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Nominal Compounds in the Yajñavalkyasmṛti*

Masato KOBAYASHI

0. Introduction

The original sources of the Yajñavalkyasmṛti range over the Dharma-sūtras, the Grhyasūtras, the epics, and texts on 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 acara ‘good conduct’, vyavahāra ‘procedures’ and prāyaścitra ‘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 Manusmrīti and the Kauṭiliyaarthaśāstra as the primary source of the Yajñavalkyasmṛti, and do not treat the Viṣṇusmrīti 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 Kauṭiliyaarthaśāstra. See note 15, for example.
1. **Influences of abridgement and versification on the compounds of the Yājñavalkyasūrya**

a. The style of the Yājñavalkyasūrya shows an elaborate condensation of the foregoing literature. To take an example, KAŚ 3.16.30-31 *yat svām dravyam anyair bhujyamānaṁ daśa varṣāny upēkṣeta, hīyāṣya .../ viṃśati-varṣopekṣitam anavasitam vāstuvā nānuyujita* “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.” (Shamasastri) is condensed into one sloka, Yājñ. 2.24 *pasyaṭo 'brvato bhūmer hānir viṃśatīvārṣīkī/pareṇa bhujyamāna-yā dhanaśya daśavārṣīki “[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 *viṃśatī-vārṣīkī ‘vicennial’ and daśa-vārṣīkī ‘decennial’.*

More often, the Yājñavalkyasūrya simply intends to reduce the number of syllables by forming or reforming compounds: Yājñ. 2.95 uses the trisyllabic Dvandva compound *agny-āpah* for fire and water, which are mentioned as means of an ordeal, instead of longer expressions in Manu 8.114ab *agnīm ... apsu*, KAŚ 7.17.7 *agny-udaka-, Viśṇu 9.11 *dhaṭāgny-udaka-, 9.25-29 *agnih ... udakam* or Nārada 1.218d *agny-ambu-* which would become quadrissyllabic *-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-pancava-saṃnyuktam* in Yājñ. 1.23 *gāyatrīṁ śirasā sārdham japed vyāhṛtipūrvikam/ pratipravasavasanyuktam trir ayaṁ prāṇasaṃyamah “[A student] should mutter the Gāyatrī stanza three times together with Śiras, preceded by vyāhṛti [and] accompanied by prāṇava for each: this is the control of breath” contains prati in the sense ‘for each’, but prati just means ‘per’ and is usually followed by its object when it has a distributive meaning, as in Yājñ. *praty-aham ‘everyday’, prati-samvatsaram ‘every year’, prati-vedam ‘for each Veda’, prati-māsam ‘every month’, prati-daivatam ‘for each deity’, praty-ekam ‘one by one’ and prati-vāsaram ‘each day’.*

šākti-alāṃkṛtā in Yājñ. 1.58ab *brāhmaṇaḥ vivāha āḥuṣa diyate śaktyalamkṛtā*

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2 Cf. Aṣṭ. 5.1.79 for the function of the suffix -ika- (*ṭhaṇi*).
“The Brähma marriage: After [the father] invited [the bridegroom], [the girl] adorned according to [the father’s financial] power is given [to him]” seems to presuppose  śaktiviṣayenaṁāṃkṛtya ‘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 Brähma marriage like here). It should be noted that an instrumental form  śaktya 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  sakti- here. 3

naṣṭonmṛṣte 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 unmṛṣta- 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 chinnaḥhinnaḥṭonoṁṛṣtanaṣṭadurlekhitasu ca/ kartavyam anyal lekhyam syad eṣa lekhyaśiṣṭaḥ sṛṣṭaḥ 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 unmṛṣta- and naṣṭa-, which are divided by a pāda boundary. Although commentators of the Yājñavalkyasṛṭi do not give any variant reading for this expression, I think what the author originally intended was two separate words naṣṭe and unmṛṣte, which first became naṣṭa unmṛṣte by a Sandhi rule, which in turn was fed into another Sandhi cycle and ended up as naṣṭonmṛṣte. Explanation by double Sandhi is also possible in the case of Yājñ. 3.28a kriyāmānapakāre tu mṛṣte vīpṛ 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 hañtradhānam j smṛṭih g kāntir d drṣṭih “ṣrotd7 jñātā tathā/ “nīcāmśarīram utsṛjya parakāyapraśeśanam//” arthānaṁ 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 *śaktyāṃkṛtya, which was then changed into śaktyalāṃkṛtya to make the fifth syllable short as is preferred metrically.

