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Nominal Compounds in the Yajñavalkyasmṛti*

Masato KOBAYASHI

0. Introduction

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

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

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¹ This might be an oversimplification, especially in the case of the Kauṭiliya-arthaśāstra. See note 15, for example.
1. Influences of abridgement and versification on the compounds of the Yājñavalkyasūtra

a. The style of the Yājñavalkyasūtra shows an elaborate condensation of the foregoing literature. To take an example, KAŚ 3.16.30-31 yat svam dravyam anyair bhujyamānam daśa varṣāny upēkṣeta, hiyātāṣa .../ viṃśatī- varṣopēkṣitam anavaśitaṃ vāstu nānyuṇījita “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, Yājñī. 2.24 paśyato 'brvato bhūmer hānir viṃśativārṣikī/pareṇa bhujyamāna-yā dhanasya daśavārṣikī “[If] one, seeing [his own] land deforced by another, does not claim it, [the land right is] annihilated in twenty years. If it is a movable property, [annihilation takes place] in ten years.” by means of a nominal sentence with a Dvigu compound viṃśati-vārṣikī ‘viccennial’ and daśa-vārṣikī ‘decennial’.²

More often, the Yājñavalkyasūtra simply intends to reduce the number of the syllables by forming or reforming compounds: Yājñī. 2.95 uses the trisyllabic compound agny-āpah for fire and water, which are mentioned as means of an ordeal, instead of longer expressions in Manu 8.114ab agnim ... apsu, KAŚ 7.17.7 agny-udaka-, Viṣṇu 9.11 dhaṭāṅgny-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:

pratī-praṇava-saṃyuktam in Yājñī. 1.23 gāyatrīṃ śirasā sārdham japed vyāḥtipūrvikā/ pratipraṇavasaṃyuktāṃ trir ayaṃ prāṇasaṃyamāḥ “[A student] should mutter the Gāyatrī stanza three times together with Śiras, preceded by vyāḥṭi [and] accompanied by praṇava for each: this is the control of breath” contains pratī in the sense ‘for each’, but pratī just means ‘per’ and is usually followed by its object when it has a distributive meaning, as in Yājñī. pratya-aham ‘everyday’, pratī-samvatsaram ‘every year’, pratī-vedam ‘for each Veda’, pratī-māsam ‘every month’, pratī-daivatam ‘for each deity’, pratī-ekam ‘one by one’ and pratī-vāsaram ‘each day’.

śakty-alanāṁkhyā in Yājñī. 1.58ab brāhma vivāha āhūya diyate šaktyalaṁkhyā

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

Naṣṭonmrṣte occurs in Yājñ. 2.91ab desāntarasthe durlekhxe naṣṭonmrṣte hrte tatha/ bhinne dagdhe ’tha va 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 umṛṣṭa- put together among the other simple verbal adjectives, while they are neither co-referential nor correlated and have no title to form a Karmadhāraya or a collective Dvandva in neuter singular? A parallel passage in Nārada 1.126 chinnabhinnahṛtonmrṣtanaṣṭadurlekhiteṣu ca/ kartavyam anyal lekhyam syad eṣa lekhyavidhiḥ smṛtaḥ has a Dvandva compound of six verbal adjectives and takes a plural ending, but it does not seem to show any special link between these two adjectives umṛṣṭa- and naṣṭa-, which are divided by a pāda boundary. Although commentators of the Yājñavalkyasmrṭi do not give any variant reading for this expression, I think what the author originally intended was two separate words naṣṭe and umṛṣte, which first became naṣṭa umṛṣte by a Sandhi rule, which in turn was fed into another Sandhi cycle and ended up as naṣṭonmrṣte. Explanation by double Sandhi is also possible in the case of Yājñ. 3.28-4a kriyamānopakāre tu mṛte viṛpe na pātakam ‘even if a Brahmin dies while (medical) care is being done, it is not a degrading sin’, which sounds more natural if kriyamāś ‘being done’ and upakārē ‘(medical) care’ are separate.4

Yājñ. 3.202–203ab hantardhānām / j smṛtiḥ / g kāntir / d drṣṭih / “śrotra” / “jñatā tathā/ “niṃtaṃ šarīram utṣrīya parakāya-praveśānami// cs arthānāṃ chandataḥ sṛṣṭir yogasiddher hi lakṣaṇam “The signs of the perfection of Yoga are: Vanishing, remembering, brilliance, vision, aural perception, leaving one’s own

