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Nominal Compounds in the Yajñavalkyasmṛti*

Masato KOBAYASHI

0. Introduction

The original sources of the Yajñavalkyasmṛti range over the Dharma-sūtras, the Grhyasūtras, the epics, and texts on Ayurveda (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 Kauṭiliyārthaśāstra as the primary source of the Yajñavalkyasmṛti,¹ and do not treat the Viṣṇusmṛti with close attention on the working hypothesis of its posteriority to the Yajñavalkyasmṛti.

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¹ This might be an oversimplification, especially in the case of the Kauṭiliyārthaśāstra. See note 15, for example.
1. Influences of abridgement and versification on the compounds of the *Yājñavalkyasūrya*

a. The style of the *Yājñavalkyasūrya* shows an elaborate condensation of the foregoing literature. To take an example, KAŚ 3.16.30–31 *yat svam dravyam anyair bhuyyamānanā daśa varṣāny upekṣeta, hiyēṣya .../* viṁśati-varṣopekṣitam anavasītaṃ vāstu nānuṣūṣaṇāta "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." (Shamasastray) is condensed into one śloka, Yājñ. 2.24 *paśyato 'bṛvato bhūmer hānir viṁśativārṣikī/pareṇa bhuyyamānāya 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 *viṁśati-vārṣikī* ‘vicennial’ and *daśa-vārṣikī* ‘decennial’.

More often, the *Yājñavalkyasūrya* 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 *agnīm ... apsu*, KAŚ 7.17.7 *agny-udaka-*, Viṣṇu 9.11 *dhaṭāñāy-udaka-*, 9.25–29 *agnīḥ ... udakam* or Nārada 1.218d *agny-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-saṃnyuktam in Yājñ. 1.23 *gaṇyatrīṁ śirasā sārdham japed vyāhṛtipūrvikām/ pratipraṇavasaṃnyuktāṁ trir ayaṁ praṇasaṃyamāḥ* "[A student] should mutter the Gāyatṛi stanza three times together with Śiras, preceded by vyāhṛti [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-alanikṛta in Yājñ. 1.58ab *brahma vivāha āhūya diyate šaktyalamikṛta*

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2 Cf. Aṣṭ. 5.1.79 for the function of the suffix -ika- (‘than’).
"The Brāhma marriage: After [the father] invited [the bridegroom], [the girl] adorned according to [the father's financial] power is given [to him]” seems to presuppose śaktiviṣayeṇālaṁkṛtya ‘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 Brāhma marriage like here). It should be noted that an instrumental form śaktya is used a little before this stanza, in Yājñī. 1.45d śaktyaḥḥite hi yo ‘nvaham “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 Yājñī. 2.91ab deśāntarasthe durlekhye naṣṭonmṛṣte hrte tatha/ bhinne dagdhe ˈtha 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 unmṛṣṭa- 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 chinnaḥhinnaḥtonmṛṣṭanaṣṭadurlikhīteṣu ca/ kartavyam anyal lekhyam syad eṣa lekhyavidhiḥ sṛṭṭah 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 unmṛṣṭa- and naṣṭa-, which are divided by a pāda boundary. Although commentators of the Yājñavalkyasmrṭi 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 Yājñī. 3.28a kriyamānopakāre tu mṛte 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 kriyamāne ‘being done’ and upakāre ‘(medical) care’ are separate.4

Yājñī. 3.202–203ab b antardhānam ˈsṛṭhiḥ ˈkāntir ḍrṣṭiḥ “śrotram Jānata tatha/ “nijāṃ šarīram utṣṛṃya parakāyapraveṣānam//” arthānāṃ chandataḥ sṛṣṭir yogasiddher 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 *śaktyālaṁkṛtya, which was then changed into śaktyālaṁkṛtya to make the fifth syllable short as is preferred metrically.