4 Another example of irregular Sandhi in the Yājñavalkyasṛṭi is the absence of the crisis -a r→ -ar- in 1.300c udbudhvasvēti ca rco. For the examples of double sandhi in the Dhārmasūtras, 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 aävasa b cetasos jñānam c arthanām chandataḥ kriyā/ dṛṣṭiḥ e srotāṃ f smṛtiḥ g kāntīr h ṭṣataś cāpyadarsanām.5 Yājñ. srotra-jñatā might have originally meant the same powers as srotam ‘hearing’ and cetasos jñānam ‘mind reading’ in the Carakasamhitā.6

uditoditam occurs as one of the requisites of a family priest in Yājñ. 1.313 purohitam prakurvita7 dāivajñam uditoditam dandaṇītyām 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 uditoditakulasīlam sāngē vede dāive nimitte daṇḍanītyām cābhivinitam āpadāṃ dāvamānuṣīnām atharvābhir upāyaiś ca pratikartarāṃ kurvita. It appears to me too bold as an abridgement, if uditoditam is simply a curtailed form of uditoditakulasīlam. Since udita- can be derived both from ud-ay/i ‘go up, go out’ and from vad ‘say’ with -ta-, the meaning of uditoditam cannot be decided easily as well as KAŚ uditoditakulasīlam.8

b. The same Dvandva madhu-sarpis-, used in Yājñ. 1.303cd hotavyā ma- dhusarpibhyām dadhā kṣīreṇa vā yutāḥ “[fuels] mixed with honey, liquid butter, curds or milk [should be offered]” and in Yājñ. 1.44c pītṝṇās 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 pītṝṇām madhusarpisā “[he can produce satisfaction] of the manes with honey and liquid butter” where a short penultimate is required in the cadence of an even verse of a śloka. Although some Dvandva compounds optionally take

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5 I owe the reference to Dr. Kimiaki Shōshin.
6 In view of Bṛhad yogiṣṭhānavalakṣaṇānti 9.195d dṛṣṭiḥ srotajñatā parā (reference given by Dr. Akihiko Akamatsu), dṛṣṭiḥ srotas in the Yājñavalkyaśānti might originate from an incorrect Sandhī dissolution of manuscripts in scriptio continua, which would have read dṛṣṭisrotas for both dṛṣṭih/s srotas and dṛṣṭi-srotas. For further examples of similar questions on dissolution, see Yājñ. 3.257a brāhmaṇasvarṇahāri and Yājñ. 3.277b (Mīt.) daśaśāstraśātrāvāyasaḥ. Shoshin (p.c.) proposes to emend srotajñatā into *srotam jñātā.
7 Bāl., Apar. and Vīr. 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 dadoshipayādāṇī rules out a singular form of this particular compound, referring to a gāṇa that includes madhusarpīṣī (Ganapāṭha 113.3 in Böhtlingk’s edition).

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

Instead of -dαntα- in KAŚ 3.19.13 ... pānipādadantabhānigē karṇanāsā- cchedane ... and Vīṣṇu 5.68 karapadadantabhānigē karṇanāsāvīvikartane ... (both texts are composed in prose), Yājñ. 2.219ab (Mit.) karapādadato bhānigē chedane karṇanāsasyoh “When a hand, a foot or a tooth is broken, when an ear or a nose is cut off” gives karapādadatah, the genitive singular of kara-pāda-dant- ‘a hand, a foot or a tooth’. The clumsiness of this singular Dvandva can be explained as a result of forcing a typical antispastic cadence on the original word, which occurs in prose texts and hence has no rhythmic restriction.

Another compound peculiar to the text of the Mitākṣarā is asteya-mādhurye ‘abstention from stealing and mild disposition’. All of the ten yamas enumerated in Yājñ. 3.312 (Mit.) brahmacaryam daya kṣanti dānam satyam akalkata ahiṃsāsteyamādhurye damaś ceti yamaḥ smṛtāḥ11 are traceable to the foregoing literature according to Kane.12 However, adroha ‘abstention from doing harm’, which the Bālakṛśṇa 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 karapādadantabhānigē. Mit. paraphrases karṇanāsasyoh also by the singular form karṇanāsasya.

10 Though Aṣṭ. 2.4.2 dvandvāsa ca prāṇīturyasenāṅgaṇām 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-gṛivōn ‘head and neck’ (MaS, 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.) mṛccarnapuṣpa-kutapakeśatakraṇiṣakṣitiḥ (Bāl. ṛiṣairakān, Apar. and Vir. ṛkṣitiḥ).