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

4 Another example of irregular Sandhi in the Yājñavalkyasmrṭi is the absence of the crasis -a r- → -ar- in 1.300c udbhāyasveta 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 ṭrṣāñ yeṣaḥ cetaso jñānam arthānāṁ chandataḥ kriyā/ dṛṣṭiḥ śrotan̄ śmṛtiḥ gāntiṁ hṛṣṭataś cāpyadarsanam, Yajñ. śrotra-jñatā might have originally meant the same powers as śrotaram ‘hearing’ and cetaso jñānam ‘mind reading’ in the Carakasamhitā.

uditoditam occurs as one of the requisites of a family priest in Yajñ. 1.313 purohitām prakurvita7 daivajñam uditoditam/ daṇḍanītyāṁ ca kuśalam atharvāṅgirase tathā “[A king] should appoint to family priest one who reads fortune, is —, is skilled in politics and the Atharvaveda,” which is an abridgement of KAŚ 1.9.9 purohitam uditoditakulaśīlam sāṅge vede daive nimitte daṇḍanītyāṁ cābhivinītam āpadāṁ daivamāṇuśīnām atharvabhīr upāyaiś ca pratikartāram kurvita. It appears to me too bold as an abridgement, if uditoditam is simply a curtailed form of uditoditakulaśīlam. 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 uditoditakulaśīlam.²²

b. The same Dvandva madhu-sarpīṣ-, used in Yajñ. 1.303cd hotavyā madhusarpibhyāṁ dadhā kṣīrena vā yutaḥ “[fuels] mixed with honey, liquid butter, curds or milk [should be offered]” and in Yajñ. 1.44c pitṛṇās ca madhusarpibhyām “[he can satisfy] the manes with honey and liquid butter” in the dual, appears as a singular in Yajñ. 1.43d and Yajñ. 1.46d pitṛṇām madhusarpīṣā “[he can produce satisfaction] of the manes with honey and liquid butter” where a short penultimate is required in the cadence of an even verse of a śloka. Although some Dvandva compounds optionally take

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5 I owe the reference to Dr. Kimiaki Shōshin.
6 In view of Bṛhadāyānīśavalkyamsūti 9.195d dṛṣṭiḥ śrotakṛṣṇātā parā (reference given by Dr. Akihiko Akamatsu), dṛṣṭiḥ śrotra- in the Yajñavalkyamsūti might originate from an incorrect Sandhi dissolution of manuscripts in scriptio continua, which would have read dṛṣṭiḥśrotra- for both dṛṣṭiḥ(ḥ) śrotar- and dṛṣṭiḥ-śrotra-. For further examples of similar questions on dissolution, see Yajñ. 3.257a brāhmaṇasvarṇahāri and Yajñ. 3.277b (Mit.) daśaśśrīśrīśrīdivāyasaṁ. Shoshin (p.c.) proposes to emend śrotaṁjñatā into śrotaṁ jñatā.
7 Bāl., Apar. and ViR. read ca kurvita.
8 Shamasastry (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 da-
dhipayaśādiṇī rules out a singular form of this particular compound, referring
to a gāna that includes madhusarpīṣī (Ganapāṭha 113.3 in Böhtlingk’s edition).

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

Instead of -danta- in KAŚ 3.19.13 ... pānipādadantabhānige karṇanāśā-
cechedane ... and Viṣṇu 5.68 karapādadantabhārige karṇanāśāvikartane ...
(both texts are composed in prose), Yājñ. 2.219ab (Mit.) karapādadato
bhārige chedane karṇanāśayoh “When a hand, a foot or a tooth is broken,
when an ear or a nose is cut off” gives karapādadataḥ, the genitive singular of
ekara-pāda-dant- ‘a hand, a foot or a tooth’. The clumsiness of this singular
Dvandva10 can be explained as a result of forcing a typical antispastic cadence
on the original word, which occurs in prose texts and hence has no rhythmic
restriction.

Another compound peculiar to the text of the Mitākṣarā is asteya-mādhu-
rye ‘abstention from stealing and mild disposition’. All of the ten yamas
enumerated in Yājñ. 3.312 (Mit.) brahmacaryam dayā kṣāntir dānāṃ satyam
akalkataḥ/ ahiṃsāsteyamādhumye damaś cetī 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. mādhumya-
, is also grounded on Bhagavadgītā 16.1–3, a list of qualities belonging to

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9 Bāl. and Apar. read karapādadantabhānige. Mit. paraphrases karṇanāśayoh also by
the singular form karṇanāsasya.