4 Another example of irregular Sandhi in the Yājñavalkyasmrṭi is the absence of the crisis -a ṛ- → -ar- in 1.300c udabdhyasvetti ca ṛco. For the examples of double sandhi in the Dhārmāsūtras, 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 enu-
merated in Caraka 4.1.140 aävesa b cetaso jñānam c arthānāṁ chandataḥ kriyā/
dṛṣṭiḥ e śrotarām f smṛtiḥ g kāntir h ṗṣṭataś cāpyadarsanam, Yājñ. śrotar- jñatā might have originally meant the same powers as śrotarām ‘hearing’ and cetaso
jñānam ‘mind reading’ in the Carakasāṃhitā.  
uditoditam occurs as one of the requisites of a family priest in Yājñ.
1.313 purohitam prakurvita7 daiuajñam uditoditam/ daṇḍanītām 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 abridg-
ment of KAŚ 1.9.9 purohitam uditoditakulasīlām sānge vede daive nimitte
daṇḍanītām cābhivinitām āpādām daiuamānuṣinām atharvākhir upāyaiś ca
pratikartaraṃ kurvita. It appears to me too bold as an abridgement, if udi-
toditam is simply a curtailed form of uditoditakulasīlam. Since udita-
can be derived both from ud-ay/i ‘go up, go out’ and from vad ‘say’ with -ta,
the meaning of uditoditam cannot be decided easily, as well as KAŚ uditodi-
takulasīlam.  
b. The same Dvandva madhu-sarpis-, used in Yājñ. 1.303cd hotavāṁ ma-
dhusarpirbhyyāṁ dadhā kṣireṇa vā yutāḥ “[fuels] mixed with honey, liquid
butter, curds or milk [should be offered]” and in Yājñ. 1.44c pitīṁś ca ma-
dhusarpirbhyyām “[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 pitīṁṁ
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 Bṛhadyaigyaśaṇavalkyaśṇa 9.195d dṛṣṭiḥ śrotra/parā (reference given by
Dr. Akihiko Akamatsu), dṛṣṭiḥ śrotra- in the Yājñavalkyaśṇa might originate from
an incorrect Sandhi dissolution of manuscripts in scriptio continua, which would have
read dṛṣṭiḥ-srotra- for both dṛṣṭiḥ(ś) śrotra- and dṛṣṭi-srotra-. For further examples
of similar questions on dissolution, see Yājñ. 3.257ā brahmaasvarūḍhārī and Yājñ.
3.277b (Mit.) daśāstīśvarudivāyasah. Shoshin (p.c.) proposes to emend śrotraṇi atā
into śrotraṃ jñitā.
7 Bāl., Apar. and Vir. 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 uditā
seems only to emphasize the exalted character of the kula and śīla.” Or a composite
of two Bahuvrīhs udit- kula- and udit-śīla-: “him whose family is noble and whose
conduct is lofty.”
neuter singular forms according to Pāṇini (Aśṭ. 2.4.2ff), Aśṭ. 2.4.14 na da-
hipayaādīṇī rules out a singular form of this particular compound, referring
to a gana that includes madhusarpīṣi (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 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 ... pāṇipādadantabhanīge karṇanāsā-
chedane ... and Viṣṇu 5.68 karapādadantabhanīge karṇanāsāvānikartane ...
(both texts are composed in prose), Yājñī. 2.219ab (Mit.) karapādadato
bhanīge chedane karṇanāsayoh⁹ “When a hand, a foot or a tooth is broken,
when an ear or a nose is cut off” gives karapādadataḥ, the genitive singular of
kara-pāda-dant- ‘a hand, a foot or a tooth’. The clumsiness of this singular
Dvandva¹⁰ 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-mādhu-
rye ‘abstention from stealing and mild disposition’. All of the ten yamas
enumerated in Yājñī. 3.312 (Mit.) brahmacāryaṃ dayā kṣāntir dānam satyam
akalkatā/ ahiṃsāsteyamādhurye damaś cetī 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 karapādadantabhanīge. Mit. paraphrases karṇanāsayoh also by
the singular form karṇanāsasya.

