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Nominal Compounds in the Yajñavalkyasmṛti*

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0. Introduction

The original sources of the Yajñavalkyasmṛti range over the Dharma-sūtras, the Grhyasūtras, the epics, and texts on Ayurveda (medicine) and Arthaśastra (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 Manusmr̥ti and the Kauṭiliyaarthaśastra as the primary source of the Yajñavalkyasmṛti,1 and do not treat the Viṣṇusmr̥ti 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 Kauṭiliyaarthaśastra. See note 15, for example.
1. Influences of abridgement and versification on the compounds of the Yājñavalkyasṁṛti

a. The style of the Yājñavalkyasṁṛti shows an elaborate condensation of the foregoing literature. To take an example, KAŚ 3.16.30-31 yat svam dravyam anyair bhujyamānaṁ daśa varṣāṇy upekṣeta, hīyāśya .../ vimśati-varṣo-pekṣitam anavasitaṁ vāstu nānuyuñjīta “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 vimśatīvārṣikī/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 vimśati-vārṣikī ‘vicennial’ and daśa-vārṣikī ‘decennial’.2

More often, the Yājñavalkyasṁṛti 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-, Viśṇu 9.11 dhaṭāgny-udaka-, 9.25-29 agniḥ ... 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-prāṇava-saṁyuktam in Yājñ. 1.23 gāyatṛīṁ śirasā śārdham japed vyāhṛtipurvikām/ pratiprāṇavasaṁyuktāṁ trīr ayaṁ prāṇasaṁyamaṁ “[A student] should mutter the Gāyatṛī stanza three times together with Śiras, preceded by vyāhṛti [and] accompanied by prāṇava 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’, prati-ekam ‘one by one’ and prati-vāsaram ‘each day’.

śakty-alamkṛtā in Yājñ. 1.58ab brāhmaḥ vivāha āhūya diyate šaktyalamkṛtā

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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 śaktiśayeneśālamkṛtya ‘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 sāktīya is used a little before this stanza, in Yājñ. 1.45d sāktyādhīte hi yo ‘nvaḥam “he who learns [this and that texts] everyday according to his power,” as if it anticipates a similar case function for sākti- here.3

naśtonmrṣte occurs in Yājñ. 2.91ab desāntarasthe durlekhya naśtonmrṣte hrte tathā/ bhinne dāghe ‘tha və 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 naśṭa- and unmrṣta- 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 chinnabhinnahṛtonmrṣtanāṣṭadurlekhiteṣu ca/ kartavam anyal lekhyam syad esa lekhyavidhiḥ smṛtaḥ has a Dvandva compound of six verbal adjectives and takes a plural ending, but it does not seem to show any special link between these two adjectives unmrṣta- and naśṭa-, which are divided by a pada boundary. Although commentators of the Yājñāvalkyasmrṭi do not give any variant reading for this expression, I think what the author originally intended was two separate words naśṭe and unmrṣte, which first became naśṭa unmrṣte by a Sandhi rule, which in turn was fed into another Sandhi cycle and ended up as naśtonmrṣte. Explanation by double Sandhi is also possible in the case of Yājñ. 3.28a kriyāmanopakāre tu mrṣte vipre na pātakam ‘even if a Brahmin dies while (medical) care is being done, it is not a degrading sin’, which sounds more natural if kriyāmāne ‘being done’ and upakāre ‘(medical) care’ are separate.4

Yājñ. 3.202–203b b antardhānam j smṛṭih 9 kāntir d drṣṭih “śrotra” jñatā tathā/ “nījam śarīram utsṛṣṭa parakāya-praveśānam// arthānāṁ chandataḥ śrṣṭir yogasiddher hi laksanām “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 *śaktyālamkṛtya, which was then changed into sāktīyalamkrtya to make the fifth syllable short as is preferred metrically.

