vartāmahe brahmaiva 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.”
nominal compounds in the Yājñavalkyasmṛti

'sahodha-ja- is [a son] found in the womb [already at marriage]." Since the definitions of sahodha- in BdHś 2.2.3.25, VDhś 17.27, KAS 3.7.11, Manu 9.173 and Viṣṇu 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 VDhś 19.39, Nārada 14.17a, 19.13c and Manu 9.270c.

sahāsana- :: sahaikāsana- (Mit.) in Yājñ., 2.284cd (Mit.) adeśakālasambhāṣāṁ sahaikāsanaṁ eva ca "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 khaṭvāsanam “sitting on a couch together.” The Yājñavalkyasmṛti (or possibly the Mitākṣarā) 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. BDhś 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 balūd dāśikṛtaḥ "one who was made a slave by force," Yājñ. 2.301d tad evāṣṭaṅkṛtyam "it (the penalty) is made eight times as much," Yājñ. 2.307d triṃśāṅkṛtyam “made thirty times as much”. While no compound ending in kṛta- "that which was made (something)" is found in the Manusmrī, it shows several cases where bhūta- is combined with a nominal stem as the first member: Manu 3.97c bhasmabhūteṣu vipreṣu (Kullūka: bhasmībhūteṣu) “to Brahmins who are as good as ashes,"23 Manu 5.93d brahmabhūtaḥ “like Brahman,” (Bühler) Manu 7.217ab ātmabhūtaiḥ...paricārakaiḥ “a servant as faith-

22 Bāl. sahāvasthānam, Apar. and Vir. sahaikāsthamam.
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 bijabhūtaḥ “like seeds,” Manu 10.91c kṛmibhūtaḥ “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 Pāṇini, Aṣṭ. 2.1.59 śreṇyādayah kṛtādibhiḥ, *kṛmibhūta-, a cvi-formation, would rather be expected.

The Yājñavalikyasmṛti 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 dviguṇibhūtam “which has become twice”, 2.100c pratiṃśasamibhūto “who has become the same in weight”, 3.218a niśkalmaśibhūtāḥ “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 saṃkleda- bhūtāḥ “which has become moisture” Yājñ. 3.186cd bija- bhūtāḥ “who have become seeds” Yājñ. 3.248ab lakṣya- bhūtāḥ25 “who has become a target”. Pāda borders are not crossed by a word in the Yājñavalikyasmṛti except the one between 1.79c and d: brahma-cārya eva parvāṇy ādyāś ca tāras 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 madhusarpirbhyaṁ.

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 Yājñavalikyasmṛti: 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

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

25 Bāl. lakṣabhūtah. According to Stenzler, Kullūka on Manu 11.13 reads lakṣyī-, which is not supported by Aṣṭ. 6.4.152. His taste for cvi is shown in his reading bhasmibhūtesu for Manu 3.97c bhasmasbhūtesu 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 Bahuvrihi in the regular order.27

karma-duṣṭaḥ in Yājñ. 1.224cd parapūrvāpatih stenaḥ karmaduṣṭaś ca ninditaḥ28 “The husband of a remarried woman, a thief, and people of degraded conduct are blamed.” The usage in the Manusmṛti indicates both possibilities in the position of duṣṭa- in compounds: Manu 3.225d duṣṭa-cetasah, 8.386b duṣṭa-vāk :: 5.108c mano-duṣṭaḥ, 3.156d vāg-duṣṭaḥ, 8.345a vāg-duṣṭāt.

vṛddha-sevitaḥ (Bāl.) in Yājñ. 1.309ab (Bāl.) mahotsāhah sthūlalakṣaṇaḥ kṛtaṇo vṛddhasevitaḥ29 “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-bhraṣṭāḥ in Yājñ. 3.217cd jāyante lakṣaṇabhraṣṭā daridrāḥ puruṣādhamāḥ “They are born as the meanest of men, poor and with any auspicious marks fallen.” Since the verb bhraṣ/ bhṛṇḍ is used with the ablative, as in TS 1.6.11.1 práti yajñēṇa tiṣṭhati nā yajñād bhṛṃṣate, 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. duṣṭalakṣaṇaḥ and Apar. bhraṣṭāsabhalaṃkaraṇaḥ paraphrase this compound as an inverted Bahuvrihi, which is described by Pāṇini in Aṣṭ. 2.2.37.