¹⁰ Though Aśṭ. 2.4.2 dvandvāś ca prāṇitāryasenaṅgānām 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 śīro-grīvām ‘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 Yājñī. 3.37cd (Mit.) mṛccarnapuşpa-
kutapakesatakraviṣaṅkṣiṭih (Bāl. viṣairakān, Apar. and Vir. 2kṣiṭih).

¹¹ Bāl. ahiṃsāsteyam adroha, Apar. ahiṃsāsteyamādhurya- damaś.

among the ten yamas for a Vānaprastha.

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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 dhāraṇajīvite ‘maintaining and living’ in Yājñ. 3.174 (Mit.) ahaṅkjāraḥ śrītīra medhā
dveṣo buddhiḥ sukham dhṛtiḥ/ indriyantarasaṃcāra iccha dhāraṇajīvite also seems to be a Dvandva formed in order to avoid a pāda with a long fifth
syllable like *dhāraṇām jīvitaṃ.\textsuperscript{14}

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

apatīnyonyatyāgī occurs in Yājñ. 2.237 pitṛputrasvasṛbhṛṭdampatya-
ācāryaśiṣṭi/kāh/ eśām apatīnyonyatyāgī ca śatadāndabhāk “Moreover, father
and son, sister and brother, wife and husband, teacher and pupil —
one who, among them, abandons his undergraded partner is charged with a
penalty of one hundred [paṇaṣ],” which is an abridgement\textsuperscript{15} of KAŚ 3.20.18
pitṛputrayor dampatyor bhṛṭdbhaginyor māṭulabhaṅgeyayoh śiṣyācāryayor
vā parasparam apatītaṃ 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 sis-
ter’s son, or pupil and teacher.” The order of the words in the Kauṭilyārtha-
sāstra was changed when the Yājñavalkyaśmṛti packed them into a compound
(KAŚ parasparam apatītaṃ tyajataḥ → Yājñ. apatiṣ/a-ānyonya-tyāgī), prob-
ably with an intention to avoid metrical awkwardness of pāda c *eśām any-
onyāpatitā- with a long fifth syllable. Though Viṣṇu 5.113 anyonyāpatitātyāgī
is also considered to be made from KAŚ parasparam apatītaṃ tyajataḥ, it does
not side with the Yājñavalkyaśmṛti in the order of these members, in a similar
way as is observed in Yājñ. 2.219a (Mit.) karapādadato bhangē :: Viṣṇu 5.68

\textsuperscript{13} Bhagavadgītā 16.1-3 abhayāṃ sattvasamśuddhir jñānayogavyavasthitih/ dānam damaś
cia yājñā ca svādhyāyāḥ tapa ārjavam// ahiṃsāṣatiṣyam akrodhas tyagah śāntir
apaiśunam/ dayā bhūteṣo alokupvāma mārdavaṁ hrīr acāpalam// tejaḥ kṣaṁā dhṛtiḥ
śaucam adroho nātmāntā/ bhavanti sampadaṁ daivām abhyājataṣya bhārata.

\textsuperscript{14} Though anivedita-vijñātaḥ in Yājñ. 2.35cd aniveditavijñāto dāpyaṁ 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 Mānavaśś 3.1.25 naṣṭādhigatam
and described by Pāṇini in Āṣ. 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 para-
phrased the Yājñavalkyaśmṛti into prose.
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karapādadantabhaṅge, in Manu and Yājñ. vāg-yata- :: Viṣṇu 61.16 yata-vāc-, and in Yājñ. 2.210a pataniyakṛte kṣepe :: Viṣṇu 5.29 pataniyakṣepe 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 KAS 4.6.2 śuṣka-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 Yājñ. 2.210a pataniyakṛte kṣepe “in the case of a [false] reproach made with a degrading crime” and Viṣṇu 5.29 parasya pataniyakṣepe 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 Yājñavalkyasmrṭi fits the meter, while that of the Viṣṇusmrṛti is free from the ambiguity inherent in Yājñ. pataniyakṛte.