4 Another example of irregular Sandhi in the Yājñāvalvyasmrṭi is the absence of the crasis -a ṛṣ → -ar- in 1.300c udbudhyavett ca rco. For the examples of double sandhi in the Dharmāsūtras, 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 a v e s a b c e t a s o j n a n a m c a r t h a n a r n a h c h a n d a t h a h k r i y a / d d r š t i h e s r o t r a n h i s m r t h i h 9 k a n t i r h 9 i š t a t a s c a p y a d a r s a n a m . 5 Y a j i n . s r o t r a - j n a t a might have originally meant the same powers as s r o t r a m ‘hearing’ and c e t a s o j n a n a m ‘mind reading’ in the Carakasamhitā. 6

uditoditam occurs as one of the requisites of a family priest in Yājñ. 1.313 p u r o h i t a m p r a k u r v i t a 7 d a i v a j n a m u d i t o d i t a m / d a n d a n i t y a m c a k u s a l a m a t h a r v a n g i r a s e t a t h a “[A king] should appoint to family priest one who reads fortune, is —, is skilled in politics and the Atharvaveda,” which is an abridgement of KĀŚ 1.9.9 p u r o h i t a m u d i t o d i t a k u l a s i l a m s a n g e v e d e d a i v e n i m i t t e d a n d a n i t y a m c a b h i v i n i t a m a p a d a m d a i v a m a n u s i n a m a t h a r v a b h i r u p a y a i s c a p r a t i k a r t a r a m k u r v i t a . It appears to me too bold as an abridgement, if u d i t o d i t a m is simply a curtailed form of u d i t o d i t a k u l a s i l a m . Since u d i t a - can be derived both from u d - a y / i ‘go up, go out’ and from v a d ‘say’ with - t a - , the meaning of u d i t o d i t a m cannot be decided easily, as well as KĀŚ u d i t o d i t a k u l a s i l a m . 8

b. The same Dvandva m a d h u - s a r p i s -, used in Yājñ. 1.303 cd h o t a v y ā m a d h u s a r p i r b h y ā m d a d h n ā k s i r e n a v a y u t a h “[fuels] mixed with honey, liquid butter, curds or milk [should be offered]” and in Yājñ. 1.44c p i t ř n s c a m a d h u s a r p i r b h y ā m “[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 p i t ř n ā m m a d h u s a r p i s ā “[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 Brāhadyogiyājñāvalyakṣṇi 9.195d d r š t i h ś r o t r a j n ā t a p a r ā (reference given by Dr. Akihiko Akamatsu), d r š t i h ś r o t r a - in the Yājñāvalyakṣṇi might originate from an incorrect Sandhī dissolution of manuscripts in scriptio continua, which would have read d r š t i h ś r o t r a - for both d r š t i h / ś ś r o t r a - and d r š t i h ś r o t r a -. For further examples of similar questions on dissolution, see Yājñ. 3.257a b r ā h m a n a s a v a r n a h ā r ī and Yājñ. 3.277b (Mīt.) d a ṣ t a ś ν o ṣ t r ā d i v a y a s a i h . Shoshin (p.c.) proposes to emend ś r o t r a j n ā t a into ś r o t r a m j n ā t a .
7 Bāl., Apar. and Vīr. read c a k u r v i t a .
8 Shamasastriy (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 da­dishpayaādāṇi rules out a singular form of this particular compound, referring to a gaṇa that includes madhusarpiṣī (Ganapāṭhā 113.3 in Böhtlingk’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 KĀŚ 3.19.13 ... pānipāda-dantabhanīe karṇanāsā­chedane ... and Viṣṇu 5.68 karapādādantabhanīe karṇanāsāvīkarte … (both texts are composed in prose), Yājñ. 2.219ab (Mit.) karapādādato bhārīge cchedāne karṇanāsāyoh10 “When a hand, a foot or a tooth is broken, when an ear or a nose is cut off” gives karapādādataḥ, the genitive singular of karu-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-mādhur­rye ‘abstention from stealing and mild disposition’. All of the ten yamas enumerated in Yājñ. 3.312 (Mit.) brahmacaryam dayā kṣāntir dānam satyam akalkatā/ ahimsāsteyam mādhurye damaś ceti yamāḥ smṛtāḥ11 are traceable to the foregoing literature according to Kane.12 However, adroha- ‘abstention from doing harm’, which the Bālakṛṣṇa reads in the place of Mit. mādhurya-, is also grounded on Bhagavadgītā 16.1–3, a list of qualities belonging to

