Nominal Compounds in the Yājñavalkyasmṛti*

Masato KOBAYASHI

0. Introduction

The original sources of the Yājñavalkyasmṛti range over the Dharma-sūtras, the Grhyasūtras, 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 sūkṣmas, 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 Manusmr̥ti and the Kauṭiliyaarthaśāstra as the primary source of the Yājñavalkyasmṛti,¹ and do not treat the Viṣṇu-ṃṝti with close attention on the working hypothesis of its posteriority to the Yājñavalkyasmṛti.

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

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

a. The style of the *Yājñavalkyasminī* shows an elaborate condensation of the foregoing literature. To take an example, KAS 3.16.30–31 *yat svām dravyam anyair bhujyamānaṁ daśa varṣāṁ Ṛpekṣeta, hiyetaṁ / viṁśati-varṣopekṣitam anavasitaṁ vāstu nānuvyuñjita* “When the owners ... neglect for ten years their property which is under the enjoyment of others, they shall forfeit their title to it. Buildings left for 20 years in the enjoyment of others shall not be reclaimed.” (Shamasastry) is condensed into one sloka, Yājñ. 2.24 *paśyato 'brvato bhūmer hānir viṁśativārṣikī/pareṇa bhujyamānaṁ- 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 *viṁśati-vārṣikī* ‘vicennial’ and *daśa-vārṣikī* ‘decennial’.

More often, the *Yājñavalkyasminī* 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*, KAS 7.17.7 *agny-udaka-, Viṣṇu 9.11 *dhāṭagny-udaka-, 9.25–29 *agnih ... 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-prañava-saṁyuktam* in Yājñ. 1.23 *gāyatrim śirasā sārdham japed vyāhṛtipūrvikām/ prati-prañavasaṁyuktāṁ trir ayaṁ prañasaṁyamāṁ “[A student] should mutter the Gāyatṛi stanza three times together with Śiras, preceded by vyāhṛti [and] accompanied by prañava 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-alaṁkṛtā* in Yājñ. 1.58ab *brahmo vivāha āhūya diyate śaktyalaṁkṛtā*

---

2 Cf. Aṣṭ. 5.1.79 for the function of the suffix -ika- (‘than’).
NOMINAL COMPOUNDS IN THE YĀJṆAVALKYASMRŢI

“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 saktiviṣayenaṁkṛtya ‘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 saktiyā is used a little before this stanza, in Yājñī. 1.45d saktyādhīte hi yo ‘navaḥam “he who learns [this and that texts] everyday according to his power,” as if it anticipates a similar case function for sakti- here.3

naṣṭonmṛṣṭe occurs in Yājñī. 2.91ab desāntarasthe durlekhye naṣṭonmṛṣṭe hrte tathā/ bhinne daṇḍhe ‘tha vā chinne lekhyam anyat tu kārayet “When [a document] is in a foreign country, badly written, damaged, effaced, taken away, split, burnt, or torn asunder, one should have another document made.” Why are only naṣṭa- and unmrṛṣṭa- put together among the other simplex verbal adjectives, while they are neither co-referential nor correlated and have no title to form a Karmadhvaraya or a collective Dvandva in neuter singular? A parallel passage in Nārada 1.126 chinnaḥhinnaḥtonmṛṣṭanaṣṭadurlekhiṣeṣu ca/ kartavyam anyal lekhyam syad esa lekhyavidhiḥ smṛṭaḥ 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 unmrṛṣṭa- and naṣṭa-, which are divided by a pada boundary. Although commentators of the Yājñavalkyasmṛti do not give any variant reading for this expression, I think what the author originally intended was two separate words naṣṭe and unmrṛṣte, which first became naṣṭa unmrṛṣte by a Sandhi rule, which in turn was fed into another Sandhi cycle and ended up as naṣṭonmṛṣṭe. Explanation by double Sandhi is also possible in the case of Yājñī. 3.284a kriyāmopakarē 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 kriyāmē ‘being done’ and upakāre ‘(medical) care’ are separate.4

Yājñī. 3.202–203ab hantardhānām j smṛṭiḥ g kāntir d drṣṭiḥ “śrotra” jñātā tathā/ “nījam śarīram utṣerṣya parakāyapraṉeṣanam// “arṇhāṇuṁ chandataḥ srṣṭaṁ 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 *saktyālāṁkṛtyā, which was then changed into saktyālāṁkṛtya to make the fifth syllable short as is preferred metrically.