2. Position of the Yājñavalkyasmrṛti in philological history

a. Tracing the nominal compounds in the Yājñavalkyasmrṛti to the foregoing literature reveals that it was not composed simply on the principle of summarizing foregoing literature faithfully. Among those compounds in the Yājñavalkyasmrṛti 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 Manusmrṛti.

Compare, for example, Manu kṛcchrātikrcchrau with Yājñ. kṛcchrātikrcchrah. 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 kṛcchrātikrcchrau kurvita viprasyotpādyā ṣoṇitam “When one spills the blood of a Brahmin, he should practice kṛcchra- and atikrcchra-” and Yājñ. 3.292c kṛcchrātikrcchro ’ṣrkapete “kṛchātikrcchra- [should be practiced] in the case of bloodshed (of a Brahmin).” Since the Manusmrṛti gives no special definition of kṛcchrātikrcchrau, it must be a combination of (prājāpatya-)krcchra- and atikrcchra-, each explained in Manu 11.211 tryahām prātas tryahām sāyām tryahām adyād ayācitam/ tryahām paraṁ ca nāsniyāt prājāpatyaṁ caran 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
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fast during another period of three days” (Bühler) and in Manu 11.213 ekaikām grāsām aśīyāt tryahāṇī trīṇi pūrvavat/ tryahāṇi copa vased antyam atikṛṣṭikṛṣchraḥ caran dvijaḥ “A twice-born man who performs an Atikṛṣṭikṛṣchra (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). Yājñ. kṛṣṭikṛṣchra- is explicitly laid down in Yājñ. 3.320ab kṛṣṭikṛṣchraḥ payasā divasān ekaviṃśatim “kṛṣṭikṛṣchra- [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’ (Yājñ. 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 Yājñ. 1.230 yaṁvāṁvākīryātha bhājane sapavitrape/ sāṁ no devyā payaḥ kṣipta vayo ‘sīti yavāṁs tathā “Having scattered barley to [the invited Brahmīns], having put water in a vessel equipped with pavītra with [the mantra] ‘sāṁ no devyār abhiṣṭaya āpo bhavantu pītaye sāṁ yār abhiś sraantu naḥ’ (RV 10.9.4), and having put barley saying ‘You are barley’.”

The two durations, twenty-one days (Yājñ.) 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). kṛṣṭikṛṣchra-, like kṛṣchra- or atikṛṣchra-, lasts only twelve days in the Sānavidhānabrāhmaṇa, the Baudhāyanadharmanasūtra, the Gautamadharmanasūtra and the Vāsiṣṭhadharmanasūtra. On the other hand, the source of the dietary prescription in the Yājñavalkyasāṁti is to be sought outside the Manusmṛti, probably in SVB 1.2.8, BDhS 2.1.2.41, GĐhS 26.20 and VaĐhS 24.3, where kṛṣṭikṛṣchra- is an expiation to live only on water (abhakṣa-). kṛṣṭikṛṣchra- in the Dharmaśūtras is singular, because it is a severer kind of kṛṣchra- in its content, and means ‘the Kṛṣchra which is above other Kṛṣchras [in its severity]’, with the same semantic structure as MBh. devātideva- ‘ein über alle Götter hervorragender Gott’ (pw).16 It does not share the same meaning as in the Yājñavalkyasāṁti though it has the same singular ending.

It would naturally follow from these, that Yājñ. kṛṣṭikṛṣchra- is a compromise of the Dharmaśūtras and the Manusmṛti.17 The masculine sin-

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16 MBh. 8.24.45a, 12.278.23c, 13.17.143a, 14.93.50c, 15.38.1c.
17 The Viṣṇusūtra made a similar compromise in Viṣṇu 54.30cd kṛṣṭikṛṣchraṁ kurvita vipraṣyotpādyā sonitam, by copying Manu 11.208cd and simply replacing kṛṣṭikṛṣchrau with a singular form which had been used more widely.
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.\(^{18}\) 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 Yajñi. 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 Yajñavalkyasmṛti takes over the wording of the Manusmr̥ti, but also modifies it slightly.