dhātu-vimūrccitaḥ in Yājñ. 3.75ab prathame māsi saṃkledabhūto dhātu- vimūrcitaḥ31 “In the first month [after conception, the ātman] is as it were moisture, congelation of the elements.” If vimūrccita- ‘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-ktād (Bāl.) in Yājñ. 2.212cd (Bāl.) draṣṭavya vyavahāras tu

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27 Or an Upapada compound with an adjectival first member like RV. raṇyavāc-. Cf. Reuter (1892) pp.202f. with notes.
28 Bāl. karmaduṣṭaś.
29 Mit. and Apar. vṛddhasevakaḥ.
31 Dr. Tsutomu Yamashita pointed out to me that Caraka 4.4.9 prathame māsi saṃmūrccitaḥ sarvadhātukalusikrtaḥ khetabhūto bhavaty ... provides source for this passage.
"But a case should be examined for fear of one who made false signs."

kāla-kṛtaḥ in Yājñī. 2.58c kāle kālakṛto naśyet “[A pawn] — will be forfeited at [the expiration of the] term.” The Mitāksarā understands this as a Bahuvihi with an inverted order, ascribing it to the ākṛti-gaṇa referred to by Pāṇini in Aṣṭ. 2.2.37. Judging from the usage of kālaman 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 kriyatāṁ asya svapne jāgaraṇe tathā, interpreting kāla-kṛta- as ‘[a pawn] for which a term is set’ sounds convincing. By inverting the usual order of a Bahuvihi, 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 Kirātārjuniya. The Yājñavalkyasmrī 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 āndatādana kuryāt, 1.329c balānāṁ darśanāṁ kṛtvā, 2.204c kṣepam karoṇi ced, 3.8b-c sāramārgaṇaṁ karoṇi yaḥ, 3.56a kṛtvēṣṭiṁ. This root is also used as a substitute for other verbs, e.g. Yājñī. 1.147c kṛte ’ntare (cf. Manu 4.126c antarāgamane), 1.287a kṛtākṛtaṁ taṇḍulān and 2.164d kṛtavetanaḥ.

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 Yājñavalkyasmrī.

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

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32 Mit. kātacihnakṛto. 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 sarvarvarṇānāṃ yathāvad anupūrvaśaḥ/ antaraprabhavānām 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/tarāṇām, seeking its authority from Aṣṭ. 1.1.31 dvandve ca, which excludes the title as a pronoun from the group of stems comprising itara- when they are used as the last members of Dvandva compounds. The un-Pāṇinian ending of Bāl. varṇāśrametāreśām, 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 adduced as reinforcing arguments for the inclination of the Mitākṣarā toward grammatical strictness: The Mitākṣarā reads vrddha-sevakāḥ for Bāl. vrddha-sevitaḥ in Yājñ. 1.309b. The word vrddha-sevakāḥ, a formation from the root sev with the agent suffix -aka- (‘ṇuṇ’), 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.

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

34 Bāl. varṇā brāhmanādayaḥ/ āśramā brahmacāryādayaḥ/ varṇetārā antaraprabhavā anumādayaḥ/ āśrametārāḥ pāṣaṇādayaḥ/ teṣām varṇāśrametāreśaṁ/ .../ anyah pāṭhaḥ — ‘varṇānāṁ sāśramānāṁ’ iti.

35 Mit. ‘itara śabdasya ‘dvandve ca’ iti sarvanāmasaṁjñāpratiṣedhāḥ. The Bālakṛṣṇa might have been conscious of this sūtra when it offered an optional reading varṇānāṁ sāśramānāṁ.

36 kūṭacihnakṛtād Ꞩte.

