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<td>発行日</td>
<td>2003-03</td>
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<tr>
<td>URL</td>
<td><a href="https://doi.org/10.14989/48809">https://doi.org/10.14989/48809</a></td>
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<tr>
<td>タイプ</td>
<td>Departmental Bulletin Paper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>テキストバージョン</td>
<td>publisher: Kyoto University</td>
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Nominal Compounds in the Yajñavalkyāsmyrṭi*

Masato KOBAYASHI

0. Introduction

The original sources of the Yajñavalkyāsmyrṭi range over the Dharma­sūtras, the Grhyasūtras, the epics, and texts on Ayurveda (medicine) and Artha­śāstra (government), as well as the foregoing Smṛti literature. Condensation of such extensive literature into a compact code of one thousand ślokas, and the clear-cut policy to rearrange the whole material in three parts of ācāra ‘good conduct’, vyavahāra ‘procedures’ and prāyaścitta ‘expiation’, obtained it an unsurpassed popularity for ages. In order to abridge the source literature without leaving out important details, the Yajñavalkyāsmyrṭi 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 Yajñavalkyāsmyrṭi, attempting thereby to trace the procedure in which the author condensed foregoing literature.

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

* 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 Kauṭiliya­Artha­sāstra. See note 15, for example.
1. Influences of abridgement and versification on the compounds of the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*

a. The style of the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* shows an elaborate condensation of the foregoing literature. To take an example, KĀŚ 3.16.30–31 *yat svam dravyam anyair bhujiamanaḥ daśa varṣāny upekṣeta, hīyetāya .../ viṃśativarṣopakṣitam anavasitaṁ vāstu nānuyuñjita* “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.” (Shamasstry) is condensed into one sloka, Yājñ. 2.24 *paśyato 'bruvato bhūmer hānir viṃśativārṣikī/pareṇa bhujiamanā-yā dhanasya daśavārṣikī “[If] one, seeing [his own] land deforested by another, does not claim it, [the land right is] annihilated in twenty years. If it is a movable property, [annihilation takes place] in ten years.” by means of a nominal sentence with a Dvigu compound *viṃśati-vārṣikī ‘vicennial’ and daśa-vārṣikī ‘decennial’.*

More often, the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* simply intends to reduce the number of the syllables by forming or reforming compounds: Yājñ. 2.95 uses the trisyllabic Dvandva compound *agny-āpah* for fire and water, which are mentioned as means of an ordeal, instead of longer expressions in Manu 8.114ab *agnim ... apsu*, KĀŚ 7.17.7 *agny-udaka-, Visṣu 9.11 ḍhaṭāgny-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-prāṇava-saṃyuktam* in Yājñ. 1.23 *gāyatṛīm śirasā sārdham japed vyāhṛtipūrviṃ/k/ prati-prāṇavasaṃyuktāṃ trir ayaṁ prāṇasaṃyamah “[A student] should mutter the Gāyatṛī stanza three times together with Śiras, preceded by vyāḥṛti [and] accompanied by prāṇava for each: this is the control of breath” contains *prati* in the sense ‘for each’, but *prati* just means ‘per’ and is usually followed by its object when it has a distributive meaning, as in Yājñ. *praty-aham ‘everyday’, prati-samvatsaram ‘every year’, prati-vedam ‘for each Veda’, prati-māsam ‘every month’, prati-daivatam ‘for each deity’, praty-ekam ‘one by one’ and prati-vāsaram ‘each day’.

*sakty-alaṃkṛṭa* in Yājñ. 1.58ab *brahma vivāha āḥuya diyate saktyalaṃkṛṭa*

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2 Cf. Aṣṭ. 5.1.79 for the function of the suffix -ika- (‘than’).
'The Brahma marriage: After [the father] invited [the bridegroom], [the girl] adorned according to [the father’s financial] power is given [to him]” seems to presuppose śaktiviṣayenaṁikanṛtya ‘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 Brahma marriage like here). It should be noted that an instrumental form śaktyā is used a little before this stanza, in Yājñ. 1.45d śaktyādhīte hi yo ‘nvaham “he who learns [this and that texts] everyday according to his power,” as if it anticipates a similar case function for śakti- here.3

naṣṭonmṛṣṭe occurs in Yājñ. 2.91ab desāntarasthe durlekhye naṣṭonmṛṣte hrte tathā/ bhinne dagdhe ‘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 unmṛṣṭa- put together among the other simplex verbal adjectives, while they are neither co-referential nor correlated and have no title to form a Karmadhāraya or a collective Dvandva in neuter singular? A parallel passage in Nārada 1.126 chinnaḥhinnaḥtonmṛṣṭanastoṣṭadurlikhiteṣu ca/ kartavyam anyal lekhyam syad eṣa lekhyavidhiṁ 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 unmṛṣṭa- and naṣṭa-, which are divided by a pāda boundary. Although commentators of the Yājñavalkyasmrṭi do not give any variant reading for this expression, I think what the author originally intended was two separate words naṣṭe and unmṛṣṭe, which first became naṣṭa unmṛṣṭe 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 Yājñ. 3.284a kriyāmanopakāre tu mṛte vipear na pātakam ‘even if a Brahmin dies while (medical) care is being done, it is not a degrading sin’, which sounds more natural if kriyāmāne ‘being done’ and upakāre ‘(medical) care’ are separate.4