Manu svārṇasteyakṛd vipro :: Yajñi. brāhmaṇasvarṇahāri.\(^{19}\) Manu 11.99-100 svārṇasteyakṛd vipro rājānam abhiṣamya tu/ svakarma khyāpayan brāyān mām bhavān anuṣāstu iti// gṛhitvā musalam rājā sakṛd dhanyāt tu tām svayam/ vadhena śudhyāt 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 Yajñi. 3.257ab brāhmaṇasvarṇahāri tu rājē śāstrām arpayet/ svakarma vyākhyāyamś 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 guiltless.” The Brahmin’s status as a thief in the Manusmr̥ti is changed into a victim of the theft in the Yajñavalkyasmṛti, unless we read *brāhmaṇas svarṇahāri* for *brāhmaṇasvarṇahāri* as discussed above s.v. dṛṣṭiḥ śrotrajñatā. The Yajñavalkyasmṛti amalgamates Manu 11.99–100 with Manu 8.316ab sāsanād vā vimoksād vā stenāh steyād vīmucyate “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.


\(^{19}\) svāra- comes from su-varṇa- by syncope. Another example of syncope is Yajñi. 3.300b parṣadaḥ for pariṣadaḥ (AiGr I, p.60 §53c “Hypersanskritismus”).

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Manu dāsī ghaṭam :: Yājñ. dāsikumbham. Manu 11.183ab dāsī ghaṭam apāṃ pūrṇaṃ paryasyet pretavat pada “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 dāsikumbhaṃ bahir grāmān ninayeran svabānḍhavāh20 “His own relatives should pour down the jar of a slave girl outside the village.” By putting dāsī and kumbha- together, the Yājñavalīṣnyasṛṃṭi 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 Yājñavalīṣnyasṛṃṭi 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 vāvakarād amedhyapātram ānīya dāśiḥaṭi pūrayitvā daksināmukho yadā viparyasyed amukam anudakaṇi 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 varṇāśrametarāṇāṃ no brūhi dharmān aśeṣataḥ “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 anupāravaśāḥ/ antaraprabhavānāṃ ca dharmān no vaktum arthaś “Deign, divine one, to declare to us precisely and in due order the sacred laws of each of the (four chief) castes (varna) and of the intermediate ones” (Bühler). What the Yājñavalīṣnyasṛṃṭi 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 Yājñavalīṣnyasṛṃṭi enlarges compounds of the foregoing literature, probably in order to eliminate ambiguity inherent in them.

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

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20 Bāl. dāśiḥaṭam 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 kāraṇaḥ brahma kutah jāta jīvamaḥ kena ca sampratiṣṭhaḥ/ adhiṣṭhitāḥ kena sukhetareṣu vartāmahe brahmaṇvado 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.”

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NOMINAL COMPOUNDS IN THE YĀJÑAVALKYASMṚTI

‘sahodha-ja- is [a son] found in the womb [already at marriage].” Since the definitions of sahodha- in BDhS 2.2.3.25, VDhS 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 VDhS 19.39, Nārada 14.17a, 19.13c and Manu 9.270c.

sahāsana- :: sahaikāsana- (Mit.) in Yājñ. 2.284cd (Mit.) adesakālasam-bhāsām sahaikāsānām 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 khaṭvāsānāṃ “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 evāṭṭagunīkṛtām “it (the penalty) is made eight times as much,” Yājñ. 2.307d trimśadagunīkṛtam “made thirty times as much”. While no compound ending in kṛta- “that which was made (something)” is found in the Manusmṛti, it shows several cases where bhūta- is combined with a nominal stem as the first member: Manu 3.97c bhasmahūteṣu vipreṣu (Kullūka: bhasmībhūteṣu) “to Brahmins who are as good as ashes,”23 Manu 5.93d brahmahūtaḥ “like Brahman,” (Bühler) Manu 7.217ab ātmabhūtāḥ...paricārakāhiḥ “a servant as faith-