4 Another example of irregular Sandhi in the Yājñavalkyasmṛti is the absence of the crasis -a r → -ar- in 1.300c ubbudhyasveti 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 अवेश b cetaso ज्ञानम c arthänāṁ chandataḥ kriya/ d drṣṭiḥ e śrotraṁ f smṛtiḥ g kāntir h īṣṭataś cāpyadarsanam,5 Yājñ. śrotra-ज्ञातā might have originally meant the same powers as śrotra ‘hearing’ and cetaso ज्ञानम ‘mind reading’ in the Carakasamhita.6

uditoditam occurs as one of the requisites of a family priest in Yājñ. 1.313 purohitam prakurvita7 daivajñam uditoditam/ daṇḍanitāṁ ca kuśalam atharvāṅgīrāse tathā “[A king] should appoint to family priest one who reads fortune, is —, is skilled in politics and the Atharvaveda,” which is an abridgment of KAŚ 1.9.9 purohitam uditoditakulasīlām sāṅge vede daive nimīte daṇḍanitāṁ cābhīvinītām āpadāṁ daivamānuṣiṇām atharvaḥhir uपायāś ca prakartāraṇā kurvita. It appears to me too bold as an abridgement, if uditoditam is simply a curtailed form of uditoditakulasīlām. 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 uditoditakulasīlām.8

b. The same Dvandva madhu-sarpis-, used in Yājñ. 1.303cd hotavāya ma-dhusarpibhyāṁ dadhānā kṣiśena vā yutāḥ “[fuels] mixed with honey, liquid butter, curds or milk [should be offered]” and in Yājñ. 1.44c pitṛṁś ca ma-dhusarpibhyām “[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 pitṛṁṃ 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 Brhadāyugiyāvānkalvashnati 9.195d drṣṭiḥ śrotraṇātā parā (reference given by Dr. Akihiko Akamatsu), drṣṭiḥ śrotra- in the Yājñavalkyasmiṣti might originate from an incorrect Sandhī dissolution of manuscripts in scriptio continua, which would have read drṣṭiḥ śrotra- for both drṣṭiḥ/ṣ śrotra- and drṣṭi-śrotra-. For further examples of similar questions on dissolution, see Yājñ. 3.257a brāhmaṇasvarṇahārī and Yājñ. 3.277b (Mit.) daśṭaśvotrañādāyāsaih. Shoshin (p.c.) proposes to emend śrotraṇātā into śrotra- into śrotraṇātā.
7 Bāl., Apar. and Vi. read ca kurvīta.
8 Shamasāstry (1929) “Him whose family and character are highly spoken of”; Kangle (1972) “who is very exalted in family and character” with a note “the repetition of udita seems only to emphasize the exalted character of the kula and śīla.” Or a composite of two Bahuvrīhis udita-kula- and udita-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 dadvipaṣyāddini rules out a singular form of this particular compound, referring to a gāna that includes madhusarpiṣi (Ganapāṭha 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 syllable of the even pādas of a śloka, but that preference seems to be the motivation for the following two peculiar compounds.

Instead of -danta- in KAŚ 3.19.13 ... pānipādantabhange karṇanāsāccchedane ... and Viṣṇu 5.68 karapādantabhange karṇanāsāvīkartane ... (both texts are composed in prose), Yājñ. 2.219ab (Mit.) karapādadoth bhange chedane karṇanāsayoh “When a hand, a foot or a tooth is broken, when an ear or a nose is cut off” gives karapādadyataḥ, the genitive singular of kara-pāda-dant- ‘a hand, a foot or a tooth’. The clumsiness of this singular Dvandva can be explained as a result of forcing a typical antispastic cadence on the original word, which occurs in prose texts and hence has no rhythmic restriction.