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

a man born to a divine fortune. Here as well, the preference for a short fifth syllable seems to underlie the fact that only asteya- and mādhurya-
make a compound in the text of the Mitākṣarā. The compound dhāraṇa-
ājīvite ‘maintaining and living’ in Yājñ. 3.174 (Mit.) ahaṃkārah smṛtir medhā
dveṣo buddhiḥ sukhaṁ dṛṣṭih/ indriyāntarasamcāra icchā dhāraṇaajīvite also
seems to be a Dvandva formed in order to avoid a pāda with a long fifth
syllable like *dhāraṇam jīvitaṃ."

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

apātīnyonyatāyāgī occurs in Yājñ. 2.237 pitṛputrasvasyaḥ dhāraṇājīvita-
ācāryaśisyakāh/ esām apātīnyonyatāyāgī ca śātadaṇḍabhāk “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 [pañās],” which is an abridgement of KAŚ 3.20.18
pitāputrayor dampedyaḥ dhāraṇājīvitaḥ mātyāh mātyāh sasyāh śisyāh
vyāparasparam apātātām tyajataḥ ... “[The penalty for violence is imposed on]
one who abandons one’s partner, though he or she is not degraded, between
father and son, wife and husband, brother and sister, maternal uncle and sis-
ter’s son, or pupil and teacher.” The order of the words in the Kauṭilyāyīrtha-
sāstra was changed when the Yājñavalkyasmṛti packed them into a compound
(KAŚ parasparam apātātām tyajataḥ → Yājñ. apātī/anyonya-tāyāgī), prob-
ably with an intention to avoid metrical awkwardness of pāda c *esām any-
onyāpatita- with a long fifth syllable. Though Viṣṇu 5.113 anyonyāpatita-
āgī is also considered to be made from KAŚ parasparam apātātām tyajataḥ, it does
not side with the Yājñavalkyasmṛti in the order of these members, in a similar
way as is observed in Yājñ. 2.219a (Mit.) karapādatato bhange :: Viṣṇu 5.68

13 Bhagavadgītā 16.1-3 abhayam sattvasaṣamuddhir jñānayogyavyavasthitih/ dānam damaś
cā yajñaś ca svādhīnāya tapa ārjavam// ahimsāsātyam akrodhas tyāgah śāntir
apātīsam// dayā dhārelo alokuptvam mārdavaṃ hirācāpalam// te ṇah kṣamā dṛṣṭih
śaucaṃ adroho nātmānāta// bhavanti sampadaṃ daivām abhijātasya bhārata.

14 Though anivedita-viṣṇūtaḥ in Yājñ. 2.35cd aniveditavijnāto dāpyas tam 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 MānavaSS 3.1.25 naśtadbigatam
and described by Pāṇini in Asṭ 2.1.49. (See Wackernagel, AiGr II-1, p.172, §74c.β.)

15 This assumption might be wrong, for here the Kauṭilyāyīrthasastrā looks as if it para-
phrased the Yājñavalkyasmṛti into prose.
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karapādādantabhaṅge, in Manu and Yājñā. vāg-yata- :: Viṣṇu 61.16 yata-vāc-, and in Yājñā. 2.210a pataniyakṛte kṣepe :: Viṣṇu 5.29 pataniyakṣepe kṛte.

Yājñā. 2.267d śuska-bhinnasvarāḥ “those whose mouth and voice are [respectively] dry and changed [should be captured]” has a different order of members from that in KĀŚ 4.6.2 śuska-bhinnasvarāḥ-mukha-vārṇam “[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 Yājñā. 2.210a pataniyakṛte kṣepe “in the case of a [false] reproach made with a degrading crime” and Viṣṇu 5.29 parasya pataniyākṣepe kṛte “when a (false) accusation of a degrading crime is made to another.” Though I am not sure which the source of the other is, the reading of the Yājñavalkyasmṛti fits the meter, while that of the Viṣnuṣmrṛti is free from the ambiguity inherent in Yājñā. pataniyakṛte.

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 Manusmrṛti.