22 Bāl. sahāvasṭhānam, Apar. and Vīra. 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 bījabhūtāh “like seeds,” Manu 10.91c kṛmibhūtāh “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. 2.159 śreṇyādayaḥ kṛtādibhīḥ, *kṛmibhūtā-, a cvi-formation, would rather be expected.24

The Yājñavalkyasṝṛtī uses bhūta- as the last member four times together with cvi-forms: Yājñ. 2.17c pūrvapakṣe 'dharibhūte “when the statement of plaintiff is turned down”, 2.64a dviguṇibhūtam “which has become twice”, 2.100c pratimānasamibhūto “who has become the same in weight”, 3.218a niṣkalmaśibhūtāh “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 saṃkhleḍa- bhūtāh “which has become moisture” Yājñ. 3.186d bīja- bhūtāh “who have become seeds” Yājñ. 3.248ab lakṣya- bhūtāh25 “who has become a target”. Pāda borders are not crossed by a word in the Yājñavalkyasṝṛtī except the one between 1.79c and d: brahmačārya eva parvāṇy adyaś ca tārasa tu varjyet. 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-sarpīrbyām.

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 Yājñavalkyasṝṛtī: 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 Manusṝṛtī has very few cvi-forms: 3.97c according to Kullūka bhasmibhūtēṣu; 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 bhasmibhūtēṣu for Manu 3.97c bhasmabhūtēṣu 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 parapūrvāpatiḥ stenaḥ karmaduṣṭāś ca ninditāḥ 28 “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-cetasāh, 8.386b duṣṭa-vāk :: 5.108c mano-duṣṭā, 3.156d vāg-duṣṭaḥ, 8.345a vāg-duṣṭāt.

vṛddha-sevitaḥ (Bāl.) in Yājñ. 1.309ab (Bāl.) mahotsāhah sthūlalakṣaṇaḥ kṛtaṇo vṛddhasevitaḥ 29 “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 Yājñ. 3.217cd jāyante lakṣaṇabhraṣṭa daridrāḥ puruṣaṅhamāḥ “They are born as the meanest of men, poor and with any auspicious marks fallen.” Since the verb bhraṣ/ bhraṣ is used with the ablative, as in TS 1.6.11.1 prāti yajñēna tiṣṭhati nā yajñād bhraṣāte, 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. duṣṭalakṣaṇāḥ and Apar. bhraṣṭaśubhalakṣaṇāḥ 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 sanākledabhūto dhātu-vimūrccitaḥ 31 “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).

kūtacihna-ktād (Bāl.) in Yājñ. 2.212cd (Bāl.) draṣṭavyo vyavahāras tu

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

kāla-kṛṭaḥ in Yājñ. 2.58c kāle kālakṛtto naṣyet “[A pawn] — will be forfeited at [the expiration of the] term.” The Mitāksara understands this as a Bahuvrihi with an inverted order, ascribing it to the ākṛti-gana referred to by Pāṇini in Aṣṭ. 2.2.37. Judging from the usage of kālaman kṛt ‘a Zeit festsetzen’ noted in PW II, col. 249, s.v. 2 kāla 1, with a quotation from Rām. 6.38.29 kālaś ca kriyatām asya svapne jāgaraṇe tatha, interpreting kāla-kṛta- as ‘[a pawn] for which a term is set’ sounds convincing. By inverting the usual order of a Bahuvrihi, 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/kṛt and its derivatives like kṛta- are often used in combination with action nouns in Bhāravi’s Kirātārjunīya. The Yājñavalkyasmṛti 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 nindāṭādane kuryat, 1.329c balānāṃ darśanāṃ kṛtvā, 2.204c kṣepāṃ karoti ced, 3.8b-c sāramārgaṇaṃ karoti yaḥ, 3.56a kṛtveṣṭim. This root is also used as a substitute for other verbs, e.g. Yājñ. 1.147c kṛte ’ntare (cf. Manu 4.126c antarāgamane), 1.287a kṛtākṛtāṃs taṇḍulān and 2.164d kṛtvatanaḥ.