10 Though Aṣṭ. 2.4.2 dvāndvavā ca prāṇitūryaśenaṃgānām 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-grīvān ‘head and neck’ (MaiS,
KāṭhaS+). 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.) mṛccharnapuşpa-
kutapakeśatakravishaktiḥ (Bāl. vivaśrakān, Apar. and Vir. kṣitiḥ).

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

and brahmacary-a are traced back to Yogasūtra 2.30, akalkatā to Yuktidipikā p.112,
dama-, dāna- and dayā to BĀU 5.2.3. The remaining two, kṣānti- and mādhumya-
, would safely be ascribed to VaikhGS 9.4 (124.9–12), where kṣamā and mādhumya- rank
among the ten yamas for a Vānaprastha.
a man born to a divine fortune.\textsuperscript{13} Here as well, the preference for a short fifth syllable seems to underlie the fact that only asteya- and mādhurya- make a compound in the text of the Mitākṣarā. The compound dhāraṇa-jīvite ‘maintaining and living’ in Yājñ. 3.174 (Mit.) ahaṃkāraḥ smṛtir medhā dveṣo buddhiḥ sukham dhṛtiḥ/ indriyāntarasamcāra icchā dhāraṇa-jīvite also seems to be a Dvandva formed in order to avoid a pāda with a long fifth syllable like *dhāraṇāṃ jīvitaṃ.\textsuperscript{14}

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

apatinyonyatyāgī occurs in Yājñ. 2.237 pitṛputrasvastribhṛtṛdampaty-ācāryaśisyakāḥ/ eśām apatinyonyatyāgī ca sātadaṇḍabhāk “Moreover, father and son, sister and brother, wife and husband, teacher and pupil — one who, among them, abandons his undegraded partner is charged with a penalty of one hundred [paṇas],” which is an abridgement\textsuperscript{15} of KAŚ 3.20.18 pitāputrayor dampatyor bhṛţrbhaginyor mātulabhinjeyoh śisyācāryaṃvā parasparam apatitaṃ tyajataḥ ... “[The penalty for violence is imposed] 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 Kauṭiliya-ārthasaṣṭra was changed when the Yājñavalkyaṃśṭri packed them into a compound (KAŚ parasparam apatitaṃ tyajataḥ → Yājñ. apati/t/a-nyonya-tyāgī), probably with an intention to avoid metrical awkwardness of pāda c *eśām anyonyapatita- with a long fifth syllable. Though Viṣṇu 5.113 anyonyapatitaṭyāgī is also considered to be made from KAŚ parasparam apatitaṃ tyajataḥ, it does not side with the Yājñavalkyaṃśṭri in the order of these members, in a similar way as is observed in Yājñ. 2.219a (Mit.) karapādaddato bhaṅge :: Viṣṇu 5.68

\textsuperscript{13} Bhagavadgītā 16.1-3 abhayāṃ satvasaṃuddhir jñānayogyavyavasthitiḥ/ dānāṃ damaś ca yājñāś ca svādhyāyas tapa ārjavam/ ahimsāsātyam akrodhas tyāgah śāntir apaisunam/ dayā bhūteṣa aloḻupvam mārdavaṃ hīr acāpalam/ tejāḥ kṣamā dhṛtiḥ sāvacca adroho nātmāntaḥ/ bhavanti sampadaṃ daivāṃ abhijātasya bhārata.

\textsuperscript{14} Though anvedita-vijñātah in Yājñ. 2.35cd anveditavijñātā dāpyas tama 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 Mānavāś 3.1.25 naśṭādhihatam and described by Pāṇini in Ast. 2.1.49. (See Wackernagel, AiGr II-1, p.172, §74c3.)

\textsuperscript{15} This assumption might be wrong, for here the Kauṭiliya-ārthasaṣṭra looks as if it paraphrased the Yājñavalkyaṃśṭri into prose.
nominal compounds in the yājñavalkyasmrṭi

karapādadantabhaṅge, in Manu and Yājñ. vāg-yata- :: Viṣṇu 61.16 yata-vāc-, and in Yājñ. 2.210a pataniyākrte kṣepe :: Viṣṇu 5.29 pataniyākṣepe kṛte.

Yājñ. 2.267d śuṣka-bhinna-mukha-svārāḥ “those whose mouth and voice are [respectively] dry and changed [should be captured]” has a different order of members from that in KAŚ 4.6.2 śuṣka-bhinna-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 pataniyākrte 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. pataniyākṛte.