Yājñ. 3.202–203ab h antardhānam ḫ smṛtiḥ ṣkāntir ḫ drṣṭiḥ ṣrotrāb jñātā tathā/ “nijaṁ sārīram utsṛiṣya parakāyapraveśanam// ṣarthānāṁ chandataḥ sṛṣṭir yogasiddher hi laksanam “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 *śaktiṣayenaṁkanṛtya, which was then changed into śaktiṣaleṃkanṛtya 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 ṭ- → -ar- in 1.300c udbudhaṇasveti ca ṛco. 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 ąāvēsā b cetaso jñānam c arthānām chandataḥ kriyā/ dṛṣṭhī e śrotraṃ  f sūkṣmaḥ g kāntīr h iṣṭataś cāvyadarsanām, 5 Yājñ. śrotra-jñāta might have originally meant the same powers as śrotram ‘hearing’ and cetaso jñānam ‘mind reading’ in the Carakasaṁhitā. 6

uditoditam occurs as one of the requisites of a family priest in Yājñ. 1.313 purohitam prakurvature7 daivajñam uditoditam/ daṇḍanītyām ca kuśalam aṭhavāṅgirase 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 uditoditakulaśilam sāṅge vede daive nimitte daṇḍanītyām cābhivinitam āpadāṃ daivamānuśiṇām aṭharvahhir upāyaiś ca prātikartarāṃ kurvita. It appears to me too bold as an abridgement, if uditoditam is simply a curtailed form of uditoditakulaśilam. 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 uditoditakulaśilam. 8

b. The same Dvandva madhu-sarpis-, used in Yājñ. 1.303cd hotavyā ma- dhusarpibhyām dadhiṃ kṣīrenā vā yutāḥ “[fuels] mixed with honey, liquid butter, curds or milk [should be offered]” and in Yājñ. 1.44c pitṛṃś 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 pitṛṇām madhusipṣā “[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 Bṛhadāyogijaśānti 9.195d dṛṣṭiśrotra jñātā purā (reference given by Dr. Akikiko Akamatsu), dṛṣṭiḥ śrotra- in the Yājñavalkyaṣṭi might originate from an incorrect Sandhi dissolution of manuscripts in scriptio continua, which would have read dṛṣṭiśrotra- for both dṛṣṭiḥ/ś) śrotra- and dṛṣṭi-śrotra-. For further examples of similar questions on dissolution, see Yājñ. 3.257a brāhmaṇasvarṇahārī and Yājñ. 3.277b (Mīt.) dāṣṭaśvostṛādivāyasaih. Shoshin (p.c.) proposes to emend śrotra-jñātā into śrotram jñātā.
7 Bāl., Apar. and Vr. read ca kurvita.
8 Shamasastri (1929) “Him whose family and character are highly spoken of”; Kangle (1972) “who is very exalted in family and character” with a note “the repetition of 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
dhipayaādīni rules out a singular form of this particular compound, referring
to a gāna that includes madhusarpīṣī (Ganapāṭha 113.3 in Böhtlingk’s
dition).

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

Instead of -danta- in KAŚ 3.19.13 ... pānipādadantabharige karaṇāsā-
chedane ... and Viṣṇu 5.68 karapādadantabharige karaṇāsāvikartane ...
(both texts are composed in prose), Yājñ. 2.219ab (Mit.) karapādadato
bhārige chedane karaṇāsāyasoh “When a hand, a foot or a tooth is broken,
when an ear or a nose is cut off” gives karapādadātah, the genitive singular of
cara-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-mādhur-
rye ‘abstention from stealing and mild disposition’. All of the ten yamas
enumerated in Yājñ. 3.312 (Mit.) brahmacaryam dayā kṣaṁtir dānam satyam
akalkata/ ahiṁsāsteyamādhurye damaś ceti yamāḥ smṛtāḥ11 are traceable to
the foregoing literature according to Kane.12 However, adroha- ‘abstention
from doing harm’, which the Bālakrīḍā reads in the place of Mit. mādhurya-
, is also grounded on Bhagavadgītā 16.1–3, a list of qualities belonging to

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9 Bāl. and Apar. read karapādadantabharige. Mit. paraphrases karaṇāsāyasoh also by
the singular form karaṇāsāsyā.