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

---

9 Bāl. and Apar. read karapādadyataṇge. Mit. paraphrases karṇanāsayoh also by the singular form karṇanāsayasya.

10 Though Aṣṭ. 2.4.2 dvandvase ca prāṇitīrṣyasenaṅgānām 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 Yājñ. 3.37cd (Mit.) mṛcchamapuspako-kutaprakāśatakravishaktitih (Bāl. 3 visārayaḥ, Apar. and Vir. 2 kṣititih).

11 Bāl. ahiṃsāsteyam adroho, Apar. ahiṃsāsteyamāḍhurya- damaś.

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 mādhuryamake a compound in the text of the Mitākṣara. The compound dhāraṇa-jīvite ‘maintaining and living’ in Yājñ. 3.174 (Mit.) ahaṅkāraḥ smṛṭir medhā dveṣo buddhiḥ sukham dhṛtih/ indriyāntarasamcāra icchā dhāraṇajīvite also seems to be a Dvandva formed in order to avoid a pāḍa with a long fifth syllable like *dhāraṇaṁ jīvitaṁ.\textsuperscript{14}

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

apatitānyonyatayā occurs in Yājñ. 2.237 pitṛputrasvasyaḥ kṛtyāḥ dampaty-ācāryaśisyaṁ kāh/ eśām aputitānyonyatayā ca śatadaṇḍabhāk “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 dampaty or bhrāṭr bhāginyor māṭulabhāgīgayaḥ śiṣyācāryayor vā parasparam apatitam tyajatāḥ ... “[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 Kauṭīlyārthashastra was changed when the Yājñavalkyasṛti packed them into a compound (KAŚ parasparam apatitam tyajatāḥ → Yājñ. apatit/ā/aṇonya-tayā), probably with an intention to avoid metrical awkwardness of pāḍa c eśām anyonyāpatitayā- with a long fifth syllable. Though Viṣṇu 5.113 anyonyāpatitayā is also considered to be made from KAŚ parasparam apatitam tyajatāḥ, it does not side with the Yājñavalkyasṛti in the order of these members, in a similar way as is observed in Yājñ. 2.219a (Mit.) karupādadato bhaṅge :: Viṣṇu 5.68

\textsuperscript{13} Bhagavadgītā 16.1-3 abhayāṁ sattvasanśuddhir jñānayogavyavasthūtiḥ/ dānāṁ damaś ca yajñaḥ ca svādhyāyaṁ tāpa ājāvanam// ahimsāsatyaṁ akrodhas tyāghan śāntir apaśunam/ dayā bhūteṣo alokupvam mārdavaṁ hirv acāpyalam// tejaḥ kṣamā dhṛtih śaucam adroho nātmānaḥ/ bhavanti sampadaṁ daṁvāṁ abhijātasya bhārata.

\textsuperscript{14} Though anivedita-vijñātaḥ in Yājñ. 2.35cd aniveditaviṣṇuṁ dāpyas tāṁ 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 MāṇavaSS 3.1.25 naṣṭādhigatam and described by Pāṇini in Aṣṭ. 2.1.49. (See Wackernagel, AiGr II-1, p.172, §74c.3.)

\textsuperscript{15} This assumption might be wrong, for here the Kauṭīlyārthashastra looks as if it paraphrased the Yājñavalkyasṛti into prose.
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 Dharmásūtras must have made him conscious of the discrepancies between them and the Manusmrṭi.