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 kṛcchrātikṛcchrau with Yājñ. kṛcchrātikṛcchraḥ. These two names of expiatory rites have different endings (masculine dual and masculine singular), though they are provided for the same sin according to Manu 11.208cd kṛcchrātikṛcchrau kurvīta viprasyotpādyā śonītām “When one spills the blood of a Brahmin, he should practice kṛcchrā- and atikṛcchra-” and Yājñ. 3.292 kṛcchrātikṛcchraḥ'srēkpāte “kṛcchrātikṛcchra- [should be practiced] in the case of bloodshed (of a Brahmin).” Since the Manusmrṭi gives no special definition of kṛcchrātikṛcchrau, it must be a combination of (prāja-patya-)kṛcchra- and atikṛcchra-, each explained in Manu 11.211 tryahāṁ prātas tryahāṁ sāyaṁ tryahāṁ adyād ayačitaṁ/ tryahāṁ paraṁ ca nāśnīyāt prāja-patyaṁ caran dvījāh “A twice-born man who performs (the Krikkhra penance), revealed by Pragāpati, shall eat during three days in the morning (only), during (the next) three days in the evening (only), during the (following) three days (food given) unmasked, and shall
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fast during another period of three days” (Bühler) and in Manu 11.213
ekaikam gräsam aśnīyä tryahäñi träṇi pürvavat/ tryahäṃ copavased antyam
atikṛ̥kṛ̥cchraṃ caran dvijäḥ “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. kṛ̥cch̄ṛtikṛ̥cchra- is explicitly
laid down in Yājñ. 3.320ab kṛ̥cch̄ṛtikṛ̥cchraḥ payasa divasān ekaviṃśatim
“kṛ̥cch̄ṛtikṛ̥cchra- [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 yavair anvavakīr̥yātha
bhājane sapavitrake/ śām no devyā payaḥ kṣiptvā yavo ‘siti yavāṁs tathā
“Having scattered barley to [the invited Brahmins], having put water in a
vessel equipped with pavītṛa with [the mantra] ‘śām no devyṛ ahūṣṭyaḥ āpo
bhavantu pitaṁ śām yor abhi śravantu naḥ’ (RV 10.9.4), and having put
barley saying ‘You are barley’.”

The two durations, twenty-one days (Yājñ.) and (12+12=) twenty-
four days (Manu), are compatible, if the final fast of the former is per-
formed not twice but only once at the end of the period (9+9+3=21).
kṛ̥cch̄ṛtikṛ̥cchra-, like kṛ̥cchra- or atikṛ̥cchra-, lasts only twelve days in the
Śānavidhānabrāhmaṇa, the Baudhāyanadharmaśutra, the Gautamadharma-
sūtra and the Vāsiśṭhadharmaśutra. On the other hand, the source of the
dietary prescription in the Yājñavalkyaṁśṛti is to be sought outside the Manu-
sūṭṛī, probably in SVB 1.2.8, BDhS 2.1.2.41, GDhS 26.20 and VaDhS 24.3,
where kṛ̥cch̄ṛtikṛ̥cchra- is an expiation to live only on water (abh-phakṣa-).
kṛ̥cch̄ṛtikṛ̥cchra- in the Dharmaśūtras is singular, because it is a sev-
erer kind of kṛ̥cchra- in its content, and means ‘the Kṛ̥cchra which is above
other Kṛ̥cchras [in its severity]’, with the same semantic structure as MBh.
devāṭideva- ‘ein über alle Götter hervorragender Gott’ (pw).16 It does not
share the same meaning as in the Yājñavalkyaṁśṛti though it has the same
singular ending.

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

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16 MBh. 8.24.45a, 12.278.23c, 13.17.143a, 14.93.50c, 15.38.1c.

17 The Viṣṇuṁśṛti made a similar compromise in Viṣṇu 54.30cd kṛ̥cch̄ṛtikṛ̥cchraṃ
cuṛṣṭa vipraśyaotpāda śoṇitam, by copying Manu 11.208cd and simply replacing
kṛ̥cch̄ṛtikṛ̥cchrau with a singular form which had been used more widely.
gular ending\text{-}ah, quite unusual for a Dvandva, might be a maneuver to cause the application of the Sandhi rule \((\text{-}ah + a \rightarrow \text{-}o)\) and to push the words into a verse of eight syllables.\(^{18}\) But by mentioning the duration as twenty-one days, two nine-days’ terms of prescribed diet concluded by one final fast of three days, the author might well have emphasized the oneness of this expiation, justifying his own choice of the singular form. And when the author gave the compromised description of this rite in Yājñ. 3.320ab, he has virtually mitigated it into a more practicable one, by changing the wording from \textit{ap-} (bhakṣa-) ‘(living on) water’ to slightly ambiguous \textit{payas-} ‘milk (or water)’.