10 Though Aṣṭ. 2.4.2 dvāntvāsv ca prāṇītyaśenāṅgānām 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-grāvām ‘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.) mṛccharnapuṣpa-
kutapakeśatakraṇvisaksitih (Bāl. viśairakān, Apar. and Vir. kṣitiḥ).

11 Bāl. ahiṁsāsteyam adroha, Apar. ahiṁsāsteyamādhurya- damāś.

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

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

\textit{apatīnanyonyatīgī} occurs in \textit{Yājñ}. 2.237 \textit{pitṛputrasvastbhṛatrādampaty-}
\textit{ācāryaśisyakāḥ/ eṣāṃ apatīnanyonyatīgī} ca \textit{ṣatadaṇḍabhāk “Moreover, father,}
and son, sister and brother, wife and husband, teacher and pupil —
one who, among them, \textit{abandons his undegraded partner} is charged with a penalty of one hundred [\textit{paṇas}],” which is an abridgement\textsuperscript{15} of \textit{KAŚ} 3.20.18
\textit{pitāputrayor dampatyor bhṛatrābhagīnoryor mātulabhagīneyoryor śisyācāryoryor}
\textit{vā parasparam apatītasya tyajataḥ} \ldots “[The penalty for violence is imposed on]
one who abandons one’s partner, though he or she is not degraded, between
father and son, wife and husband, brother and sister, maternal uncle and sis-
ter’s son, or pupil and teacher.” The order of the words in the \textit{Kauṭiliyaṛtha-
sāstra} was changed when the \textit{Yājñāvalkyasmrī} packed them into a compound
\textit{(KAŚ parasparam apatītasya tyajataḥ \rightarrow Yājñ. apatīt/a-ānyonya-tyāgī)},
probably with an intention to avoid metrical awkwardness of pāda c \textit{eṣāṃ an-
yonyāpattita-} with a long fifth syllable. Though \textit{Viṣṇu} 5.113 \textit{anyonyāpattitātyagi} is also considered to be made from \textit{KAŚ parasparam apatītasya tyajataḥ}, it does not side with the \textit{Yājñāvalkyasmrī} in the order of these members, in a similar way as is observed in \textit{Yājñ}. 2.219a (Mit.) \textit{karapādādarto bhange :: Viṣṇu} 5.68

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{13} Bhagavadgītā 16.1–3 \textit{abhayaṃ sattvasamśuddhir jñānayogavyavasthītiḥ/ dānaṃ damaś ca yajñaś ca svādhīyas tāpa ārjavam// ahimsāsātyam akrodhas tyāgah śāntir apaśunam/ dayā bhūteṣo alopluptvam mārdavaṃ hir ācāpalam// tejāḥ kṣamā dhīrīḥ śaucam adroho nātmāntita/ bhavanti sampadaṃ daivam abhyātasya bhārata.}
\item\textsuperscript{14} Though \textit{anivedita-vijñātaḥ} in \textit{Yājñ}. 2.35cd \textit{aniveditavijñāto dāpyas tāṃ 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 \textit{MāṇavāSS 3.1.25 naśṭādhisrītam} and described by \textit{Pāṇini} in \textit{Aṣṭ.} 2.1.49. (See Wackernagel, \textit{AiGr} II-1, p.172, §74c,3.)
\item\textsuperscript{15} This assumption might be wrong, for here the \textit{Kauṭiliyaṛthaśāstra} looks as if it paraphrased the \textit{Yājñāvalkyasmrī} into prose.
\end{itemize}
2. Position of the  Yājñavalkyasmṛti  in philological history