Compare, for example, Manu kṛcchātikṛcchra with Yājñ. kṛcchātikṛcchraḥ. 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 kṛcchātikṛcchraḥ kurvīta viprasyotpādyā śonitam “When one spills the blood of a Brahmin, he should practice kṛcchra- and atikṛcchra-” and Yājñ. 3.292c kṛcchātikṛcchro 'ṣṛkpāte “kṛcchātikṛcchra-[should be practiced] in the case of bloodshed (of a Brahmin).” Since the Manusmrṭi gives no special definition of kṛcchātikṛcchraḥ, it must be a combination of (prājāpatya-)kṛcchra- and atikṛcchra-, each explained in Manu 11.211 tryahāṃ prātas tryahāṃ sāyaṃ tryahāṃ adyād ayācitaḥ tryahāṃ param ca nāsniyāt prājāpatyaṃ caran dvijah “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 asmiyat tryahani trini purvavat/ tryaham copavased antyam atikrerechra 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). Yājñ. kṛcchrāṭikṛerchra- is explicitly laid down in Yājñ. 3.320ab kṛcchrāṭikṛerchrah payasa divasan ekaviṁśātim “kṛcchrāṭikṛerchra- [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 yavaiv anvavakīryāthā bhājane sapavitrape/ sāṁ no devyā payah kṣiptvā yavo ‘sīti yavāṁs tathā “Having scattered barley to [the invited Brahmins], having put water in a vessel equipped with pavitra with [the mantra] ‘sāṁ no devyār abhiṣaya āpo bhavantu pitāye sāṁ yor abhi srawantu nah’ (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). kṛcchrāṭikṛerchra-, like kṛcchra- or atikṛerchra-, lasts only twelve days in the Sānavidhānabrāhmaṇa, the Baudhāyanaadharmasūtra, the Gautamadharmaśutra and the Vāsiṣṭhadharmasūtra. On the other hand, the source of the dietary prescription in the Yājñāvalkyasmiṟti is to be sought outside the Manusmiṟti, probably in SVB 1.2.8, BDhS 2.1.2.41, GĐhS 26.20 and VĐhS 24.3, where kṛcchrāṭikṛerchra- is an expiation to live only on water (ab-bhakṣa-). kṛcchrāṭikṛerchra- in the Dharmasūtras is singular, because it is a severer kind of kṛcchra- in its content, and means ‘the Kṛcchra which is above other Kṛcheras [in its severity]’, with the same semantic structure as MBh. devatideva- ‘ein über alle Götter hervorragender Gott’ (pw).16 It does not share the same meaning as in the Yājñāvalkyasmiṟti though it has the same singular ending.

It would naturally follow from these, that Yājñ. kṛcchrāṭikṛerchra- is a compromise of the Dharmasūtras and the Manusmiṟti.17 The masculine sin-

---

16 MBh. 8.24.45a, 12.278.23c, 13.17.143a, 14.93.50c, 15.38.1c.
17 The Viṣṇusmiṟti made a similar compromise in Viṣṇu 54.30cd kṛcchrāṭikṛerchraṁ kurvita viprasyotpādyā sonitam, by copying Manu 11.208cd and simply replacing kṛcchrāṭikṛerchrau 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 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 Yājñavalkyasmṛti takes over the wording of the Manusmrtyi, but also modifies it slightly.

Manu suvarṇasteyakṛd vipro :: Yājñ. brāhmaṇasvarṇahāri.\(^{19}\) Manu 11.99-100 suvarṇasteyakṛd vipro rājānam abhiṣamya tu/ svakarma khyāpayan brā- yan mām bhavān anuśāstrov bhī// gṛhitvā musalam rājā sakrī dhanyāt tu tām svayam/ vadhena śudhītasya stena brāhmaṇas tapasai iva tu “A Brāhmaṇa who has stolen the gold (of a Brāhmaṇa) shall go to the king and, confessing his deed, say, ‘Lord, punish me!’ Taking (from him) the club (which he must carry), the king himself shall strike him once, by his death the thief becomes pure; or a Brāhmaṇa (may purify himself) by austerities” (Bühler) and Yājñ. 3.257ab brāhmaṇasvarṇahāri tu rājīne musalam arpayet/ svakarma vyākhyāyāms 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 Manusmrtyi is changed into a victim of the theft in the Yājñavalkyasmṛti, unless we read \(\times\)brāhmaṇas suvarṇahāri for brāhmaṇasvarṇahāri as discussed above s.v. dyṣṭīh śrotajñatā. The Yājñavalkyasmṛti 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.

