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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 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 Yajñavalkyasmṛti makes an ample, sometimes even extravagant use of compounds: To view it from the opposite side, we might be able to trace the process of editing by analyzing the compounds. The following study is aimed at explaining why some anomalous or highly artificial compounds were used in the Yajñavalkyasmṛti, attempting thereby to trace the procedure in which the author condensed foregoing literature.

In this paper, I assume the Manusmṛti and the Kauṭiliyaarthaśāstra as the primary source of the Yajñavalkyasmṛti, and do not treat the Vīṣṇu-smṛti 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 Yājñavalkyasūtrī

a. The style of the Yājñavalkyasūtrī shows an elaborate condensation of the foregoing literature. To take an example, KAŚ 3.16.30–31 yat svam dravyam anyair bhujyamānaṁ daśa varṣāṇy upekṣeta, hiyatāsyā .../ viṁśati-varṣopekṣitam 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.” (Shamasastry) is condensed into one sloka, Yājñ. 2.24 paśyato 'bhrvato bhūmer hānir viṁśati-vārṣikī/pareṇa bhujyamāna-yā dhanasya daśavārṣikī “[If] one, seeing [his own] land deforced by another, does not claim it, [the land right is] annihilated in twenty years. If it is a movable property, [annihilation takes place] in ten years.” by means of a nominal sentence with a Dvigu compound viṁśati-vārṣikī ‘vicennial’ and daśa-vārṣikī ‘decennial’.

More often, the Yājñavalkyasūtrī simply intends to reduce the number of the syllables by forming or reforming compounds: Yājñ. 2.95 uses the trisyllabic Dvandva compound agny-āpaḥ for fire and water, which are mentioned as means of an ordeal, instead of longer expressions in Manu 8.114ab aṅgīm ... apsu, KAŚ 7.17.7 aṅgy-udaka-, Viṣṇu 9.11 dhaṭāṅgy-udaka-, 9.25–29 aṅgh ... udakam or Nārada 1.218d aṅgy-ambu- which would become quadrisyllabic -ambūṁ in plural.

In some cases, however, condensation goes so far that the meaning of the ensuing compound is hardly intelligible or the composition is grammatically questionable:

prati-prañava-sañnyuktam in Yājñ. 1.23 gāyatrīṁ śirasā sārdham japed vṛyāṛtipürvikām/ pratiprañavasaṁnyuktāṁ trir ayaṁ prañasaṁyamah “[A student] should mutter the Gāyatrī stanza three times together with Śiras, preceded by vṛyāṛṭi [and] accompanied by prañava for each: this is the control of breath” contains prati in the sense ‘for each’, but prati just means ‘per’ and is usually followed by its object when it has a distributive meaning, as in Yājñ. praty-aham ‘everyday’, prati-samvatsaram ‘every year’, prati-vedam ‘for each Veda’, prati-māsam ‘every month’, prati-daivatam ‘for each deity’, prati-ekam ‘one by one’ and prati-vāsaram ‘each day’.

śaṅkty-alaṁkṛtā in Yājñ. 1.58ab brāhmaṇa vīvāha āhūya diyate śaṅktyalaṁkṛtā

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2 Cf. Aṣṭ. 5.1.79 for the function of the suffix -ika- (‘than’).
"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 śaktiviṣayenaṁkaṁtya ‘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 śaktyādhihe 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.\(^3\)

naśtonmrşte occurs in Yājñ. 2.91ab desāntarasthe durlekhye naśtonmrşte hrte tathā/ bhinne doghe ‘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 unmrşta- 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 chinnabhinnahrtonmrştanāṣṭadurlekhīteṣu ca/ kartavyam anyal lekhyam syad eṣa lekhyavidhiḥ smṛtaḥ has a Dvandva compound of six verbal adjectives and takes a plural ending, but it does not seem to show any special link between these two adjectives unmrşta- 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 unmrşte, which first became naṣṭa unmrşte by a Sandhi rule, which in turn was fed into another Sandhi cycle and ended up as naśtonmrşte. Explanation by double Sandhi is also possible in the case of Yājñ. 3.284a kriyāmanopakare tu mṛte vipre na pātakam ‘even if a Brahmin dies while (medical) care is being done, it is not a degrading sin’, which sounds more natural if kriyāmāne ‘being done’ and upakāre ‘(medical) care’ are separate.\(^4\)

Yājñ. 3.202–203ab \(^b\)antardhānaṁ \(^j\)smṛtiḥ \(^g\)kāntir \(^d\)drṣṭiḥ “śrotraḥ” \(^d\)jñātā tathā/ “nijaṁ sarīram utsrjya parakāyapraveśanam// arthānāṁ chandataḥ sṛṣṭir yogasiddher hi laksanāṁ “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 *śaktyālāṁkṛtā, which was then changed into śaktyālāṁkṛtā to make the fifth syllable short as is preferred metrically.