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

Compare, for example, Manu  kṛcchṛātikṛchefrau  with Yājñ.  kṛcchṛātikṛchefrah. 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  kṛcchṛātikṛchefrau kurvita viprasyatpādyā śoṇitam “When one spills the blood of a Brahmin, he should practice kṛcchṛa- and atikṛchefra.” and Yājñ. 3.292c  kṛcchṛātikṛchefrro ’sykpate “kṛcchṛātikṛchefra- [should be practiced] in the case of bloodshed (of a Brahmin).” Since the  Manusmṛti  gives no special definition of  kṛcchṛātikṛchefrau , it must be a combination of (prājāpatsya-)kṛchefra- and atikṛchefra-, each explained in Manu 11.211  tryahat prātas tryahat sāyaṃ tryahat adyād ayyācitat/ tryahat paraṃ ca nāśniyāt prājāpatyaṃ caran dvājha “A twice-born man who performs (the Kriṣṭhṛa 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) unasked, and shall
fast during another period of three days” (Bühler) and in Manu 11.213
ekaikam gräsam aśniyā tryahānī trini pūravavat/ tryahaṁ copavased antyam
atikṛṣṭikṛṣṭhā caran dvījah “A twice-born man who performs an Atikrikkhra
(penance), must take his food during three periods of three days in the
manner described above, (but) one mouthful only at each meal, and fast
during the last three days” (Bühler). Yājñi. kṛcchṛtiṣṭikṛṣṭhra- is explicitly
laid down in Yājñī. 3.320ab kṛcchṛtiṣṭikṛṣṭhraḥ payasā divasān ekaviṁśatim
“kṛcchṛtiṣṭikṛṣṭhra- [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’ (Yājñī.
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 Yājñī. 1.230 yavair anvavakīryātha
bhājane sapavitrake/ śāṁ no devyā payaḥ kṣiptvā yavo ’sīti yavāṁs tathā
“Having scattered barley to [the invited Brahmins], having put water in a
vessel equipped with pavitra with [the mantra] ‘śāṁ no deviṛr abhūṣṭaya āpo
bhavantu pūtāye śāṁ yor abhi sravantu naḥ’ (RV 10.9.4), and having put
barley saying ‘You are barley’.”

The two durations, twenty-one days (Yājñī.) 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).

kṛcchṛtiṣṭikṛṣṭhra-, like kṛcchhra- or atikṛṣṭhra-, lasts only twelve days in the
Śānavidhānabrahmana, the Baudhāyanaadharmanasūtra, the Gautamadharma-
sūtra and the Vāsiśṭhadharmanasūtra. On the other hand, the source of the
dietary prescription in the Yājñāvalkyasūrī is to be sought outside the Manu-
sūrī, probably in SVB 1.2.8, BDhS 2.1.2.41, GDhS 26.20 and VaDhS 24.3,
where kṛcchṛtiṣṭikṛṣṭhra- is an expiation to live only on water (ab-bhakṣa-).

kṛcchṛtiṣṭikṛṣṭhra- in the Dharmasūtras is singular, because it is a sev-
erer kind of kṛcchhra- in its content, and means ‘the Kṛcchra which is above
other Kṛcchras [in its severity]’, with the same semantic structure as MBh.

devātideva- ‘ein über alle Götter hervorragender Gott’ (pw).16 It does not
share the same meaning as in the Yājñāvalkyasūrī though it has the same
singular ending.

It would naturally follow from these, that Yājñī. kṛcchṛtiṣṭikṛṣṭhra- is a
compromise of the Dharmasūtras and the Manusmṛti.17 The masculine sin-

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16 MBh. 8.24.45a, 12.278.23c, 13.17.143a, 14.93.50c, 15.38.1c.
17 The Viṣṇusmṛti made a similar compromise in Viṣṇu 54.30cd kṛcchṛtiṣṭikṛṣṭhā
kurvita viprasyaotpādyā sonitam, by copying Manu 11.208cd and simply replacing
kṛcchṛtiṣṭikṛṣṭhā with a singular form which had been used more widely.

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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 Yāj. 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 Manusmrti, but also modifies it slightly.

Manu svāṃśasteyakṛd vipro :: Yāj. brāhmaṇasvarṇahāri. Manu 11.99-100 svāṃśasteyakṛd vipro rājānam akṛitam with σvākarma khyāpayan brāyān mām bhavān anuśastu iti/ gṛhitvā musalam rāja sakṛd dhanyāt tu tām svayam/ vadhena vā hiṇyāt stena brāhmaṇas tapasaivu tu “A Brāhmaṇa who has stolen the gold (of a Brāhmaṇa) shall go to the king and, confessing his deed, say, ‘Lord, punish me!’ Taking (from him) the club (which he must carry), the king himself shall strike him once, by his death the thief becomes pure; or a Brāhmaṇa (may purify himself) by austerities” (Bühler)

Yāj. 3.257ab brāhmaṇasvarṇahāri tu rājne musalam arpayet/ svākarma vyākhāyāmis tena hato mukto ‘pi vā śuchiḥ “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 Manusmrti is changed into a victim of the theft in the Yājñavalkyasmṛti, unless we read ×brāhmaṇas varṇahārī for brāhmaṇasvarṇahārī as discussed above s.v. dṛṣṭih śrotrañāta. The Yājñavalkyasmṛti amalgamates Manu 11.99–100 with Manu 8.316ab sāsanād vā vīmoksād vā stenāḥ steyād vimucyate “Whether he be punished or pardoned, the thief is freed from the (guilt of) theft” (Bühler) and modified them into a rule for gold-robers in general, probably in order to avoid imposing a capital penalty just on a Brahmin.