---


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

139
Manu δάσι ghaṭam :: Yājñ. δāsikumbham. Manu 11.183ab δάσι ghaṭam apāṇi pūrṇaṃ 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 δāsikumbham bahir grāmān ninayeraṃ svabānḍhavaḥ20 “His own relatives should pour down the jar of a slave girl outside the village.” By putting δάσι and kumbha- together, the Yājñavalkyasmṛti creates a difference from the Manusmṛti, that δάσι ‘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 GDḥS 3.2.4 dāsāḥ karma karo vāvākarād amedhyapātram anīya dāśīghaṭat pūrayītvā daksīṇāmukho yadā viparyasyed amukam anudakaṇi karomiti nāmāgraṇāḥ “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.’”

varṇāśramatarāṇām (Mit.) in Yājñ. 1.1cd varṇāśramatarāṇām no brūhi dharmān aśesataḥ “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 sarvavarṇāṇāṃ yathāvad anupārvaśaḥ/ antaraprabhavānāṃ ca dharmān no vaktum arhasi “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 Yājñavalkyasmṛti means here by itara-, I think, is to comprise those dharmas which are not covered by varṣa- 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.

sahōdha- :: Yājñ. sahōdha-ja- in Yājñ. 2.131d garbhe vinnah sahōdhajah

20 Bāl. dāśīghaṭam apāṇi 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 kāraṇāḥ brahma kutah jātā jīvāmah kena kra ca sampratiṣṭhāḥ/ adhiṣṭhitah kena sukhetareṣu 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.”
NOMINAL COMPOUNDS IN THE YĀJṆAVALKYASMRĪTI

‘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, KĀŚ 3.7.11, Manu 9.173 and Viṣṇu 15.16 agree with that of sahoq-ja-, these two words must refer to the same kind of son. Jā- of sahoq-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 Yājñavalkyasyaṃrti probably intends to distinguish this word clearly from its homonym sahoq- ‘a thief’ having stolen goods which appears in VDhS 19.39, Nārada 14.17a, 19.13c and Manu 9.270c.

sahasana- :: sahaikāsana- (Mit.) in Yājñī. 2.284cd (Mit.) adesakālasam-bhāsām sahaikāsānam 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 sahasana- 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 khaṭvāṣānam “sitting on a couch together.” The Yājñavalkyaṃrti (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 sahasana- 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 Yājñavalkyaṃrti 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 Yājñavalkyaṃrti: Yājñī. 2.182a balād dāṣikṛtaḥ “one who was made a slave by force,” Yājñī. 2.301d tad evaṣṭagunikṛtam “it (the penalty) is made eight times as much,” Yājñī. 2.307d trimśadgunikṛtam “made thirty times as much”. While no compound ending in kṛta- “that which was made (something)” is found in the Manusmrīti, it shows several cases where bhūta- is combined with a nominal stem as the first member: Manu 3.97c bhasmabhūteṣu vipreṣu (Kullūka: bhasmībhuṣeṣu) “to Brahmins who are as good as ashes;” Manu 5.93d brahmabhūtā “like Brahman,” (Bühler) Manu 7.217ab ātmabhūtaiḥ…paricārakaiḥ “a servant as faith-

---

22 Bāl. sahāvasthānam, Apar. and Viṣṇ. 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 būjabhūtāh “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 bhav'/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 śreṇyādayāh kṛtādibhiḥ, *kṛmibhūtā-, a cvi-formation, would rather be expected.

The Yājñavalkyasaṃrāti uses bhūta- as the last member four times together with cvi-forms: Yājñ. 2.17c pūrvapakṣe 'dharibhute “when the statement of plaintiff is turned down”, 2.64a divguṇibhūtam “which has become twice”, 2.100c pratimānasamibhūto “who has become the same in weight”, 3.218a niṣkalmaśībhūtāh “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. 3.186d bīja- 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 Yājñavalkyasaṃrāti except the one between 1.79c and d: brahmačārya eva parvāṇy ādyās catāras 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-sarpirbhīyāṃ.