37 The commentary part of the Mitākṣarā, however, seems to explain not kūṭacihna-kṛt- but kūṭacihna-kṛta-, and that differently from the Bālakṛṣṇa: kūṭacihnakṛtaṁbhāvānabhayaḥ ‘for the fear, which feeling is caused by a false sign’. The difficulty with this interpretation is the redundancy of kṛta-, for kūṭacihnād bhayaḥ or kūṭacihna-bhayaḥ 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. vṛddha-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.) :: sahasraśaḥ (Bāl.) in Yājñ. 3.119 (Mit.) mohajālam aṇāśyeḥa puruṣo dṛṣyate hi yah/ sahasrakarapannetraḥ sūryavarcāḥ sahasra-kah "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 sahāsrabāhuh and to VS 31.18b ādityāvarṇam.38 Though ka- ‘head’ as a single word sounds like lexicographer’s invention, it is not necessarily to be rejected here as such, for kaṇḍhāraḥ 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 Yājñavalkya smṛti 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 dhāraṇa-ajīvite considers the latter two of icchā, dhāraṇa- and jīvita-as forming a Dvandva dhāraṇa-jīvite ‘sustaining [the body] and [supporting] the life’. Though isolation of the first word icchā ‘wish’ is avoided in Bāl. icchādhāraṇa-ajīvite which joins icchā with a-dhāraṇa-, its interpretation ‘non-sustaining (i.e. renouncement) of a body at will” together with its paraphrase of b dhṛtiḥ by dhāraṇā ‘concentration’ sounds too spiritualistic, and is also unlikely judging from the enumeration of icchā and dhāraṇa- 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 adhāraṇam satīrasya tatparityaṅgaḥ tad icchādhāraṇam.
of course, that the reading of the Bālakrīḍā is more interpolated than that of the Mitākṣarā: In Yājñ. 3.154ab (Bāl.) ājne ‘ājne ca prakṛtav ca vikāra caṁśeṣavān “not discriminating between one who knows and one who does not know, and between an original and a modification,” the logic of the Bālakrīḍā is more transparent than that of Mit. ājne ‘ājne ‘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 Bālakrīḍā 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 pākhaṇḍyanāsritāḥ (Mit.) in Yājñ. 3.6 (Mit.) a pākhaṇḍyanāsritāḥ b stenā c bhartrīghnāyāh d kāmāgāḍikāh⁴²/ e surāpya f ātmatyāgīnīyo⁴³ nāsaucodakabhājanāḥ “—, 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 f ātmanas tyāginām caiva nivartetodakaśriyā/ a pāsaṇḍam āśritānām ca a carantīnām ca kāmataḥ/ garbhaḥbhartrādruhām caiva ātmanas ca yōṣitām. The expressions carantīnām ‘[women] who through lust live (with many men),’ garbhabhrdruhām ‘[women] who have caused an abortion, have killed their husbands,’ surāpyānām ca yōṣitām ‘to women … [who] drink spirituous liquor (Bühler)’ in Manu 5.90 support the interpretation to take pāsaṇḍam āśritānām also as women: “[to women] who have joined a heretical sect” (Bühler). The Yājñavalkya-smṛti has three different readings according to the three commentators: Mit. pākhaṇḍyanāsritāḥ, Bāl. pāsaṇḍam āśritāḥ and Apar. pāsaṇḍan āśritāḥ. The Bālakrīḍā follows the Manusmrī not only in its reading but also in commenting b kāmāgās tathā as tathāsaṇḍhāḥ smṛtyantaroktavṛthāśankaravatāduryarthāḥ “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