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

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Manu dāsī ghaṭam :: Yājñī. dāṣikumbham. Manu 11.183ab dāsī ghaṭam apāṃ pūrṇaṃ paryasyet pretavat pādā “A female slave shall upset with her foot a pot filled with water, as if it were for a dead person” (Bühler) and Yājñī. 3.294ab dāṣikumbham bahir grāmān ninayeran svabāndhavaḥ 20 “His own relatives should pour down the jar of a slave girl outside the village.” By putting dāsī and kumbha- together, the Yājñavalkyasmṛti creates a difference from the Manusmṛti, that dāsī ‘a female slave’, who overturned the pot in the latter, becomes its mere possessor in the former. In this case, the Yājñavalkyasmṛti presumably intended to reconcile the Manusmṛti with, or revert to, an older stage of regulation, which is shown in GDaS 3.2.4 dāsāḥ karmakaro vāvakarād anjyaṁ dāṣīghatīt pūrṣāvītā daksināmukho yādā viparyasyed amukam anudakaṁ karomti nāmārajāḥ “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.'”

varṇāśrametarāṇāṁ (Mit.) in Yājñī. 1.1cd varṇāśrametarāṇāṁ no brūhi dharmān aḥeṣataḥ “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 sarvavarnānāṁ yathāvad anupūrvaśāḥ/ antaraprabhavānāṁ 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 (varṇa) and of the intermediate ones” (Bühler). What the Yājñavalkyasmṛti means here by itara-, I think, is to comprise those dharmas which are not covered by varṇa- or āśrama-, i.e. the dharmas of a woman, a king, a couple, an area, a family or a guild, which the Manusmṛti enumerates in 1.114–118 as its topics.

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

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

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20 Bāl. dāṣīghatām apāṃ pūrṇaṃ.
21 Although itara- usually means ‘other than, different from’ when used as the last member of a compound, a Dvandva of the same makeup is also attested in ŚvetU 1.1 kim kāraṇāṁ brahma kutāḥ jātā jīvamāḥ kena kva ca sampratiṣṭhāḥ/ adhisthitāḥ 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 YĀJṆAVALKYASMṚTI

‘sahodha-ja- is [a son] found in the womb [already at marriage].” Since the definitions of sahodha- in BDhS 2.2.3.25, V DhS 17.27, KAS 3.7.11, Manu 9.173 and Viśṇu 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 V DhS 19.39, Nārada 14.17a, 19.13c and Manu 9.270c.

sahāsana- :: sahaikāsanā- (Mit.) in Yājñ. 2.284cd (Mit.) adesakālasambhāsam sahaikāsanam 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 Yājñavalkya-smṛti (or possibly the Mitākṣara) 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 11.18a (sitting with a degraded man) and MBh 3.1.27 (sitting with a wicked man), and even if the context is on adultery, it includes innocent cases, e.g. BDhS 1.2.3.34.

3. Position of the Yājñavalkyasmṛti in linguistic history

a. cvi-formation

When kṛta- in the last position means “that which was made X”, X is always expressed by the cvi-formation in the Yājñavalkyasmṛti: Yājñ. 2.182a baḷuḥ dāṣikṛtaḥ “one who was made a slave by force,” Yājñ. 2.301d tād evaṣṭagunjṛtām “it (the penalty) is made eight times as much,” Yājñ. 2.307d tryaṣadgunjṛtām “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 brahamabhūtā “like Brahman,” (Bühler) Manu 7.217ab āṭmabhūtaḥ…paricārakaiḥ “a servant as faith-

²² Bāl. sahāvasthānam, Apar. and Vīr. 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 kṣetрабhūtā “like a field,” b bājabhūtāh “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 śreṇyādayaḥ kṛtādibhiḥ, *kṛmibhūta-, a cvi-formation, would rather be expected. 24

The Yājñāvalkyasmrī uses bhūta- as the last member four times together with cvi-forms: Yājñ. 2.17c pūrvapakṣe 'dharibhūte “when the statement of plaintiff is turned down”, 2.64a dviguṇībhūtam “which has become twice”, 2.100c pratiṃnāsambhūtō “who has become the same in weight”, 3.218a niṣkalmaṣībhūtāh “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 saṃkulda- bhūtāh “which has become moisture” Yājñ. 3.186d bīja- bhūtāh “who have become seeds” Yājñ. 3.248ab lakṣyā- bhūtāh25 “who has become a target”. Pāda borders are not crossed by a word in the Yājñāvalkyasmrī except the one between 1.79c and d: brahma[c]āry[va] parvan[y] ādyās catāras tu varja[y]et. 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-sarpibhyām.