9 Bāl. and Apar. read karapādādantabhanīe. Mit. paraphrases karṇanāsāyoh also by the singular form karṇanāsasya.
10 Though Aṣṭ. 2.4.2 dvandvaas ca prāṇītāryasya senāṅgānām describes that a singular neuter Dvandva is formed from the parts of a body, combination of ‘the limbs’ and ‘the teeth’ sounds artificial compared with examples like śiro-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 Yājñ. 3.37cd (Mit.) mṛcchārpuspa­kutapakeṣatakraṇavīśakṣitīḥ (Bāl. vīṣairakān, Apar. and Vir. vīṣitīḥ).
11 Bāl. ahimsāsteyam adroho, Apar. ahimsāsteyam mādhurya- damāś.
a man born to a divine fortune. 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.) ahaṅkāraḥ smṛtir medhā dveṣo buddhiḥ sukham dhṛtiḥ/ indriyāntarasamācara iccā dhāraṇajīvite also seems to be a Dvanda formed in order to avoid a pāda with a long fifth syllable like *dhāraṇāṃ jīvitaṃ.

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

apaitānyonyatāyāḥ occurs in Yājñ. 2.237 pitṛputrasvasṛbhṛtyadampaty-ācāryaśisyakāḥ/ eśām apaitānyonyatāyāḥ ca satadalabhāk “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 of KAŚ 3.20.18 pitāputrayor dampatyor bhrātyabhaginyyor mātulabhaginyyoy śisyācāryayor vā parasparam apaitiṃ 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 Kauṭiliyārthasastra was changed when the Yājñāvalkyasmrī packed them into a compound (KAŚ parasparam apaitiṃ tyajataḥ → Yājñ. apatiṣ/a-ānyonya-tyāgi), probably with an intention to avoid metrical awkwardness of pāda c *eśām anyonyapatiṭa with a long fifth syllable. Though Viṣṇu 5.113 anyonyapatiṭaṇī is also considered to be made from KAŚ parasparam apaitiṃ tyajataḥ, it does not side with the Yājñāvalkyasmrī in the order of these members, in a similar way as is observed in Yājñ. 2.219a (Mit.) karapādatāto bhanē : Viṣṇu 5.68

13 Bhagavadgītā 16.1–3 abhayam sattvasamāuddhir jñānayogavavasthitih/ dānam danaś ca yajñāś ca svādhyāyas tāpa ājāvam// ahimsāsatyam akrodhas tyāgah śāntir apaisunam/ dayā bhūteṣa alokaptvaṁ mārdavaṁ hīr acāpalam// tejāḥ kṣamā dhṛtyaḥ saucam adroho nātmāṇitaḥ/ bhavanti sampadaṁ daivīṁ abhiyātasya bhārata.

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

15 This assumption might be wrong, for here the Kauṭiliyārthasastra looks as if it paraphrased the Yājñāvalkyasmrī into prose.
Nominal Compounds in the Yājñavalkyasmrṭi

Karapādantabhaṅge, 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-bhinnā-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-bhinnā-svāra-mukha-varṇaṁ “[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 pataniyākṣepe 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 Viṣṇusmrṭi is free from the ambiguity inherent in Yājñ. pataniyakṛte.