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 Yājñavalkyasaṃrāti: 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 Manusmrīti has very few cvi-forms: 3.97c according to Kullūka bhasmabhūteṣu; 4.188d bhasmabhavati.
25 Bāl. lakṣabhūtah. According to Stenzler, Kullūka on Manu 11.13 reads lakṣyā-, which is not supported by Aṣṭ. 6.4.152. His taste for cvi is shown in his reading bhasmabhūteṣu 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 vacam with yam or the compound vacanyamā- in the Brähmanaś, it seems to have struck even the old writers as strange, for MaiUp 6.9 and Visṇu 61.16 uses yata-vac-, a Bahuvrihi in the regular order. 27

karma-duṣṭaḥ in Yajñ. 1.224cd parapūrvāpatih stenah karmaduṣṭāś ca ninditāḥ 28 “The husband of a remarried woman, a thief, and people of degraded conduct are blamed.” The usage in the Manusmr̥ti indicates both possibilities in the position of duṣṭa- in compounds: Manu 3.225d duṣṭa-cetasaḥ, 8.386b duṣṭa-vāk :: 5.108c mano-duṣṭaḥ, 3.156d vāg-duṣṭaḥ, 8.345a vāg-duṣṭāt.

vṛddha-sevitaḥ (Bāl.) in Yajñ. 1.309ab (Bāl.) mahotsāhāḥ 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 Yajñ. 3.217cd jāyante lakṣaṇabhraṣṭā daridrāḥ puruṣādhamaḥ “They are born as the meanest of men, poor and with any auspicious marks fallen.” Since the verb bhraś/ bhraṃś is used with the ablative, as in TS 1.6.11.1 prāti yaśnena tiṣṭhati nā yajñaḥ bhṛṃśate, 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. bhraṣṭasubhalaḥkṣaṇaḥ paraphrase this compound as an inverted Bahuvrihi, which is described by Pāṇini in Aṣṭ. 2.2.37.

dhātu-vimūrĉchitaḥ in Yajñ. 3.75ab prathame māsi sañkledabhūto dhātu-vimūrĉchitaḥ 31 “In the first month [after conception, the ātman] is as it were moisture, congelation of the elements.” If vimūrĉchita- ‘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).

kūṭaciḥna-krta (Bāl.) in Yajñ. 2.212cd (Bāl.) druṣṭavyo vyavahāras tu

---

27 Or an Upapada compound with an adjectival first member like RV. ranvavāc-. Cf. Reuter (1892) pp.202f. with notes.
28 Bāl. karmaduṣṭaḥ.
29 Mit. and Apar. vṛddhasevakāḥ.
31 Dr. Tsutomu Yamashita pointed out to me that Caraka 4.4.9 prathame māsi sañmūrĉchitaḥ sarvadhātukalusikṛtaḥ 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 Mitākṣarā 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 kālaṁ 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 jāgarāne tathā, interpreting kāla-kṛtaḥ 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 Yājñavalkyaśāstra 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 nindātādane kuryāt, 1.329c balānāṁ darśaanāṁ kṛtvā, 2.204c kṣepaṁ karotī ced, 3.8b-c sāramārgaṇaṁ karoti yaḥ, 3.56a kṛtvesṭim. 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 kṛtakṛtamāṁ tāṇḍulān 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 Yājñavalkyaśāstra.

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

32 Mit. kūṭacihnaktād bhayāt. 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 sarvavarnāṇam yathāvad anupūrvāsah/ antaraprabhavanām 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 -ītarāṇāṃ, seeking its authority from Asā. 1.1.31 dvandve ca, which excludes the title as a pronoun from the group of stems comprising ita- 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 ita- 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-(‘nul’) sounds an innovation of vrddha-sevita-, for it suggests an intention to shut out the possibility to take vrddha- as the agent of sevita- with a passive meaning, and vrddha-sevita- is attested in the Mahābhārata.

kūtacihna-kṛtah (Mit.) :: kūtacihna-kṛtād (Bāl., Apar.) in Yājñ. 2.212d. Judging from its paraphrase kūtacihnakāridusṭapuruṣabhayat ‘for fear of a wicked person making a false sign,’ the Bālakṛṣṇa understands kṛt- as actively governing kūta-cihna-. In the reading of Mit. kūtacihna-kṛtah ‘[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 brāhmaṇādayah/ āśramā brahmacāryādayah/ varṇetāra antaraprabhavā anumādayah/ āśrametārāḥ pāṣaṇḍādayah/ teṣām varṇāśrametāreśām/ / anyah pāthah — ‘varṇānāṃ sāśramānām’ iti.