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

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24 The Manusmrī has very few cvi-forms: 3.97c according to Kullūka bhasmībhūteṣu; 4.188d bhasmībhavati.
25 Bāl. lakṣabhūtāh. According to Stenzler, Kullūka on Manu 11.13 reads lakṣyī-, which is not supported by Aṣṭ. 6.4.152. His taste for cvi is shown in his reading bhasmībhūteṣu for Manu 3.97c bhasmabhūteṣu as well.
26 Wackernagel, AiGr II-1, p.195 §83b and Debrunner’s Nachträge, p.58. Cf. Pāli
use of *vācam* with *yam* or the compound *vācamyamā* - in the Brāhmaṇas, it seems to have struck even the old writers as strange, for MaiUp 6.9 and Viṣṭu 61.16 uses *yata-vāc*-, a Bahuvrīhi in the regular order.  

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

*vṛddha-sevitaḥ* (Bāl.) in Yājñ. 1.309ab (Bāl.) *mahotsāhāḥ sthūlalakṣaḥ kṛtaṇo vṛddhasevitaḥ* 29 “Of great spirit, ambitious, grateful, attentive to the seniors” (Tokunaga 1993, p.5). *sevita*-, a verbal adjective in -ta- with an active meaning, governs *vṛddha-* as its object, as is obvious from the established teaching of devotion to the elders, and from the use of the same compound in MBh 1.45.14 and 3.261.3. 30

*lakṣaṇa-bhraṣṭaḥ* in Yājñ. 3.217cd *jāyante lakṣaṇabhraṣṭā daridrāḥ puruṣādhamāḥ* “They are born as the meanest of men, poor and with any auspicious marks fallen.” Since the verb *bhraṣṭ/ bhraṃś* is used with the ablative, as in TS 1.6.11.1 *prāti yajñēna tiṣṭhati nā yajñād bhraṃśate*, an ablative case relationship can be considered as the basis of this compound, though Aśṭ. 2.1.38 does not include *bhraṣṭa* - in the verbal adjectives which form compounds with nouns in the ablative. Mit. *duṣṭalakṣaṇaḥ* and Apar. *bhraṣṭaśubhalaṇaḥ* paraphrase this compound as an inverted Bahuvrīhi, which is described by Pāṇīni in Aśṭ. 2.2.37.

*dhātu-vimūrcchitaḥ* in Yājñ. 3.75ab *prathame māsi saṁkledabhūto dhātu-vimūrcchitaḥ* 31 “In the first month [after conception, the ātman] is as it were moisture, congelation of the elements.” If *vimūrcchita* - ‘congealed’ qualifies *dātu-* as an adjective, it should rather precede *dātu-* according to the general order of the members of a Karmadhāraya compound (Aśṭ. 2.1.57).

*kūṭaciḥnah-krīḍād* (Bāl.) in Yājñ. 2.212cd (Bāl.) *draṣṭavyo vyavahāras tu*

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

kāla-kyṭaṭ in Yājñ. 2.58c kāle kālakṛto naṣyet “[A pawn] — will be forfeited at [the expiration of the] term.” The Mitakṣaraṇa understands this as a Bahuvrihi 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 kṛt ‘eine Zeit festsetzen’ noted in PW II, col. 249, s.v. 2 kāla 1, with a quotation from Rām. 6.38.29 kālaś ca kriyatāṃ asya svapne jāgarane tathā, interpreting kāla-kyṭaṭ as ‘[a pawn] for which a term is set’ sounds convincing. By inverting the usual order of a Bahuvrihi, kāla- is put side by side with kāle, probably to make the logic of this proverbial phrase more evident and convincing.

c. Louis Renou points out that the verb kār/kṛt and its derivatives like kṛta- are often used in combination with action nouns in Bāhāravi’s Kirātārjuniya.

The Yājñavalkyaśmrī 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 mātvādāne kuryāt, 1.329c balāāṃ darśanaṃ kṛtvā, 2.204c kṣepaṇa karoṭi ced, 3.8b-c sāramārgaṇaṃ karoṭi yāḥ, 3.56a kṛtvedīṃ. This root is also used as a substitute for other verbs, e.g. Yājñ. 1.147c kṛte 'nteare (cf. Manu 4.126c antarāgamane), 1.287a kṛtākṛtāṃs taṇḍulān and 2.164d kṛtavetanaḥ.

4. Different readings

The differences among the readings given by the commentators reveal their academic and philosophical background, and also help us understand the history of the transmission of the text of the Yājñavalkyaśmrī.

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

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32 Mit. kūṭacihnakṛtyā 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 -kṛtya-, does not apply to the unequivocal ablative of Bāl. -kṛtād.