2. Position of the Yājñavalkyasmrṭi in philological history

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

Compare, for example, Manu kṛcchṛatikṛcchrau with Yājñ. kṛcchṛatikṛcchraḥ. 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 kṛcchṛatikṛcchrau kurvita viprasyotpādyā śonitam “When one spills the blood of a Brahmin, he should practice kṛcchra- and atikṛcchra-” and Yājñ. 3.292c kṛcchṛatikṛcchro ’ṣṛkpāte “kṛcchātikṛcchra- [should be practiced] in the case of bloodshed (of a Brahmin).” Since the Manusmrṭi gives no special definition of kṛcchṛatikṛcchrau, it must be a combination of (prājāpatya-)kṛcchra- and atikṛcchra-, each explained in Manu 11.211 tryahāṁ prātās tryahāṁ sāyam tryahāṁ adyād ayācitam/tryahāṁ paraṁ ca nāśnīyāt 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 ekaikam grasam asmiyati tryahani trini purvavat/ tryaham copavased antyam atikrutcharam 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). Yajñi. krcratrikrutchra- is explicitly laid down in Yajñi. 3.320ab krcratrikrutchrah payasa divasam ekavinsatim “krcratrikrutchra- [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’ (Yajñi. 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 Yajñi. 1.230 yavair anvavakiryatha bhajane sapavitrake/ sam no devyay payah kshipta yavo ’siti yamams tatha “Having scattered barley to [the invited Brahmins], having put water in a vessel equipped with pavitra with [the mantra] ‘sam no deva’r abhiśayya āpo bhavantu pitaye sam yor abhi srawantu nah’ (RV 10.9.4)], and having put barley saying ‘You are barley’.”

The two durations, twenty-one days (Yajñi.) 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). krcratrikrutchra-, like krccha- or atikrutchra-, lasts only twelve days in the Sānavidhānabrāhmaṇa, the Baudhāyanadharmaśūtra, the Gautamadharmaśūtra and the Vāsiṣṭhadharmaśūtra. On the other hand, the source of the dietary prescription in the Yajñavalkyasmṛti is to be sought outside the Manusmṛti, probably in SVB 1.2.8, BDhS 2.1.2.41, GDhS 26.20 and VaDhS 24.3, where krcratrikrutchra- is an expiation to live only on water (ab-bhakṣa-). krcratrikrutchra- in the Dharmaśūtras is singular, because it is a severer kind of krccha- in its content, and means ‘the Kṛccha which is above other Kṛchras [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 Yajñavalkyasmṛti though it has the same singular ending.

It would naturally follow from these, that Yajñi. krcratrikrutchra- is a compromise of the Dharmaśūtras and the Manusmṛti. 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 Viṣṇusmṛti made a similar compromise in Viṣṇu 54.30cd krcratrikrutchram kurvita viprasyaotpādyā sonitam, by copying Manu 11.208cd and simply replacing krcratrikrutchra 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. 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 Yājñī. 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 Yājñavalkyasmrī takes over the wording of the Manusmrī, but also modifies it slightly.

Manu svargaṣṭeyakṛd vipro :: Yājñī. brāhmaṇasvarṇahārī.19 Manu 11.99-100 svargaṣṭeyakṛd vipro rājānām abhigamya tu/ svakarma khyāpayan brā­ yan mām bhavān anusāstu iti// gṛhitvā musalam rāja sakṛd dhanyāt tu tām svayam/ vadhena śudhyati steno brāhmaṇas tapasaivu 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 Yājñī. 3.257ab brāhmaṇasvarṇahārī tu rājēne musalam arpayet/ svakarma vyākhyaṁs 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 Manusmrī is changed into a victim of the theft in the Yājñavalkyasmrī, unless we read *brāhmaṇas svarṇahārī for brāhmaṇasvarṇahārī as discussed above s.v. drṣṭih śrotrajñatā. The Yājñavalkyasmrī amalgamates Manu 11.99–100 with Manu 8.316ab sāsanād vā vimoksād vā stenāḥ 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.