Compare, for example, Manu kṛcchātikṛcchrau with Yājñā. kṛcchātikṛcchra. 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 kṛcchātikṛcchrau kuruśita vipraśyotpādyā śonītam “When one spills the blood of a Brahmin, he should practice kṛcchra- and atikṛcchra-” and Yājñā. 3.292c kṛcchātikṛcchrao ’yrepa “kṛcchātikṛcchra-[should be practiced] in the case of bloodshed (of a Brahmin).” Since the Manusmrṛti gives no special definition of kṛcchātikṛcchrau, it must be a combination of (prājāpatya-)kṛcchra- and atikṛcchra-, each explained in Manu 11.211 tryahāṃ prātās tryaḥāṃ sāyāṃ tryaḥāṃ adyād ayaśicitā/ tryaḥāṃ param ca nāśniyāt prājāpatyaṃ caran dviyāḥ “A twice-born man who performs (the Krīkkhra 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 grasam asniyat tryahani trini purvavat/ tryaham copavased anyam
atikrcehram caran dvijah “A twice-born man who performs an Atikrikkhra
(penance), must take his food during three periods of three days in
the manner described above, (but) one mouthful only at each meal, and fast
during the last three days” (Bühler). Yājñ. krcrātikrcehr- is explicitly
laid down in Yājñ. 3.320ab krcrātikrcehr-payasā divasān ekavimsatim
“krcrātikrcehr- [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 anvavakīryatha bhājane sapavitrake/ sām no devyā payah kṣiptvā yavo ’sītī yauvaṁs tathā
“Having scattered barley to [the invited Brahmins], having put water in a
vessel equipped with pavitra with [the mantra] ‘śāṁ no devṛ abhiṣṭaya āpo
bhavantu pītaye sāṁ yār abhi s rawantu 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).
krcehrātikrcehr-, like krcehr- or atikrcehr-, lasts only twelve days in the
Śānavidhānabrahmana, the Baudhāyanadhrmaśutra, the Gautamadhrma-
sūtra and the Vāsiṣṭhadhrmasūtra. On the other hand, the source of the
dietary prescription in the Yājñāvalkyasmṛti is to be sought outside the Manu-
smṛti, probably in SVB 1.2.8, BDḥS 2.1.2.41, GĐḥS 26.20 and VdḥS 24.3,
where krcrātikrcehr- is an expiation to live only on water (ab-bhakṣa-).
krcehrātikrcehr- in the Drhamasūtras is singular, because it is a sev-
erer kind of krcehr- in its content, and means ‘the Krcehr which is above
other Krcehrs [in its severity]’, with the same semantic structure as MBh.
devatideva- ‘ein über alle Götter hervorragender Gott’ (pw).16 It does not
share the same meaning as in the Yājñāvalkyasmṛti though it has the same
singular ending.

It would naturally follow from these, that Yājñ. krcrātikrcehr- is a
compromise of the Dhrmasūtras and the Manusmrṭi.17 The masculine sin-

16 MBh. 8.24.45a, 12.278.23c, 13.17.143a, 14.93.50c, 15.38.1c.
17 The Viṣṇusmrṭi made a similar compromise in Viṣṇu 54.30cd krcrātikrcehr-kurṣita viprasyatpadya sonitam, by copying Manu 11.208cd and simply replacing
krcrātikrcehr with a singular form which had been used more widely.
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gular ending -aḥ, quite unusual for a Dvandva, might be a maneuver to cause the application of the Sandhi rule (-aḥ + a- → -o') and to push the words into a verse of eight syllables. But by mentioning the duration as twenty-one days, two nine-days' terms of prescribed diet concluded by one final fast of three days, the author might well have emphasized the oneness of this expiation, justifying his own choice of the singular form. And when the author gave the compromised description of this rite in Yājñ. 3.320ab, he has virtually mitigated it into a more practicable one, by changing the wording from ap-(bhakṣa-) ‘(living on) water’ to slightly ambiguous payas- ‘milk (or water)’.

b. In the following three cases, the Yājñavalkyasmrṭi takes over the wording of the Manusmrṭi, but also modifies it slightly.