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 Yājñavalkyasmṛti.

a. We have seen above s.v. karupādaḍataḥ that the text of the Mitāksara looks as if it manipulates Pāṇini’s grammar skillfully compared with that given by the Bālakṛṣḍa. varṇāśramaṭarānām in Yājñ. 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 -kṛt-, 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 saravārvāṇāṇāṁ yathāvad anupūrvāsāḥ/ antaraprabhavānāṁ ca dharmān no vaktum arhasi, the Bālokṛiḍā 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]."34 While the Mitākṣarā agrees with the interpretation of the Bālokṛiḍā, it gives a different inflection -i/tarāṇām, seeking its authority from Aṣṭ. 1.1.31 dvandve ca,35 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. varṇāśrametareśāṁ, 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-sevakaḥ for Bāl. vrddha-sevitaḥ in Yājñ. 1.309b. The word vrddha-sevakaḥ, 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.

kusacihna-kṛtaḥ (Mit.) :: kusacihna-kṛtād (Bāl., Apar.) in Yājñ. 2.212d. Judging from its paraphrase kusacihnakariḍūṣṭapuruṣabhayāḥ ‘for fear of a wicked person making a false sign,’ the Bālokṛiḍā understands kṛta- as actively governing kusacihna-. In the reading of Mit. kusacihna-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 is understood in passive meaning like in vrddhasevita- :: vrddhasevaka-.37

34 Bāl. varṇā brāhmanādāyaḥ/ āśramā brahmacāryādāyaḥ/ varnetarā antaraprabhavā anulomādāyaḥ/ āśratetarāḥ pāṣaṇādāyaḥ/ teśāṁ varṇāśrametareśām/ .../ anyah pāthah — ‘varṇānāṁ sāṣramāṇāṁ’ iti.
35 Mit. ‘itara śabdasya ‘dvandve ca’ iti sarvanāmasamajñānapratiṣedhāḥ. The Bālokṛiḍā might have been conscious of this sūtra when it offered an optional reading varṇānāṁ sāṣramāṇāṁ.
36 kusacihnakṛtād āśe.
37 The commentary part of the Mitākṣarā, however, seems to explain not kusacihna-kṛt- but kusacihna-kṛta-, and that differently from the Bālokṛiḍā: kusacihnakṛtasambhāvanābhayāt ‘for the fear, which feeling is caused by a false sign’. The difficulty with this interpretation is the redundancy of kṛta-, for kusacihnād bhayāt or kusacihna-bhayāt would be enough for this meaning.

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b. Some readings of the Bālakṛiḍā, which the Mitākṣarā does not follow, are grounded on the Mahābhārata, just as the above-mentioned form, Bāl. vrddha-sevitaḥ, has its source in the Mahābhārata, and Yajñ. 3.312c (Bāl.) adroho in Bhagavadgītā 16.3b. Another example of the same sort is sahasra-kah (Mit., Apar.) :: sahasraśaḥ (Bāl.) in Yajñ. 3.119 (Mit.) mohajālam apāsyeha puruṣo drṣayate 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 sahāsrabhāhuḥ 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 kaṇḍharaḥ is used in Yajñ. 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 Yajñavalokyasmṛti 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 Yajñ. 3.174 (Mit.) icchā dhāraṇa-jivite considers the latter two of icchā, dhāraṇa- and jivita-as forming a Dvandva dhāraṇa-jivite ‘sustaining [the body] and [supporting] the life’. Though isolation of the first word icchā ‘wish’ is avoided in Bāl. icchādhāraṇa-jivite which joins icchā with a-dhāraṇa-, its interpretation ‘non-sustaining (i.e. renouncement) of a body at will’40 together with its paraphrase of b dṛṣṭiḥ 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 paramātmā- in Caraka 4.1.70–72. This does not mean,