18 Cf. Meyer (1927), p.244: “Wohl schon weil kricchrātkrīcchrau nicht in seinen Vers gepaßt hätte, und weil sein kricchrātkrīcchrau, sintemalen dieser 21 Tage Fasten be­ deutet, etwa gleich schlimm ist, wie beide zusammen”

19 svarṇa- comes from su-varṇa- by syncope. Another example of syncope is Yājñī. 3.300b parṣadaḥ for pariṣadaḥ (AiGr I, p.60 §53c “Hypersanskritismus”).

139
Manu dāsī ghaṭam :: Yājñ. dāsikumbham. Manu 11.183ab dāsī ghaṭam 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 dāsikumbhaṃ bahir grāmān ninayeran svabāndhāvah 20 “His own relatives should pour down the jar of a slave girl outside the village.” By putting dāsī and kumbha- together, the Yājñavalkyasūtra creates a difference from the Manusmrī, that dāsī ‘a female slave’, who overturned the pot in the latter, becomes its mere possessor in the former. In this case, the Yājñavalkyasūtra presumably intended to reconcile the Manusmrī with, or revert to, an older stage of regulation, which is shown in GDḥS 3.2.4 dāsah karmakaro vāvakarād amedhyapātram ānīya dāśghaṭāt pūrayitvā daksināmukho yadā viparyasyed amukam anudakaṃ karomiti nāmāgrāham “A slave or a labourer 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.’”

vartāśrametarāṇāṃ (Mit.) in Yājñ. 1.1cd vartāśrametarāṇāṃ no brūhi dharmān aṣesataḥ “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 yathāvac anupūrvaśāh/ antaraṇaḥ vaḥ dhrmān no vaktum arhāsi “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 Yājñavalkyasūtra means here by itara-, I think, is to comprise those dharmas which are not covered by vārṇa- or āśrama-, i.e. the dharmas of a woman, a king, a couple, an area, a family or a guild, which the Manusmrī enumerates in 1.114–118 as its topics.

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

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

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20 Bāl. dāśghaṭām 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 kim kāraṇaṃ brahma kutah jāta jīvāma kena kuva ca sampratiṣṭhāh/ adhiṣṭhitah kena sukhetaṃ vartāmahe brahmavido vyavasthām. See also Stenzler (1849), p.1 “die pflichten der kasten, der orden und der anderen”; PW I col. 785 s.v. itara- 1 “hier bezeichnet itara- nur etwas vom Vorangehenden Verschiedenes”; G. Nakano (1950), p.3 “種姓住期その他の法.”
‘sahodha-ja- is [a son] found in the womb [already at marriage].’ Since the definitions of sahodha- in BDhS 2.2.3.25, 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.) adeśakālasambhāsaṁ sahaikāsanaṁ eva ca22 “Conversation in improper place or time, and sharing one seat together [are counted as adultery].” The second member eka- ‘one’ is redundant, for sahāsana- would be enough for the meaning of sitting together, even if the place is not expressly mentioned in it like in Manu 8.357c saha khaṭvāsanaṁ “sitting on a couch together.” The Yājñavalkyasmṛti (or possibly the Mitakṣara) 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 krta- in the last position means “that which was made X”, X is always expressed by the cvi-formation in the Yājñavalkyasmṛti: Yājñi. 2.182a balūd dāṣikṛtaḥ “one who was made a slave by force,” Yājñi. 2.301d tad evāṣṭaguṇikṛtam “it (the penalty) is made eight times as much,” Yājñi. 2.307d trimśadguṇikṛtam “made thirty times as much”. While no compound ending in krta- “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 bhasmabhūteṣu vipreṣu (Kullūka: bhasmībhūteṣu) “to Brahmins who are as good as ashes,”23 Manu 5.93d brahmabhūtā “like Brahman,” (Bühler) Manu 7.217ab ātmabhūtaiḥ...paricārakaiḥ “a servant as faith-