33 Renou (1959), p.39 with note 167: “Avec la racine kṛt- 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 sarvarvāṇāṁ yathāvad anupūrvaśaḥ/ antaraprabhavānāṁ ca dharman no vaktum arhasi, the Bālakṛṣḍa 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 Bālakṛṣḍa, it gives a different inflection -i/tarāṇāṁ, seeking its authority from Asṭ. 1.1.31 dvandve ca, which excludes the title as a pronoun from the group of stems comprising itara- when they are used as the last members of Dvandva compounds. The un-Pāṇinian ending of Bāl. varṇāśrametareśāṁ, is however not necessarily to be rejected, for Yājñ. 2.199d uses another itara- with an adjectival ending -ād, i.e. an anomaly in the opposite direction.

The following two cases could be adduced as reinforcing arguments for the inclination of the Mitākṣarā toward grammatical strictness: The Mitākṣarā reads vrddha-sevakaḥ for Bāl. vrddha-sevitaḥ in Yājñ. 1.309b. The word vrddha-sevakaḥ, a formation from the root sev with the agent suffix -aka- (‘cfmr’) sounds an innovation of vrddha-sevita-, for it suggests an intention to shut out the possibility to take vrddha- as the agent of sevita- with a passive meaning, and vrddha-sevita- is attested in the Mahābhārata.

kūṭacihna-kṛtaḥ (Mit.) :: kūṭacihna-kṛtā (Bāl., Apar.36) in Yājñ. 2.212d. Judging from its paraphrase kūṭacihnakāriddusṭapuruṣabhayat ‘for fear of a wicked person making a false sign,’ the Bālakṛṣḍa understands kṛta- as actively governing kūṭa-cihna-. In the reading of Mit. kūṭacihna-kṛtaḥ ‘[for fear] of one who makes a false sign’, kṛt-, a root noun with the augment ū, 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 brahmanādañāḥ/ āśramā brahmaśarīryādañāḥ/ varnetārā antaraprabhavā anulomādañāḥ/ āśrametarāh pāśāntādañāḥ/ teśāṁ varṇāśrametareśāṁ/ .../ anyāh pāthāḥ — ‘varṇānāṁ sāśramāṇāṁ’ iti.
35 Mit. ‘itara śabdasya ‘dvandve ca’ iti sarvanāmasāmayjñāpratiseṣdhaḥ. The Bālakṛṣḍa might have been conscious of this sūtra when it offered an optional reading varṇānāṁ sāśramāṇāṁ.
36 kūṭacihnakṛtād ūte.
37 The commentary part of the Mitākṣarā, however, seems to explain not kūṭacihna-kṛt- but kūṭacihna-kṛta-, and that differently from the Bālakṛṣḍa: kūṭacihnakṛtāsambhāvanābhayat ‘for the fear, which feeling is caused by a false sign’. The difficulty with this interpretation is the redundancy of kṛta-, for kūṭacihna-kṛt bhayat or kūṭacihna-bhayat would be enough for this meaning.
b. Some readings of the Bālakrīḍā, which the Mitākṣaraṇa does not follow, are grounded on the Mahābhārata, just as the above-mentioned form, Bāl. vyddha-sevitaḥ, has its source in the Mahābhārata, and Yajñ. 3.312c (Bāl.) adroho in Bhagavadgītā 16.3b. Another example of the same sort is sahasrakaḥ (Mit., Apar.) :: sahasrasaḥ (Bāl.) in Yajñ. 3.119 (Mit.) mohajālam apasyeha puruṣo dṛṣyate hi yah/ sahasrakarapannetraḥ 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 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 kaṃdharā is used in Yajñ. 2.220c, which might be a compound having this word as the first member (kaṃ-dharā ‘holding the head → neck’), or from which this word might have been abstracted through such interpretation. While the reading of the Mitākṣaraṇa is in accordance with the ambitious attitude of the Yājñavalkyasmiṃ to cover as many sources as possible, Bāl. sahasrasaḥ ‘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 Mitākṣaraṇa on Yajñ. 3.174 (Mit.) icchā dhāraṇa-jīvite 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. icchādhāraṇājīvite which joins icchā with a-dhāraṇa-, its interpretation ‘non-sustaining (i.e. renouncement) of a body at will’\(^{40}\) together with its paraphrase of b dhṛtiḥ by dhāraṇā ‘concentration’ sounds too spiritualistic, and is also unlikely judging from the enumeration of icchā and dhāraṇa- in the similar list of the signs of paramātman- in Caraka 4.1.70–72. This does not mean,

\(^{38}\) I owe the reference to Mr. Makoto Fushimi.

\(^{39}\) sahasrasaḥ occupies this position in 349 out of the 366 passages which I looked up in Tokunaga’s electronic text.