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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 icchāya yad adhāraṇam sarārasya tatparityāgaḥ tad icchādhāraṇam.
of course, that the reading of the Bālakṛṣṭa is more interpolated than that of the Mitākṣara: In Yājñ. 3.154ab (Bāl.) jñē ‘jñē ca prakṛtau caiva vikāra cāviśeṣavān “not discriminating between one who knows and one who does not know, and between an original and a modification,” the logic of the Bālakṛṣṭa 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 Bālakṛṣṭa or with the Mitākṣara 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 pākhāṇḍyanāsritāḥ (Mit.) in Yājñ. 3.6 (Mit.) a pākhāṇḍyanāsritāḥ b stenā c bharṭṛghīnyāḥ d kāmagādikāḥ42/ e surāpya f ātmatyāqinyo43 naśaucodakabhājaṇāḥ “—, lady thieves, husband-killers, wanton women etc., liquor-drinking women, women who have committed suicide, do not deserve water libation for impurity” should be understood in the light of Manu 5.89cd-90 ātmanas tyāginām caiva nivartetodakāṣeṇā/ a pāṇḍāṁ aśritānām ca d caranīṇām ca kāmataḥ/ garbhaḥbharṭārādhūraṁ caiva e surāpyāṁ ca yōṣiṭāṁ. The expressions caratīṇām ‘[women] who through lust live (with many men),’ garbhabharṭārādhūraṁ ‘[women] who have caused an abortion, have killed their husbands,’ surāpyāṁ ca yōṣiṭāṁ ‘to women ... [who] drink spirituous liquor (Bühler)’ in Manu 5.90 support the interpretation to take pāṇḍāṁ aśritānām also as women: “[to women] who have joined a heretical sect” (Bühler). The Yājñavalkyasmṛti has three different readings according to the three commentators: Mit. pākhāṇḍyanāsritāḥ, Bāl. pāṇḍāṁ aśritāḥ and Apar. pāṇḍāṁ aśritāḥ. The Bālakṛṣṭa follows the Manusmṛti not only in its reading but also in commenting b kāmagās tathā as tathāsabdaḥ smṛtyantaroktavṛtthāsanakaravadāyarthāḥ “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 Mitākṣara

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41 I thank Professor Kyō Kanō for the reference.
42 Bāl. kāmagās tathā.
43 Apar. ātmagātinaḥyo. The reading of the Mitākṣara and the Bālakṛṣṭa seems to be taken from Manu ātmanas tyāginām, whereas that of the Aparārka goes with ātmagātinaḥ- m. in Yājñ. 3.21b anvaksyaḥ cātmagātinaṃ.
44 Agreement with the Manusmṛti is not particular to the Bālakṛṣṭa. Take for example vratalopah...vratalopanaḥ (Mit., Apar.) :: vratalopah...brahmaḥopānaḥ (Bāl.) in Yājñ. 3.236c-238d nāstikyaḥ vratalopah ca ... kauśilyāṃ vratalopanam or brahmaḥopānaḥ “..., atheism 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 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 paśaṇḍānāśritāḥ can also be divided as paśaṇḍ/a/a/nāśritāḥ, i.e. a Dvandva like Mit. pākhaṇḍy-anāśritāḥ. The reading of the Aparārka is compatible with both the Mitākṣara and the Bālakrīḍā in this case.

5. Conclusion

The tendency of the Yājñāvalkyaśmṛti 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 kṛcchrātiķṛcchrāh compared to the dual form kṛcchrātiķṛcchrāu in the Manusmṛti, 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 Mitākṣara 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 lop/lop: lumpatī ‘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 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


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