b. In the following three cases, the \textit{Yājñavalkyasmṛti} takes over the wording of the \textit{Manusmṛti}, but also modifies it slightly.

\begin{itemize}
\item Manu \textit{sva}vṛṇa\~steyakṛd viḍro \textit{::} Yājñ. brāhmaṇa\~sva\~nṛghārī.\(^1\)\textsuperscript{9} Manu 11.99-100 \textit{sva}vṛṇa\~steyakṛd viḍro rājānām abhi\~gāmya tu/ svakarma khyāpaya brā-
yān mām bhavān anuśāstu iti// ghṛtāvā musalāṁ rājā sakṛd dhanyāt tu taṁ svayam/ vadhena śudhyāti steno brāhmaṇaḥ tapasāiva 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 brāhmaṇa\~sva\~nṛghārī tu rājāne musalām arpayet/ svakarma vyākhyāyaṁs 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 \textit{Manusmṛti} is changed into a victim of the theft in the \textit{Yājñavalkyasmṛti}, unless we read \textit{brāhmaṇa\~sva\~nṛghārī} for \textit{brāhmaṇa\~sva\~nṛghārī} as discussed above s.v. \textit{dṛṣṭīḥ} śrotrajñatā. The \textit{Yājñavalkyasmṛti} amalgamates Manu 11.99–100 with Manu 8.316ab śāsanād vā vimokṣād 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.
\end{itemize}


\(^{19}\) \textit{svarna-} comes from \textit{su-varna-} by syncope. Another example of syncope is Yājñ. 3.300b \textit{pāra}śadaḥ for \textit{pāra}śadaḥ (\textit{AiGr} I, p.60 §53c “Hypersanskritismus”).

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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 svabāndhavaḥ20 “His own relatives should pour down the jar of a slave girl outside the village.” By putting dāsī and kumbha- together, the Yājñavalkyasmrī creates a difference from the Manusmṛti, that dāsī ‘a female slave’, who overturned the pot in the latter, becomes its mere possessor in the former. In this case, the Yājñavalkyasmrī presumably intended to reconcile the Manusmṛti with, or revert to, an older stage of regulation, which is shown in GDhS 3.2.4 dāsāṅ karmakaro vāvakarād āmedhyāpatram anīya dāsīhaṭat pūrayitvā daksīṇāmukho yadā viparyasyed amukam anudakaṃ karomiti nāmāgrāham “A slave or a labouror brings a dirty vessel from a dump, fills it from the pot of a female slave, and when he, facing south, turns it over, the name [of the patita] is mentioned with the formula ‘I make So-and-so without water.’”

varṇāśrametarāṇām (Mit.) in Yājñ. 1.1cd varṇāśrametarāṇāṃ no brūhi dharmān asēsataḥ “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 sarva varṇānāṃ yathāvad anupūrvaśah/ antaraprabhaḥvānānāṃ ca dharmān 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 Yājñavalkyasmrī means here by itara-, I think, is to comprise those dharmas which are not covered by varṇa- or āśrama-, i.e. the dharmas of a woman, a king, a couple, an area, a family or a guild, which the Manusmṛti enumerates in 1.114–118 as its topics.

c. In the following two examples, the Yājñavalkyasmrī 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 sahoḍhajāḥ

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20 Bāl. dāśīhaṭam 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 kāraṇāma brahma kutah jāta jīvāma kena kva ca sampratiśṭhāḥ/ adhiśṭhitāḥ kena sukhetareṣu vartāmahe brahma vido vyavasthām. See also Stenzler (1849), p.1 “die pfichten 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 YĀJṆAVALKYASMṚTI

‘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 Yājñī. 2.284cd (Mit.) adesakālasam-bhāsām sahaikāsanaṃ 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 khaṭvāsanam “sitting on a couch together.” The Yājñavalkyasmṛti (or possibly the Mitakṣarā) seems to suggest by eka- intimacy between the man and the woman in question, and thereby to emphasize immorality of the action; for the word sahāsana- is used in different context as well, e.g. in Manu 8.281a (sitting with a man of a higher caste), Manu 11.184b (sitting with a degraded man) and MBh 3.1.27 (sitting with a wicked man), and even if the context is on adultery, it includes innocent cases, e.g. BDhs 1.2.3.34.