\(^{40}\) icchaya yad adhāraṇaṁ sarīrasya tatparyāgaḥ tad icchādhāraṇam.
of course, that the reading of the Bālakrīḍā is more interpolated than that of the Mitākṣarā: In Yājñ. 3.154ab (Bāl.)  yēṇe ṣ’ñe ca prakṛtav ca vikārā cāviṃśeṣavān “not discriminating between one who knows and one who does not know, and between an original and a modification,” the logic of the Bālakrīḍā is more transparent than that of Mit. ṣ’ñeṣye  ‘about ātman which knows what is to be known,’ and it agrees with Caraka 4.5.12.41

d. The fact that the text of the Aparārka does not agree uniformly either with that of the Bālakrīḍā or with the Mitākṣarā might mean that it had assumed editorship on the texts of preceding commentators and worked them up into its own text through selection and emendation; the following example is interesting in this respect. The word pākhaṇḍyanāśrītāḥ (Mit.) in Yājñ. 3.6 (Mit.) a pākhaṇḍyanāśrītāḥ b stena c bhṛtyaṁyāḥ d kāmagādikāḥ32/ e surāpya f ātmatyāgniyo33 naśaucodakabhājanāḥ “—, lady thieves, husband-killers, wanton women etc., liquor-drinking women, women who have committed suicide, do not deserve water libation for impurity” should be understood in the light of Manu 5.89cd-90 f ātmanas tyāginām caiva nivartetodakaśriyā/ a pāṣaṇḍam āśritānāṁ ca d carantināṁ ca kāmataḥ/ garbhaḥbhṛtyaṁ ca ātmanas ca yoṣitaṁ. The expressions carantināṁ ‘[women] who through lust live (with many men),’ garbhabhṛtyaṁ ‘[women] who have caused an abortion, have killed their husbands,’ surāpya ca yoṣitaṁ ‘to women ... [who] drink spirituous liquor (Bühler)’ in Manu 5.90 support the interpretation to take pāṣaṇḍam āśritānāṁ also as women: “[to women] who have joined a heretical sect” (Bühler). The Yājñavalkyaṁṛti has three different readings according to the three commentators: Mit. pākhaṇḍyanāśrītāḥ, Bāl. pāṣaṇḍam āśrītāḥ and Apar. pāṣaṇḍan āśrītāḥ. The Bālakrīḍā follows the Manusṛti not only in its reading but also in commenting b kāmagās tathā as tathāśabdaḥ smṛtyantaroktvāṛthāsvaṃkaravajātyārthaḥ “The word tathā means ‘those born in vain or from mixture [of castes] etc.’ mentioned in another law book (i.e. Manu 5.89)”44. The reading of the Mitākṣarā

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41 I thank Professor Kyō Kanó for the reference.
42 Bāl. kāmagās tathā.
43 Apar. ātmaghātīnyo. The reading of the Mitākṣarā and the Bālakrīḍā seems to be taken from Manu ātmanas tyāgināṁ, whereas that of the Aparārka goes with ātmaghātin- m. in Yājñ. 3.21b avakaṣṭaḥ cātmaghātinām.
44 Agreement with the Manusṛti is not particular to the Bālakrīḍā. Take for example vrata-lopaḥ...vrata-lopanam (Mit., Apar.): vrata-lopaḥ...brahma-lopanam (Bāl.) in Yājñ. 3.236c–238d nāstikyaṃ vrata-lopaḥ ca ... kauśalyaṃ vrata-lopanam or brahma-lopanam “..., 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 sahasrakāhaḥ, 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 pāṣaṇḍānāśritāḥ can also be divided as pāṣaṇḍa-[a]-nāśritāḥ, i.e. a Dvandva like Mit. pākhaṇḍy-anāśritāḥ. The reading of the Aparārka is compatible with both the Mitākṣara and the Bālakrīḍā in this case.

5. Conclusion

The tendency of the Yājñavalkyaṁṛṭi 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 kṛṣchṛta-kṛṣchṛnaḥ compared to the dual form kṛṣchṛtikṛṣchṛnau in the Manusmṛti, might suggest an enterprising policy of the author to integrate the ordinances of the foregoing literature into a more self-consistent legal system. Among the original texts cited in the commentaries, the one in the Mitākṣara shows less grammatical irregularities than that of the Bālakrīḍā, but it might be a result of correction of the original text.

List of Abbreviations


These two synonymous action nouns vratalopāḥ and vratalopanam, formed from the root lop/lop: lompati ‘break’ respectively with suffixes -a- (‘ghañ’) and -ana-, appear in the list of upapātakas (234–242). Choice of the two different formations in the same context seems to be simply for filling meter. The reading of Bāl. brahma-lopanam ‘violation of abstinence’ saves the senselessness of repeating the same offense vratalopa- and vratalopana- in Mit., but it is not grounded on the foregoing literature. Mit. vratalopanam agrees with Manu 11.61 b vratalopanam.
nominal compounds in the yajñavalkyasmrți


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