22 Bāl. sahāvasthānam, Apar. and Vīr. sahaikasthānam.

23 For the examples of bhāsma- as a symbol of uselessness see Hara (1967), pp.414–409.
ful as [the king] himself,” Manu 9.33a kṣetrabhūtaḥ “like a field,” b bṛjabhūtaḥ “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, Ṛṣṭ. 2.1.59 śreṇyādayaḥ kṛtādibhiḥ, *kṛmibhūta-, a cvi-formation, would rather be expected.24

The Yājñavalkyāsṛṃṭī 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 dviguṇībhūtam “which has become twice”, 2.100c pratimānasamibhūto “who has become the same in weight”, 3.218a niṣkalmāṣibhūtāḥ “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- bhūtaḥ “which has become moisture” Yājñ. 3.186ed bija- bhūtaḥ “who have become seeds” Yājñ. 3.248ab laksya- bhūtaḥ25 “who has become a target”. Pāda borders are not crossed by a word in the Yājñavalkyāsṛṃṭī except the one between 1.79c and d: brahmacārya eva parvāṇy ādyāś catārasas tu varjayet. We have already seen above in 1b the tendency that metrical conditions outweigh a consistent use of one form in the arbitrary change between madhu-sarpisā and madhu-sarpirbhyyām.

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 Yājñavalkyāsṛṃṭī: 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 Manusṛṃṭī has very few cvi-forms: 3.97c according to Kullūka bhasmibhūteṣu; 4.188d bhasmibhavati.

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

26 Wackernagel, AiGr II-1, p.195 §83b and Debrunner’s Nachträge, p.58. Cf. Pāli
use of vācam with yam or the compound vācanyamā- 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-duṣṭāḥ in Yājñ. 1.224cd parapūrvapatiḥ stenah karmaduṣṭāś ca ninditāḥ28 “The husband of a remarried woman, a thief, and people of degraded conduct are blamed.” The usage in the Manusmrīti indicates both possibilities in the position of duṣṭa in compounds: Manu 3.225d duṣṭa-cetasāḥ, 8.386b duṣṭa-vāk :: 5.108c mano-duṣṭāḥ, 3.156d vāg-duṣṭāḥ, 8.345a vāg-duṣṭāt.

vṛddha-sevitaḥ (Bāl.) in Yājñ. 1.309ab (Bāl.) mahotsāhāḥ sthūlalakṣaṇaḥ krtajno 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 lakṣaṇabhṛṣṭā daridrāḥ puruṣādhamaḥ “They are born as the meanest of men, poor and with any auspicious marks fallen.” Since the verb bhraṣ/ bhṛṃś is used with the ablative, as in TS 1.6.11.1 prāti yajñēna tiṣṭhati nā yajñād bhṛṃśate, an ablative case relationship can be considered as the basis of this compound, though Aṣṭ. 2.1.38 does not include bhṛṣṭa- in the verbal adjectives which form compounds with nouns in the ablative. Mit. duṣṭa-lakṣaṇaḥ and Apar. bhṛṣṭa-subhala-lakṣaṇaḥ paraphrase this compound as an inverted Bahuvrihi, which is described by Pāṇini in Aṣṭ. 2.2.37.

dātu-vimūrccitaḥ in Yājñ. 3.75ab prathame māsi saṃkledabhūto dātu-vimūrccitaḥ31 “In the first month [after conception, the ātman] is as it were moisture, congelation of the elements.” If vimūrccita- ‘congealed’ qualifies dātu- as an adjective, it should rather precede dātu- according to the general order of the members of a Karmadhāraya compound (Aṣṭ. 2.1.57).