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

36 kūtacihnakṛtād ‘te.

37 The commentary part of the Mitākṣarā, however, seems to explain not kūtacihna-kṛt- but kūtacihna-kṛta-, and that differently from the Bālakṛṣṇa: kūtacihnakṛtāsamabhavanāḥbhayat ‘for the fear, which feeling is caused by a false sign’. The difficulty with this interpretation is the redundancy of kṛta-, for kūtacihna-kṛtaḥ or kūtacihna-bhayat would be enough for this meaning.
b. Some readings of the Bālakrīḍā, which the Mitākṣara 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 sahasrakaḥ (Mit., Apar.) :: sahasrasāḥ (Bāl.) in Yājñ. 3.119 (Mit.) mohajālam āpasyeḥa puruṣo drṣyate hi yath/ sahasrakarpannetraḥ sūryavarcāḥ sahasrakaḥ “If one cast off the net of delusion, Puruṣa, who has a thousand hands, feet and eyes, whose lustre is like the sun, and who has a thousand heads, becomes visible [to him].” Puruṣa of a thousand heads, eyes and feet must have been widely known by the famous verses of RV 10.90.1ab (=VS 31.1ab etc.). sahasra-kara- ‘thousand-handed’ and sūrya-varcas- ‘of lustre like the sun’ can be traced back respectively to AV 19.6.1a sahāsrabāhuḥ and to VS 31.18b ādityāvanṛṇam.38 Though ka- ‘head’ as a single word sounds like lexicographer’s invention, it is not necessarily to be rejected here as such, for kaṇḍharaṇa 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 Mitākṣara is in accordance with the ambitious attitude of the Yājñavalkya-smṛti to cover as many sources as possible, Bāl. sahasrasāḥ ‘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 Bālakrīḍā has sometimes a philosophical rather than a practical bent. For example, the Mitākṣara on Yājñ. 3.174 (Mit.) icchā dhārāṇa-jīvīte considers the latter two of icchā, dhāraṇa- and jīvita-as forming a Dvandva dhāraṇa-jīvīte ‘sustaining [the body] and [supporting] the life’. Though isolation of the first word icchā ‘wish’ is avoided in Bāl. icchādhāraṇa-jīvīte which joins icchā with a-dhāraṇa-, its interpretation ‘non-sustaining (i.e. renunciation) 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 sahasrasāḥ occupies this position in 349 out of the 366 passages which I looked up in Tokunaga’s electronic text.
40 icchayā yad adhāraṇaṃ śaṅkṣepya tatparityāgaḥ tadd icchādhāraṇaṃ.
of course, that the reading of the Bālakṛṣṭa is more interpolated than that of the Mitākṣarā: In Yājñ. 3.154ab (Bāl.) jñe jñe ca prakṛtav ca vikāre cāviṣeṣavān “not discriminating between one who knows and one who does not know, and between an original and a modification,” the logic of the 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 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 pākhāṇḍyaṃāśritāḥ (Mit.) in Yājñ. 3.6 (Mit.) a pākhāṇḍyaṃāśritāḥ b stena c bhartrihināh d kāmaśādikāḥ42/ e surāpya f ṣātmāyājyināy43 naśaucodakabhājānāḥ”—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 ṣātmānas tyāgīnām caiva nivarteto-dakāṣeṣavān/a pāṣaṇḍam āśritānām ca d carantinām ca kāmapah/ garbaḥ bhartr- dṛuḥāṃ caiva e surāpyinām ca yoṣitām. The expressions carantinām ‘[women] who through lust live (with many men),’ garbhabhartrādhāṃ ‘[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 pāṣaṇḍam āśritānām also as women: “[to women] who have joined a heretical sect” (Bühler). The Yājñavalkyaṃśṛti has three different readings according to the three commentators: Mit. pākhāṇḍyaṃāśritāḥ, Bāl. pāṣaṇḍam āśritāḥ and Apar. pāṣaṇḍam āśritāḥ. The Bālakṛṣṭa follows the Manusmrī not only in its reading but also in commenting b kāmaśādathāḥ as tathāśadbēḥ smṛtyantarōttavṛthāṣaṅkara-jātādyarthāḥ “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. kāmaśādathāḥ.
43 Apar. ātmaghāṭīnayo. The reading of the Mitākṣarā and the Bālakṛṣṭa seems to be taken from Manu ātmānas tyāgīnāṃ, whereas that of the Aparārka goes with ātmaghāṭīn- m. in Yājñ. 3.21b anvakṣayam ātmaghāṭīnām.
44 Agreement with the Manusmrī is not particular to the Bālakṛṣṭa. Take for example vrata-lopaḥ...vrata-lopanam (Mit., Apar.) :: vrata-lopaḥ...brahma-lopanam (Bāl.) in Yājñ. 3.236c-238d nāstikyam vrata-lopaḥ ca ... kaustikyam vrata-lopanam or brahma-lopanam “... atheism and violation of a vow, ... fraud, violation of a vow (or chastity), ...”
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 Bālakṛṣaṇa in its interpretation, its reading paśaṇḍānaśritāḥ 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 Mitakṣara and the Bālakṛṣaṇa in this case.