\(^4\) Another example of irregular Sandhi in the Yājñavalkyasmrṭi is the absense of the crasis -a r → -ar- in 1.300c udbadhyasveti ca rcco. 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 aśvesa b cetaso jñānam c arthānāṁ chandataḥ kriyā/dṛṣṭiḥ ē śrotānāṁ ṣmṛtih g kāntir h iṣṭataś cāpyadarsānam.5 Yājñ. śrotā-jñatā might have originally meant the same powers as śrotām ‘hearing’ and cetaso jñānam ‘mind reading’ in the Carakasamhitā.6

uditoditam occurs as one of the requisites of a family priest in Yājñ. 1.313 purohitāṁ prakurvita7 daivajñam uditoditam/daṇḍanītyāṁ ca kuśalam atharvāṅgirase tathā “[A king] should appoint to family priest one who reads fortune, is —, is skilled in politics and the Atharvaveda,” which is an abridgment of KAŚ 1.9.9 purohitam uditoditakulāsīlam sāṅge vede daive nimitte daṇḍanītyāṁ cābhivinītam āpādāṁ daivamānuśīnām atharvāṅhīr upāyais ca pratikartāram kurvita. It appears to me too bold as an abridgement, if uditoditam is simply a curtailed form of uditoditakulaśīlam. Since udita- can be derived both from ud-ay/i ‘go up, go out’ and from vad ‘say’ with -ta-, the meaning of uditoditam cannot be decided easily, as well as KAŚ uditoditakulaśīlam.8

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

5 I owe the reference to Dr. Kimiaki Shōshin.
6 In view of Brhādyogiyājñavalkyasūtra 9.195d dṛṣṭiḥ śrotājñatā parā (reference given by Dr. Akihiko Akamatsu). dṛṣṭiḥ śrotā- in the Yājñavalkyasūtra might originate from an incorrect Sandhī dissolution of manuscripts in scriptio continua, which would have read dṛṣṭiḥ śrotā- for both dṛṣṭiḥ(ś) śrotā- and dṛṣṭi-śrotā-. For further examples of similar questions on dissolution, see Yājñ. 3.257a brahmaṇasvarṇahārī and Yājñ. 3.277b (Mit.) daśataṣṭoṣṭapādivāyasaiḥ. Shoshin (p.c.) proposes to emend śrotājñatā into śrotā- jñatā.
7 Bāl., Apar. and Vīr. 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 da-
hipayaādāṇī rules out a singular form of this particular compound, referring
to a gaṇa that includes madhusarpisī (Ganapāṭha 113.3 in Böhtlingk’s edi-
tion).

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

Instead of -danta- in KAŚ 3.19.13 ... pānipādādantabhāṅge karṇānāśā-
chedane ... and Viṣṇu 5.68 karapādādantabhāṅge karṇānāśāvikartane ...
(both texts are composed in prose), Yājñ. 2.219ab (Mit.) karapādādāto
bharige chedane karṇānāśayoh. When a hand, a foot or a tooth is broken,
when an ear or a nose is cut off” gives karapādādatah, the genitive singular of
kara-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 Mitākṣara is asteya-mādhur-
rye ‘abstention from stealing and mild disposition’. All of the ten yamas
enumerated in Yājñ. 3.312 (Mit.) brahma-caryam dayā kṣantīr dānam satyam
akalkatā/ ahiṃsāsteyamādhurye damaś cetī yamāḥ smṛtāḥ11 are traceable to
the foregoing literature according to Kane.12 However, adroha- ‘abstention
from doing harm’, which the Bālakṛṣṇa reads in the place of Mit. mādhurya-
, is also grounded on Bhagavadgītā 16.1–3, a list of qualities belonging to

9 Bāl. and Apar. read karapādādantabhāṅge. Mit. paraphrases karṇānāśayoh also by
the singular form karṇānāśaya.

10 Though Aṣṭ. 2.4.2 dvandvāṣ ca prāṇitīryasenaṁgānam describes that a singular neuter
Dvandva is formed from the parts of a body, combination of ‘the limbs’ and ‘the
teeth’ sounds artificial compared with examples like śīro-grīvāṁ ‘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.) mṛccarnapuṣpa-
kutapakesaṭatakraṇaṁkṣitiḥ (Bāl. ṛṣasairakān, Apar. and Vir. ṛṣasitih).

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

and brahma-carya- are traced back to Yogasūtra 2.30, akalkata to Yuktidipikā p. 112,
dama-, dāna- and dayā to BĀU 5.2.3. The remaining two, kṣaṇī- 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.