Manu svavrṇasteyakṛd vipro :: Yājñ. brāhmaṇasvarṇahāri. Manu 11.99-100 svavrṇasteyakṛd vipro rājānam abhiyamya tu/ svakarma khyāpayan brāyan mām bhavān anuśāstu iti// gṛhyāva musalam rājā sakṛd dhanyat tu tām svayam/ vadhena śudhati steno brāhmaṇas tapasaiva tu “A Brāhmaṇa who has stolen the gold (of a Brāhmaṇa) shall go to the king and, confessing his deed, say, ‘Lord, punish me!’ Taking (from him) the club (which he must carry), the king himself shall strike him once, by his death the thief becomes pure; or a Brāhmaṇa (may purify himself) by austerities” (Bühler) and Yājñ. 3.257ab brāhmaṇasvarṇahāri tu rājine musalam arpayet/ svakarma vyākhyyāyams 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 Manusmrṭi is changed into a victim of the theft in the Yājñavalkyasmrṭi, unless we read *brāhmaṇas svarṇahāri for brāhmaṇasvarṇahāri as discussed above s.v. dṛṣṭih śrotrajñatā. The Yājñavalkyasmrṭi amalgamates Manu 11.99–100 with Manu 8.316ab sāsanād vā vimoksād vā stenalḥ 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.

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19 svarna- comes from su-varna- by syncope. Another example of syncope is Yājñ. 3.300b parṣadaḥ for pariṣadaḥ (AiGr I, p.60 §53c “Hypersanskritismus”).
Manu dāsī ghaṭam :: Yājñ. dāsikumbham. Manu 11.183ab dāsī ghaṭam apāṇī 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 dāsikumbham bahir grāmān ninayeran svabāndhavaḥ “His own relatives should pour down the jar of a slave girl outside the village.” By putting dāsī and kumbha- together, the Yājñavalīkṣaṁśtri 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 Yājñavalīkṣaṁśtri presumably intended to reconcile the Manusmṛti with, or revert to, an older stage of regulation, which is shown in GṛHŚ 3.2.4 dāsāḥ karmakaro vāvakarād amedhyapātram āniyā dāsīghaṭat pūravītvā daksīnāmukho yadda viparyasyed amukam anudakaṃ karomiti nāmāgrāhām “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.’”

vartāśrāmetarāṇāṃ (Mit.) in Yājñ. 1.1cd vartāśrāmetarāṇāṃ no brūhi dharmān aśeṣataḥ “Tell us completely the duties of the castes, the periods of life, and other [phases of life]”21 reflects an effort to be more strict about the range of dharma than Manu 1.2 bhagavan sarvāvarṛṇānāṃ yathāvad anupūrvaśah/ antaraprabhavānāṃ 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 Yājñavalīkṣaṁśtri 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 Yājñavalīkṣaṁśtri enlarges compounds of the foregoing literature, probably in order to eliminate ambiguity inherent in them.

sahodha- :: Yājñ. sahodha-ja- in Yājñ. 2.131d garbhe vinnaḥ sahodhajaḥ

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20 Bāl. dāsīghaṭam apāṇī pūrṇam.
21 Although itara- usually means ‘other than, different from’ when used as the last member of a compound, a Dyandva of the same makeup is also attested in ŚvetU 1.1 kim kāraṇaḥ brahma kutah jāta jīvamaḥ kena kva ca sampratiṣṭhāḥ/ adhiṣṭhitāḥ kena sukhetareṣu vartamahe brahmavido 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.”
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‘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, KAŚ 3.7.11, Manu 9.173 and Viṣṇu 15.16 agree with that of sahodha-ja-, these two words must refer to the same kind of son. ja- of sahodha-ja- should therefore be translated not as ‘born from’, but as ‘born as’, which is an explanatory pleonasm. By attaching the redundant syllable ja-, the Yājñavalkyasmṛti probably intends to distinguish this word clearly from its homonym sahodha- ‘[a thief] having stolen goods’ which appears in VDhS 19.39, Nārada 14.17a, 19.13c and Manu 9.270c.

sahāsana- :: sahaikāsana- (Mit.) in Yājñ. 2.284cd (Mit.) adesakālasam-bhāsaṁ 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 Mitākṣarā) seems to suggest by eka- intimacy between the man and the woman in question, and thereby to emphasize immorality of the action; for the word sahāsana- is used in different context as well, e.g. in Manu 8.281a (sitting with a man of a higher caste), Manu 11.184b (sitting with a degraded man) and MBh 3.1.27 (sitting with a wicked man), and even if the context is on adultery, it includes innocent cases, e.g. BDhS 1.2.3.34.