5.  Conclusion

The tendency of the Yājñavalkyaśmṛti 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 sūkta meter. On the other hand, some of the modest revisions made to the compounds in the foregoing literature, such as the singular form kṛcchātikṛcchraḥ compared to the dual form kṛcchātikṛcchrau 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 Mitakṣara shows less grammatical irregularities than that of the Bālakṛṣaṇa, but it might be a result of correction of the original text.

List of Abbreviations


These two synonymous action nouns vratalopaha and vratalopanam, formed from the root lupa/lop: lūmpāti ‘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. brahmalopanam ‘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 YĀJṆAVALKYASMṚTI


| agnyāpah | 1a | naṣṭonmṛṣte | 1a |
| aniveditavijñātah | 1b | pataṇiyakṛte kṣepe | 1c |
| apatitānyonyatāyāgī | 1c | pāyas | 2a |
| asteyamādhurye | 1b | pārśad- | 2b |
| ātmatyājīnyāḥ | 1d | pākhaṇḍyaṇāśritāḥ | 4d |
| icchā(-)dhāraṇaḥjāvīte | 1b | pratipraṇaṇavasāṃyuktām | 1a |
| uditoditam | 1a | brahmaṇapanaḥ | 2b |
| kaṃḍharā | 1b | brahmaṇasvarṇahārī | 4d |
| karapāḍadatāḥ | 1b | madhusarpīṣ- | 1b |
| karmaduṣṭāḥ | 3b | varṇāśrametarāṇām, -eśām | 2b, 4a |
| kālakṛtaḥ | 3b | viṇḍatīvārśikī | 1a |
| kūṭacīnaḥkṛtād | 1b | vāgya- | 1c |
| krcchrāṭikṛcchraḥ | 2a | vṛddhasevītaḥ | 3b |
| kriyāmāṇopakāre | 1a | vṛddhasevakaḥ | 3b |
| cvi-formation | 3a | vratalopanam | 4d |
| jīne ‘jne, jīneyajīne | 4c | laḵṣaṇabhrastāḥ | 3b |
| daśavārśikī | 1a | śaktayaṇākṛtā | 1a |
| daṣṭaśastraṇādhivaśayasiḥ | 1a | śuṣkabhinnakṣaṇasvarāḥ | 1c |
| dhātuvimūrcchitaḥ | 3b (ḍṛṣṭi)śrotajñāta | 2b |
| dhāraṇaḥjāvīte | 1b | sahaśrakaḥ | 4b |
| dasikumbham | 2b | sahodhaja- | 2c |
| devatideva- | 2a | sahaikāsanam | 2c |

Index of Sanskrit Words

149
Bibliography


NOMINAL COMPOUNDS IN THE YĀJÑAVALKYASMṚTI


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