3. Position of the Yājñavalkyasmṛti in linguistic history

a. cvi-formation

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

22 Bāl. sahāvasthānam, Apar. and Viṛ. sahaikasthānam.
23 For the examples of bhasma- as a symbol of uselessness see Hara (1967), pp.414–409.
ful as [the king] himself,” Manu 9.33a kṣetrabhūtā “like a field,” b bījabhūtāh “like seeds,” Manu 10.91c kṛmibhūtāh “who has become a worm.” The function of bhūta- seems to be comparison or approximation in all cases except the last, where the original meaning of bhav'/bhū ‘to become’ might still be alive, with the first member kṛmi- functioning as its complement. Since it is the class beginning with śreṇi- that can be compounded with bhūta- to form Karmadhārayas according to Panini, Aṣṭ. 2.1.59 śreṇyādayāh kṛtādivihī, *kṛmibhūta-, a cvi-formation, would rather be expected.

The Yajñavalkyasmrṣṭi uses bhūta- as the last member four times together with cvi-forms: Yajñ. 2.17c pūrvapakṣe 'dhāribhūte “when the statement of plaintiff is turned down”, 2.64a dviguṇabhūtam “which has become twice”, 2.100c pratimānasamibhūtō “who has become the same in weight”, 3.218a niśkalmaśibhūtāh “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: Yajñ. 3.75ab saṁkleda- bhūtāḥ “which has become moisture” Yajñ. 3.186d bīja- bhūtāḥ “who have become seeds” Yajñ. 3.248ab lakṣya- bhūtāḥ25 “who has become a target”. Pāda borders are not crossed by a word in the Yajñavalkyasmrṣṭi except the one between 1.79c and d: brahmaśāry eva parvāṇy ādyāś ca taśras 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-sarpiṣā and madhu-sarpīrbhyāṁ.

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 Yajñavalkyasmrṣṭi: For example, vāg-yata- ‘one who has restrained his speech, of restrained speech’ is found not only in Yajñ. 1.31b, 1.239d, 3.5b, 3.55b or Manu 3.236b, 3.258b (Kullūka), 9.60b, but also widely in the Sūtras. While the order of the members in vāg-yata- is acceptable when we consider yata-as actively governing vāc- as its object,26 as is suggested by the established

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

25 Bāl. lakṣabhūtāḥ. 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 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 vācama 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-duṣṭaḥ in Yājñ. 1.224cd parapūrvāpatīḥ stenaḥ karmaduṣṭaś ca ninditāḥ28 “The husband of a remarried woman, a thief, and people of degraded conduct are blamed.” The usage in the Manusmrtyi indicates both possibilities in the position of duṣṭa- in compounds: Manu 3.225d duṣṭa-cetasāḥ, 8.386b duṣṭa-vāk :: 5.108c mano-duṣṭaḥ, 3.156d vāg-duṣṭaḥ, 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-bhraṣṭaḥ in Yājñ. 3.217cd jāyante lakṣaṇabhraṣṭā daridrāḥ puruṣādhamahā “They are born as the meanest of men, poor and with any suspicious marks fallen.” Since the verb bhraṣ/ bhraṣa is used with the ablative, as in TS 1.6.11.1 prāti yajñena tiṣṭhati nā yajñād bhraṃśate, 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. bhraṣṭāsūbhalaṃkṣaṇaḥ paraphrase this compound as an inverted Bahuvrihi, which is described by Pāṇini in Aṣṭ. 2.2.37.

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

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

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vācāyata- (Davane 1956, p.193), however.
27 Or an Upapada compound with an adjectival first member like RV. ranīyavāce-. Cf. Reuter (1892) pp.202f. with notes.
28 Bāl. karmaduṣṭaś.
29 Mit. and Apar. vṛddhasevakāḥ.
31 Dr. Tsutomu Yamashita pointed out to me that Caraka 4.4.9 prathame māsi saṃmūrcchitaḥ savadhātukalusikṛtāḥ keṭabhūto 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 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 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 kriyatāṁ asya svapne jāgaraṇe tathā, interpreting kāla-kṛta- as ‘[a pawn] for which a term is set’ sounds convincing. By inverting the usual order of a Bahuvihi, kāla- is put side by side with kāle, probably to make the logic of this proverbial phrase more evident and convincing.

c. Louis Renou points out that the verb kar/kṛ and its derivatives like kṛta- are often used in combination with action nouns in Bhāravi’sKirātārjuniya.33 The Yājñavalkyaśmrti 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 nīndatādane kuryāt, 1.329c balānaṁ darsanaṁ kṛtvā, 2.204c kṣeṣpaṇ koreti ced, 3.8b-c sāramārgaṇaṁ kareti yah, 3.56a kṛtvēṣtim. This root is also used as a substitute for other verbs, e.g. Yājñ. 1.147c kṛte Ṉntare (cf. Manu 4.126c antaraṅgame), 1.287a kṛtakṛtaṁs 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 Yājñavalkyaśmrti.