3. Position of the Yājñavalkyasmṛti in linguistic history

a. cvi-formation

When kṛta- in the last position means “that which was made X”, X is always expressed by the cvi-formation in the Yājñavalkyasmṛti: Yājñ. 2.182a balād dāsikṛtaḥ “one who was made a slave by force,” Yājñ. 2.301d tad evaṣṭagunikṛtam “it (the penalty) is made eight times as much,” Yājñ. 2.307d trimesadgunikṛtam “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 ātmabhūtauḥ...paricārakaiḥ “a servant as faith-

22 Bāl. sahāvastānām, Apar. and Vīr. sahaikastānām.
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 kṣetraḥbhūtā “like a field,” b bījabhūtāḥ “like seeds,” Manu 10.91c kṛmibhūtāḥ “who has become a worm.” The function of bhūta- seems to be comparison or approximation in all cases except the last, where the original meaning of bhavī/bhū ‘to become’ might still be alive, with the first member kṛmi- functioning as its complement. Since it is the class beginning with śreṇi- that can be compounded with bhūta- to form Karmadhārayas according to Pāṇini, Aṣṭ. 2.1.59 śrenyādayaḥ kṣṭādibhiḥ, *kṛmibhūta-, a cvi-formation, would rather be expected.24

The Yājñavalkyasmrī uses bhūta- as the last member four times together with cvi-forms: Yājñ. 2.17c pūrvapāke ‘dharbhūte “when the statement of plaintiff is turned down”, 2.64a dvigunibhūtam “which has become twice”, 2.100c pratiṁnaśamibhūto “who has become the same in weight”, 3.218a niśkalamāśibhūtāḥ “who has become sinless”. And when such a compound is split up by a pāda border three times, the first pāda ends in a bare -a-stem, apparently because a cvi-form is too closely connected with bhūta-to admit a pause in between: Yājñ. 3.75ab saṃkleda- bhūtāḥ “which has become moisture” Yājñ. 3.186ed bīja- bhūtāḥ “who have become seeds” Yājñ. 3.248ab laksya- bhūtāḥ25 “who has become a target”. Pāda borders are not crossed by a word in the Yājñavalkyasmrī except the one between 1.79c and d: brahma-cārya eva parvāṇy ṛādyās cātaśras 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-sarpaśā and madhu-sarpīrḥyām.

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

24 The Manusmrī has very few cvi-forms: 3.97c according to Kullūka bhasmibhūtesu; 4.188d bhasmībhavati.
25 Bāl. lakṣabhūtāḥ. 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 bhasmibhūtesu for Manu 3.97c bhasmabhūtesu as well.
26 Wackernagel, AiGr II-1, p.195 §83b and Debrunner’s Nachträge, p.58. Cf. Pāli
use of vacam with yam or the compound vacanyamá- in the Brähmaṇas, it seems to have struck even the old writers as strange, for MaiUp 6.9 and Viṣṇu 61.16 uses yata-vac-, a Bahuvrīhi in the regular order.27

karma-duṣṭah in Yajñ. 1.224cd parapūrvvāpatih stenaḥ karmaduṣṭāś ca ninditāḥ28 “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-duṣṭā, 3.156d vāg-duṣṭāh, 8.345a vāg-duṣṭāt.

vṛddha-sevitaḥ (Bāl.) in Yajñ. 1.309ab (Bāl.) mahotsāhāḥ sthūtalakṣāḥ krtajño vṛddhasvitaḥ29 “Of great spirit, ambitious, grateful, attentive to the seniors” (Tokunaga 1993, p.5). sevita-, a verbal adjective in -ta- with an active meaning, governs vṛddha- as its object, as is obvious from the established teaching of devotion to the elders, and from the use of the same compound in MBh 1.45.14 and 3.261.3.30

lakṣaṇa-bhraṣṭāḥ in Yajñ. 3.217cd jāyante lakṣaṇabhraṣṭā daridrāḥ pruṣādhamāḥ “They are born as the meanest of men, poor and with any auspicious marks fallen.” Since the verb bhraṣ/ bhramś is used with the ablative, as in TS 1.6.11.1 prāṭi yajjēṇa tiṣṭhati ná yajjād bhramśate, 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. duṣṭalakṣaṇah and Apar. bhraṣṭasubhalakṣaṇah paraphrase this compound as an inverted Bahuvrīhi, which is described by Pāṇini in Aṣṭ. 2.2.37.

dhātu-vimūrcchitaḥ in Yajñ. 3.75ab prathame māsi saṃkledabhūto dhātu-vimūrcchitaḥ31 “In the first month [after conception, the atman] 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 Karnadhāraya compound (Aṣṭ. 2.1.57).