kūṭacīhna-krīdā (Bāl.) in Yājñ. 2.212cd (Bāl.) draṣṭavyo vyavahāras tu

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

"kāla-kṛtaḥ in Yājñ. 2.58c kāle kālakṛto naśyet "[A pawn] — will be forfeited at [the expiration of the] term." The Mitāksarā understands this as a Bāhuviṇī with an inverted order, ascribing it to the ākṛti-gaṇa referred to by Pāṇini in Aṣṭ. 2.2.37. Judging from the usage of kālaṃ kṛ ‘eine Zeit festsetzen’ noted in PW II, col. 249, s.v. 2 kāla 1, with a quotation from Rām. 6.38.29 kālaś ca kriyātām asya svapne jāgarane tathā, interpreting kāla-kṛta- as ‘[a pawn] for which a term is set’ sounds convincing. By inverting the usual order of a Bāhuviṇī, 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 Kirāṭarjuniya. The Yājñavalkyaṃśrī is also characterized by a similar dependence on this verb: Although the author employs every possible means to make the text short, he uses this verb with various action nouns merely to simplify inflections, e.g. 1.155c na mīndātādane kuryāt, 1.329c balānāṃ dārśanaṁ kṛtāv, 2.204c kṣepaṇaḥ karoṇa ced, 3.8b-c sāramārṣaṇaḥ karoṇa yaḥ, 3.56a kṛtvedanī. 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 kṛtākṛtāms taṇḍulān and 2.164d kṛtvetanaḥ.

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 Yājñavalkyaṃśrī.

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

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32 Mit. kūṭacihnakṛtaḥ. 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.93 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 sarva-avaranānāṃ yathāvad anupūrvaśāh/ antaraprabhavanānāṃ ca dharmān no vaktum arhasi, the Bālakrīḍā 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 Bālakrīḍā, it gives a different inflection -i/tarāṇām, seeking its authority from Aṣṭ. 1.1.31 dvandva 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-Pāṇiniian ending of Bāl. varṇāśrametarēśām, 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 vṛddha-sevakaḥ for Bāl. vṛddha-sevitaḥ in Yājñ. 1.309b. The word vṛddha-sevakaḥ, a formation from the root sev with the agent suffix -aka- (‘ṣvul’) sounds an innovation of vṛddha-sevita-, for it suggests an intention to shut out the possibility to take vṛddha- as the agent of sevita- with a passive meaning, and vṛddha-sevita- is attested in the Mahābhārata.