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

32 Mit. kūṭacihnākṛtāḥ. 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 sarvavarṇanāṃ yathāvad anupūrvaśāh/ antaraprabhavānāṃ ca dharmān no vaktum arhasi, the Bālakṛṣṇā 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 Bālakṛṣṇā, it gives a different inflection -i/ta[rā]ṇāṁ, seeking its authority from Aṣṭ. 1.1.31 dvandv 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-Pāñjinian ending of Bāl. varṇāśrametareśām, is however not necessarily to be rejected, for Yājñ 2.199d uses another itara- with an adjectival ending -ād, i.e. an anomaly in the opposite direction.

The following two cases could be 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.

kūṭacihna-kṛtāḥ (Mit.) :: kūṭacihna-kṛtād (Bāl., Apar.) in Yājñ. 2.212d. Judging from its paraphrase kūṭacihnakāridaṇṭapuruṣabhayāt ‘for fear of a wicked person making a false sign,’ the Bālakṛṣṇā understands kṛta- 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 kṛta-, probably in order to exclude the possibility that it is understood in passive meaning like in vrddha-sevita- :: vrddha-sevaka-.

34 Bāl. varṇā brāhmaṇaśādah/ āśramā brahmaśārayādah/ varṇetarā antaraprabhavā anulomādah/ āśramaśteśādah/ teṣāṃ varṇāśrametareśām/ .../ anyah pāthah — ‘vārṇanāṃ sāśramānām’ iti.
35 Mit. ‘itara’śabdasya ‘dvandve ca’ iti sarvanāmasaṁjñāpratidhāh. The Bālakṛṣṇā might have been conscious of this sutra when it offered an optional reading vārṇanāṃ sāśramānām.
36 kūṭacihna-kṛtād īte.
37 The commentary part of the Mitākṣarā, however, seems to explain not kūṭacihna-kṛt- but kūṭacihna-kṛta-, and that differently from the Bālakṛṣṇā: kūṭacihnakṛtāsambhāvanābhayāt ‘for the fear, which feeling is caused by a false sign’. The difficulty with this interpretation is the redundancy of kṛta-, for kūṭacihna-bhayāt or kūṭacihna-bhayāt would be enough for this meaning.

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b. Some readings of the *Bālakṛīḍā*, which the *Mitāksarā* does not follow, are grounded on the *Mahābhārata*, just as the above-mentioned form, Bāl. *vyṛddha-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-kāḥ* (Mit., Apar.) :: *sahasraśaḥ* (Bāl.) in Yājñ. 3.119 (Mit.) *mohajālam apāsyeha puruṣo drśyate hi yaḥ/ sahasrakarapannetraḥ sūryavarcāḥ sahasra-kāḥ* "If one cast off the net of delusion, Puruṣa, who has a thousand hands, feet and eyes, whose lustre is like the sun, and who has a thousand heads, becomes visible [to him].” Puruṣa of a thousand heads, eyes and feet must have been widely known by the famous verses of RV 10.90.1ab (=VS 31.1ab etc.). *sahasra-kara- ‘thousand-handed’* and *sūrya-varcas- ‘of lustre like the sun’* can be traced back respectively to AV 19.6.1a *sahāsrabāhuḥ* and to VS 31.18b *ādityāvārṇam*.38 Though *ka- ‘head’* as a single word sounds like lexicographer’s invention, it is not necessarily to be rejected here as such, for *kaṇḍhāraḥ* is used in Yājñ. 2.220c, which might be a compound having this word as the first member (*kaṃ-dharaḥ* ‘holding the head → neck’), or from which this word might have been abstracted through such interpretation. While the reading of the *Mitāksarā* is in accordance with the ambitious attitude of the *Yājñavalkya smṛti* to cover as many sources as possible, Bāl. *sahasraśaḥ ‘by thousands’* agrees with the frequent use of this word in the cadence of the even pādas of the ślokas in the *Mahābhārata*.39