kūṭacihna-krtaḥ (Bāl.) in Yajñ. 2.212cd (Bāl.) draṣṭavyo vyavahāras tu

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

kāla-kṛtaḥ in Yājñ. 2.58c kāle kālakṛto naśyet "[A pawn] — will be forfeited at [the expiration of the] term." The Mitākṣarā understands this as a 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 kṛṇ ‘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 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 kāγ/kr and its derivatives like kṛta- are often used in combination with action nouns in Bhāravi’s Kiratārjuniya. The Yājñāvalkyasṃritis 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 nindātādaṇe kuryāt, 1.329c balāṇaṃ darśanaṃ kṛtvā, 2.204c kṣepeṇaṃ karoti ced, 3.8b-c sāramārgaṇaṃ karoti yaḥ, 3.56a kṛtveṣṭim. This root is also used as a substitute for other verbs, e.g. Yājñ. 1.147c kṛte 'ntare (cf. Manu 4.126c antarāgamane), 1.287a kṛtakṛtāms taṇḍulān and 2.164d kṛtvetanaḥ.

4. Different readings

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

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

32 Mit. kūtacihnaktō. Meyer’s translation ‘[die (Gerichtssache)] eines solchen, der aus Furcht (vor Entdeckung und Strafe) falsche Zeichen angebracht hat’ (Meyer 1927, p.135), which takes this reading as a genitive of -kṛt-, does not apply to the unequivocal ablative of Bāl. -kṛtād.

33 Renou (1959), p.39 with note 167: “Avec la racine kṛ- le nom d’action est presque seul en usage, l’abstrait proprement dit est rare. ... Avec les noms verbaux, notamment avec kṛta”
similar attitude of the Mitākṣarā. Finding in this stanza an influence of Manu 1.2 bhagavan sarvarvarṇānāṃ yathāvad anupūrvaśāh/ antaraprabhavānām ca dharmān no vaktum arhasi, the Bālakṛṣiḍā 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 Bālakṛṣiḍā, it gives a different inflection -i/ītarāṇāṁ, seeking its authority from Aṣṭ. 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. varṇāśrametaresāṃ, 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-sevakāḥ for Bāl. vrddha-sevitāḥ in Yājñ. 1.309b. The word vrddha-sevakāḥ, 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.

kūṭaciḥna-kṛtaḥ (Mit.) :: kūṭaciḥna-kṛtād (Bāl., Apar.) in Yājñ. 2.212d. Judging from its paraphrase kūṭaciḥnakāriṣṭapuruṣabhayāḥ ‘for fear of a wicked person making a false sign,’ the Bālakṛṣiḍā understands kṛta- as actively governing kūṭa-ciḥna-. In the reading of Mit. kūṭaciḥna-kṛtaḥ ‘[for fear] of one who makes a false sign’, kṛt-, a root noun with the augment t, is used for kṛta-, probably in order to exclude the possibility that it is understood in passive meaning like in vrddhasevita- :: vrddhasevaka-.

34 Bāl. varṇā brāhmaṇādaḥ/ āśramā brahmačāryādaḥ/ varṇetārā antaraprabhavā anulomādaḥ/ āśrametārāḥ pāṇḍādaḥ/ teṣāṁ varṇāśrametaresām/ .../ anyāḥ pāṭah—‘varṇānāṁ sāśramānāṁ’ iti.

35 Mit. ‘itara-śabdasya ‘dvandve ca’ iti sarvanāmasamajña-pratiṣedhaḥ. The Bālakṛṣiḍā might have been conscious of this sūtra when it offered an optional reading varṇānāṁ sāśramānāṁ.

36 kūṭaciḥnakṛtād tē.

37 The commentary part of the Mitākṣarā, however, seems to explain not kūṭaciḥna-kṛt- but kūṭaciḥna-kṛta-, and that differently from the Bālakṛṣiḍā: kūṭaciḥnakṛtaṃ sambhavānāḥ bhayāt ‘for the fear, which feeling is caused by a false sign’. The difficulty with this interpretation is the redundancy of kṛta-, for kūṭaciḥnād bhayāt or kūṭaciḥna-bhayāt would be enough for this meaning.
b. Some readings of the Bālakṛiḍā, which the Mitākṣarā does not follow, are grounded on the Mahābhārata, just as the above-mentioned form, Bāl. 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 sahasrakaḥ (Mit., Apar.) :: sahasrasaḥ (Bāl.) in Yājñ. 3.119 (Mit.) mohajālam apāsyeha puruṣo drśyate hi yaḥ/ sahasrakaraṇaṇetraḥ sūryavarcaḥ 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 sahāsṛabāhuḥ and to VS 31.18b adityāvāṛṇam.\(^38\) Though ka- ‘head’ as a single word sounds like lexicographer’s invention, it is not necessarily to be rejected here as such, for kaṇṭhaḍarā is used in Yājñ. 2.220c, which might be a compound having this word as the first member (kaṃ-ḍharā ‘holding the head → neck’), or from which this word might have been abstracted through such interpretation. While the reading of the Mitākṣarā is in accordance with the ambitious attitude of the Yājñavalīśmrī 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 Bālakṛiḍā has sometimes a philosophical rather than a practical bent. For example, the Mitākṣarā 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 ḍṛtiḥ 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.