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⁴¹ I thank Professor Kyō Kanō for the reference.
⁴² Bāl. kāmāgās tathā.
⁴³ Apar. ātmagātīno. The reading of the Mitākṣarā and the Bālakrīḍā seems to be taken from Manu ātmanas tyāginām, whereas that of the Aparārka goes with ātmagātīn- m. in Yājñ. 3.21b avakṣyām cāmabhātanām.
⁴⁴ Agreement with the Manusmrī is not particular to the Bālakrīḍā. Take for example vrata-lopaḥ… vrata-lopanam (Mit., Apar.:) vrata-lopaḥ… brahma-lopanam (Bāl.) in Yājñ. 3.236c–238d; nāstikyam vrata-lopaḥ ca … kauṣṭikyam vrata-lopanam or brahma-lopanam “... atheist and violation of a vow, ... fraud, violation of a vow (or chastity), ...”
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shows a tendency to load the text with much meaning as in sahasrakah, 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 pāsanḍānāśritāḥ can also be divided as pāsanḍa-
ānāśritāḥ, i.e. a Dvandva like Mit. pākhaṇḍy-anāśritāḥ. The reading of the
Aparārka is compatible with both the Mitākṣarā and the Bālakrīḍā in this
case.

5. Conclusion

The tendency of the Yājñāvalkyasmrī to incorporate as much foregoing
literature as possible is reflected in the frequent deviation of its nominal com-
pounds 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 litera-
ture, such as the singular form kṛcchātikṛcchrah compared to the dual form
kṛcchātikṛcchrau in the Manusmrī, 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 comment-
taries, 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

AiGr: Altindische Grammatik. Apar., Aparārka: Aparārkayājñāvalkīyadharmasa-
śastranibandha, Aparārka’s commentary on Yājñī. ĀpDhs: Āpastambhadharmasūtra. Aṣṭ.: Aṣṭādhyāyī. Bāl.: Bālakrīḍā, Viśvarūpa’s commentary on the Yājñā-
valkyasmrī. BDhs: Baudhāyanadharmasūtra. Caraka: Carakasaṃhitā. GDhs:
KāṭhS: Kāṭhakasaṃhitā. KŚS: Kātyāyanaśrautasūtra. MaiS: Maitrāyaṇi-

These two synonymous action nouns vratalopah and vratalopananam, formed from
the root łup/lop: łumpāti ‘break’ respectively with suffixes -a- (‘ghañ’) and -ana-, 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. brahma-
lopanam ‘violation of abstinence’ saves the senselessness of repeating the same offense vrata-
lopa- and vratalopana- in Mit., but it is not grounded on the foregoing literature. Mit.
vratalopananam agrees with Manu 11.61b vratalopanam.
 NOMINAL COMPOUNDS IN THE YĀJṆAVALKYASMṚTI


Index of Sanskrit Words

| agnyāpah  | 1a naśtonmrṣte  |
| aniveditaviññātāḥ | 1b pataniyaktre kepe |
| apatitānyonyatyāgī | 1c payas  |
| asteyamādhurye | 1b parṣad- |
| ātmatīyāgīnyāḥ | 1d pākhaṇḍyanāśritāḥ |
| icchā(-)dhārāṇajīvite | 1b pratipraṇavasaṃgyuktām |
| uditoditam | 1a brahmalopanam |
| kaṃdhara | 1b madhusarpaś- |
| karaṇapādaṇataḥ | 1b vṛṇāśrametarāṇām, -eśām 2b |
| karmaduṣṭāḥ | 1b vṛṇāśrametarāṇām, -eśām 2b, 4a |
| kālakriyāḥ | 1b vṛṇāśrametarāṇām, -eśām 2b, 4a |
| kūṭacīhnaṅkṛtād | 1b vṛṇāśrametarāṇām, -eśām 2b, 4a |
| krcchrātikṛcchrāḥ | 2a vṛddhasevitaḥ |
| kriyamāṇopakāre | 1a vṛddhasevakaḥ |
| cvi-formation | 3a vratalopanam |
| jīne 'jīne, jīneyajīne | 3b viṃśatīvārṣikī |
| daśavārṣikī | 3b vāgyata- |
| daśtabraviḍtiśārvasiḥ | 2a vṛddhasevitaḥ |
| dhātvimūrĉchitaḥ | 1a śākyalāṅkṛtā |
| dhārāṇajīvīte | 1a śuṣkabhinnamukhasvarāḥ |
| dasikumbham | 3b (dṛṣṭi)śrotajñatā |
| devatideva- | 1b sahasrakaḥ |
|  | 2b sahodhaja- |
|  | 2a sahaikāsanam |

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