c. When a difference in reading seems to have its origin in the background of each commentator, it makes us hesitate to arrange the readings in one linear genealogical order. The *Bālakṛīḍā* has sometimes a philosophical rather than a practical bent. For example, the *Mitāksarā* on Yājñ. 3.174 (Mit.) *icchā dhāraṇaṇajīvite* 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. *icchādhāraṇaṇajīvite* 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 *dhāraṇa* ‘concentration’ sounds too spiritualistic, and is also unlikely judging from the enumeration of *icchā and dhāraṇa- in the similar list of the signs of paramātman- in Caraka 4.1.70–72. This does not mean,

38 I owe the reference to Mr. Makoto Fushimi.
39 *sahasraśaḥ* occupies this position in 349 out of the 366 passages which I looked up in Tokunaga’s electronic text.
40 *icchayā yad adhāraṇam śarirasya tatparityagah tad icchādhāraṇam*.
of course, that the reading of the Bālakṛṣḍā is more interpolated than that of the Mitākṣara: In Yājñ. 3.154ab (Bāl.) jñē jñē ca prakṛtav ca 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 Bālakṛṣḍā 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 Bālakṛṣḍā or with the Mitākṣara might mean that it had assumed editorship on the texts of preceding commentators and worked them up into its own text through selection and emendation; the following example is interesting in this respect. The word pākhaṇḍyanāśritah (Mit.) in Yājñ. 3.6 (Mit.) a pākhaṇḍyanāśritah b stenā c bhārtygīnyah d kāmagadīkāḥ42 / e surāpya ātmatyāgīnayo43 nāsaucaśdakabhājanāh “—, lady thieves, husband-killers, wanton women etc., liquor-drinking women, women who have committed suicide, do not deserve water libation for impurity” should be understood in the light of Manu 5.89cd-90 ātmanas tyāginām caiva nivartetodakāsriyā/ a pāṣaṇḍam āśritānām ca d carantinām ca kāmatah/ garbhadhārtydruhai caiva ātmatyāgīnām ca yoṣitām. The expressions carantinām ‘[women] who through lust live (with many men),’ garbhabhārtydruhai ‘[women] who have caused an abortion, have killed their husbands,’ surāpinām ca yoṣitām ‘to women ... [who] drink spirituous liquor (Bührer)’ in Manu 5.90 support the interpretation to take pāṣaṇḍam āśritānām also as women: “[to women] who have joined a heretical sect” (Bührer). The Yājñavalkyasṛti has three different readings according to the three commentators: Mit. pākhaṇḍyanāśritah, Bāl. pāṣaṇḍam āśritah and Apar. pāṣaṇḍan āśritah. The Bālakṛṣḍā follows the Manusmṛti not only in its reading but also in commenting b kāmagās tathā as tathāśabadhā smṛtyantaroktavṛthasāṁkaravajātāyarthah “The word tathā means ‘those born in vain or from mixture [of castes] etc.’ mentioned in another law book (i.e. Manu 5.89)”44 The reading of the Mitākṣara

41 I thank Professor Kyō Kanō for the reference.
42 Bāl. kāmagās tathā.
43 Apar. ātmapraptinojo. The reading of the Mitākṣara and the Bālakṛṣḍā seems to be taken from Manu ātmanas tyāginām, whereas that of the Aparārka goes with ātmapraptinojām. in Yājñ. 3.21b annaṃ sā tātātātātātām.
44 Agreement with the Manusmṛti is not particular to the Bālakṛṣḍā. Take for example vratalopah..., vratavalopanām (Mit., Apar.) :: vratalopah...brahmaḥvalopanām (Bāl.) in Yājñ. 3.236c–238a nāstikyam vratalopasa ca ... kauḍilyam vratavalopanam or brahmaḥvalopanam “..., 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 pāṣaṇḍānaśritāḥ can also be divided as pāṇḍaḥ-a/naśritāḥ, 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 Yājñāvalkyasyāṃti 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 kṛcchratīkṛcchraḥ compared to the dual form kṛcchratīkṛcchrau 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 lop/lop: lompati ‘break’ respectively with suffixes -a- (‘ghaṅ’) 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. brahmaḥalopanam ‘violation of abstinence’ saves the senselessness of repeating the same offense vratalopa- and vratalopana- in Mit., but it is not grounded on the foregoing literature. Mit. vratalopanam agrees with Manu 11.61b vratalopanam.
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