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

34 Bāl. varṇā brāhmaṇādāyāḥ/ āśramā brahma-cāryādāyāḥ/ varṇetārā antaraprabhavā anulomādāyāḥ/ āśrametārāḥ pāṇḍādāyāḥ/ teṣām varṇāśrametarēśām/ .../ anyah pāṭah — ‘varṇānāṁ sāśrāmānāṁ’ iti.
35 Mit. ‘itara śābdasya ‘dvandva ca’ iti sarvanāmasamajnāprayatiṣedhāḥ. The Bālakrīḍā might have been conscious of this sūtra when it offered an optional reading varṇānāṁ sāśrāmānām.
36 kūṭacihnakṛtād śte.
37 The commentary part of the Mitākṣarā, however, seems to explain not kūṭacihna-kṛt- but kūṭacihna-kṛtā-, and that differently from the Bālakrīḍā: kūṭacihnakṛtāśambha-vanābhayāt ‘for the fear, which feeling is caused by a false sign’. The difficulty with this interpretation is the redundancy of kṛtā-, for kūṭacihnaṁ bhayāt or kūṭacihna-bhayāt would be enough for this meaning.
b. Some readings of the Bālakṛiḍā, which the Mitākṣarā does not follow, are grounded on the Mahābhārata, just as the above-mentioned form, Bāl. 
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-
kaḥ (Mit., Apar.) :: sahasraśaḥ (Bāl.) in Yājñ. 3.119 (Mit.) mohajālam 
apāsyeha puruṣo dhṛṣyate hi yaḥ/ sahasrakarapannetraḥ sūryavarcāḥ sahasra-
kaḥ “If one cast off the net of delusion, Puruṣa, who has a thousand hands, 
feet and eyes, whose lustre is like the sun, and who has a thousand heads, 
becomes visible [to him].” Puruṣa of a thousand heads, eyes and feet must 
have been widely known by the famous verses of RV 10.90.1ab (=VS 31.1ab 
etc.). sahasra-kara- ‘thousand-handed’ and sūrya-varcas- ‘of lustre like the 
sun’ can be traced back respectively to AV 19.6.1a sahāsrabāhuḥ and to VS 
31.18b ādityāvārṇam.38 Though ka- ‘head’ as a single word sounds like lex-
icographer’s invention, it is not necessarily to be rejected here as such, for 
kaṇḍhabhāraḥ 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 at-
titude of the Yājñavalkyaśmrī 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 dhāraṇajīvite 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. 
iccādhāraṇajīvite 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 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 icchāyā yad adhāraṇam sarīrasya tatparityāgaḥ tad icchādhāraṇam.
of course, that the reading of the Bālakrīḍā is more interpolated than that of the Mitākṣarā: In Yājñ. 3.154ab (Bāl.) jñē jñē ca prakṛtau caiva vikāre cāviśeṣavān “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. jñējñē ‘about ātmān 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 pākhaṇḍyanāsritah (Mit.) in Yājñ. 3.6 (Mit.) a pākhaṇḍyanāsritah b stenā c bhārtyghīnyah d kāmāgādikah42/ e surāpya f ātmatyāginyah43 nāsaucodakahājanah “— 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 f ātmanas tyāginām caiva nivarteto- dakāriya/g pāsaṇḍam āśritānām ca d carantinām ca kāmataḥ/ garbha/bhārtyr-druhām caiva e surāpīnām ca yoṣitām. The expressions carantinām ‘[women] who through lust live (with many men),’ garbhahartṛdruhām ‘[women] who have caused an abortion, have killed their husbands,’ surāpīnām ca yoṣitām ‘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 Yāñavalkyaśruti has three different readings according to the three commentators: Mit. pākhaṇḍyanāsritah, Bāl. pāsaṇḍam āśritah and Apar. pāsaṇḍan āśritah. The Bālakrīḍā follows the Manusmruti not only in its reading but also in commenting b kāmāgās tathā as tathāsabdah smṛtyantarakrtavrthāsaṅkaravājātiyarthah “The word tathā means ‘those born in vain or from mixture [of castes] etc.’ mentioned in another law book (i.e. Manu 5.89)”44 The reading of the Mitākṣarā

41 I thank Professor Kyō Kanō for the reference.
42 Bāl. kāmaṇas tathā.
43 Apar. ātmaghaṅginyo. The reading of the Mitākṣarā and the Bālakrīḍā seems to be taken from Manu ātmanas tyāginām, whereas that of the Aparārka goes with ātma-ghanām- m. in Yājñ. 3.21b ansvaḥym catmaṣgaṁthinām.
44 Agreement with the Manusmruti is not particular to the Bālakrīḍā. Take for example vratalopah...vratalopah (Mit., Apar.) :: vratalopah...brahmaḥpanah (Bāl.) in Yājñ. 3.236c-238d nāṣṭikyaṁ vratalopah ca ... kaṇṭīyam vratalopah or brahmaḥpanah “..., 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 paśaṇḍa/a-/nāśritāḥ, 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 Yājñāvalkyasmṛti 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 kṛcchṛatikṛcchraḥ compared to the dual form kṛcchṛatikṛcchrau 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 Mitākṣarā shows less grammatical irregularities than that of the Bālakrīḍā, but it might be a result of correction of the original text.

List of Abbreviations


These two synonymous action nouns vratalopaḥ and vratalopanam, formed from the root lup/lop: lumpāti ‘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. brahmałopanam ‘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.
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