\(^{40}\) icchāya yad adhāraṇaṃ sarīrasya tatparityāgaḥ tad icchādhāraṇam.
of course, that the reading of the Bālakrīḍā is more interpolated than that of the Mitākṣarā: In Yājñ. 3.154ab (Bāl.) jñē 'jñē ca 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 Bālakrīḍā 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 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 pākhaṇḍyanāśritāḥ (Mit.) in Yājñ. 3.6 (Mit.) a pākhaṇḍyanāśritāḥ b stenā c bhartrgyinyāḥ d kāmāgādikāḥ42/e surāpya f ātyātyāgniyo43 nāsaucodakabhāyanāḥ “—, 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 nivartetopadoacakriyā/a pāṣaṇḍam āśritānāṃ ca d carantinaḥ ca kāmataḥ/ garbhābhartṛdruḥam caiva e surāpiṇām ca yositām. The expressions carantinaḥ ‘[women] who through lust live (with many men),’ garbhahartṛdruḥam ‘[women] who have caused an abortion, have killed their husbands,’ surāpiṇām ca yositām ‘to women ... [who] drink spirituous liquor (Bühler)’ in Manu 5.90 support the interpretation to take pāṣaṇḍam āśritānām also as women: “[to women] who have joined a heretical sect” (Bühler). The Yājñavalkyaśmṛti has three different readings according to the three commentators: Mit. pākhaṇḍyanāśritāḥ, Bāl. pāṣaṇḍam āśritāḥ and Apar. pāṣaṇḍan āśritāḥ. The Bālakrīḍā follows the Manusmṛti not only in its reading but also in commenting b kāmagās tathā as tathāsabdah smṛtyantaroktavṛtthasankaravajātyārthah “The word tathā means ‘those born in vain or from mixture [of castes] etc.’ mentioned in another law book (i.e. Manu 5.89)”44 The reading of the Mitākṣarā

41 I thank Professor Kyō Kanō for the reference.
42 Bāl. kāmagās tathā.
43 Apar. atmagnātīnyo. The reading of the Mitākṣarā and the Bālakrīḍā seems to be taken from Manu ātmanas tyāginām, whereas that of the Aparārka goes with ātmagnātīm- m. in Yājñ. 3.21b avavakṣām cātmagnātīnām.
44 Agreement with the Manusmṛti is not particular to the Bālakrīḍā. Take for example vratalopah..., vratalopanam (Mit., Apar.) :: vratalopaḥ...,brahmalo paranam (Bāl.) in Yājñ. 3.236c–238d nāṣṭikyaṁ vratalopaḥ ca ... kauṣṭikyaṁ vratalopanam or brahmalo paranam “..., 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 Bālakṛṣṇa in its interpretation, its reading paśanḍānāśrītāḥ can also be divided as paśanḍa-ā/naśrītāḥ, i.e. a Dvandva like Mit. pākhaṇḍya-anāśrītāḥ. The reading of the Aparārka is compatible with both the Mitākṣarā and the Bālakṛṣṇa in this case.

5. Conclusion

The tendency of the Yājñavalkyasṛti 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 kṛcchrāti kṛcchrāh compared to the dual form kṛcchrāti kṛcchrāv in the Manusṛti, 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 Bālakṛṣṇa, 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 Ṽup/loṣ: humpāti ‘break’ respectively with suffixes -a- (‘ghaṇī’) 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. brahmałówāpanam ‘violation of abstinence’ saves the senselessness of repeating the same offense vratalopana- and vratalopanam- in Mit., but it is not grounded on the foregoing literature. Mit. vratalopanam agrees with Manu 11.61b vratalopanam.
### NOMINAL COMPOUNDS IN THE YĀJṆAVALKYASMṛTI


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