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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{dhāraṇajīvita} ‘maintaining and living’ in Yājñ. 3.174 (Mit.) \textit{ahaṃkāraḥ śmṛtir medhā dveṣo buddhiḥ sukham dhṛtiḥ/ indriyāntarasamcāra icchā dhāraṇajīvita} also seems to be a Dvandva formed in order to avoid a pāda with a long fifth syllable like *\textit{dhāraṇaṁ jīvitaṁ}.\textsuperscript{14}

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

\textit{apātānyonyatayāgī} occurs in Yājñ. 2.237 \textit{pitṛputrasvaṁbhrāṭrydampaty-\textit{ācāryasasyakāḥ/ eśām apātānyonyatayāgī ca śatadanābhāk “Moreover, father and son, sister and brother, wife and husband, teacher and pupil — one who, among them, abandons his undegraded partner is charged with a penalty of one hundred [paṇas],” which is an abridgement\textsuperscript{15} of KAŚ 3.20.18 \textit{pitṛputrayor dāmpatyor bhrātrabhaginyor mātulabhagineyayōḥ śisyācāryayor vā parasparam apatītām tyajātaḥ ... “[The penalty for violence is imposed on] one who abandons one’s partner, though he or she is not degraded, between father and son, wife and husband, brother and sister, maternal uncle and sister’s son, or pupil and teacher.” The order of the words in the \textit{Kauṭilyāyitha-śāstra} was changed when the \textit{Yājñāvalkyasmṛti} packed them into a compound (KAŚ \textit{parasparam apatītām tyajātaḥ} → Yājñ. \textit{apatīt/a-nyonya-tyāgī}), probably with an intention to avoid metrical awkwardness of pāda c *\textit{eśām anyonyapatītā-} with a long fifth syllable. Though Viṣṇu 5.113 \textit{anyonyapatītatayāgī} is also considered to be made from KAŚ \textit{parasparam apatītām tyajātaḥ}, it does not side with the \textit{Yājñāvalkyasmṛti} in the order of these members, in a similar way as is observed in Yājñ. 2.219a (Mit.) \textit{karapādadato bhangē :: Viṣṇu 5.68}}

\textsuperscript{13} Bhagavadgītā 16.1-3 \textit{abhayaṁ sattvasamśuddhir jñānayogavayavasthitih/ dānam damaś ca yājñas ca svādhīyāya tāpa ārjavam// ahimsāsatyam akrodhas tyāgah śaṁtir apaśunam/ dayā bhūteṣo aloloktyam mārdavaṁ hṛir acāpalam// tejaḥ kṣamā dhṛitiḥ saucam adroho nātmāntaḥ/ bhavanti sampadāṁ daivīṁ abhyājātasya bhārata.}

\textsuperscript{14} Though anivedita-viśnātah in Yājñ. 2.35cd aniveditavijnāto dāpyaṁ tāṁ dāndam 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 MānavaŚŚ 3.1.25 \textit{naśṭādhigatam} and described by Pāṇini in \textit{Aṣṭ}. 2.1.49. (See Wackernagel, \textit{AīGr} II-1, p.172, §74c.3.)

\textsuperscript{15} This assumption might be wrong, for here the \textit{Kauṭilyāyitha-śāstra} looks as if it paraphrased the \textit{Yājñāvalkyasmṛti} into prose.
nominal compounds in the Yājñavalkyasmrṭi

karapādantabhaṅge, in Manu and Yājñ. vṛg-yata- :: Viṣṇu 61.16 yata-vāc-, and in Yājñ. 2.210a pataniyakṛte kṣepe :: Viṣṇu 5.29 pataniyakṣepe kṛte.

Yājñ. 2.267d śuṣka-bhinna-mukha-svarāḥ “those whose mouth and voice are [respectively] dry and changed [should be captured]” has a different order of members from that in KĀŚ 4.6.2 śuṣka-bhinna-svara-mukha-varṇam “[one who] has his voice and complexion of the face dry and changed” (Kangle), evidently to make the sixth syllable long.

The order of kṛte and (ā)kṣepe is different between Yājñ. 2.210a pataniyakṛte kṣepe “in the case of a [false] reproach made with a degrading crime” and Viṣṇu 5.29 parasya pataniyakṣepe kṛte “when a (false) accusation of a degrading crime is made to another.” Though I am not sure which the source of the other is, the reading of the Yājñavalkyasmrṭi fits the meter, while that of the Viṣṇusmrṭi is free from the ambiguity inherent in Yājñ. pataniyakṛte.

2. Position of the Yājñavalkyasmrṭi in philological history

a. Tracing the nominal compounds in the Yājñavalkyasmrṭi to the foregoing literature reveals that it was not composed simply on the principle of summarizing foregoing literature faithfully. Among those compounds in the Yājñavalkyasmrṭi which look unshapely at first sight, some reflect an enterprising policy to cover the preceding literature as extensively as possible, and at the same time to develop a more advanced legal system. Especially, the special heed of the author to the Dharmasūtras must have made him conscious of the discrepancies between them and the Manusmrṭi.

Compare, for example, Manu kṛcchrātikṛcchrau with Yājñ. kṛcchrātikṛcchraḥ. These two names of expiatory rites have different endings (masculine dual and masculine singular), though they are provided for the same sin according to Manu 11.208cd kṛcchrātikṛcchrau kurvita viprasyotpādyā śonitam “When one spills the blood of a Brahmin, he should practice kṛcchra- and atikṛcchra-” and Yājñ. 3.292c kṛcchrātikṛcchro ’sykpāte “kṛcchātikṛcchra- [should be practiced] in the case of bloodshed (of a Brahmin).” Since the Manusmrṭi gives no special definition of kṛcchrātikṛcchrau, it must be a combination of (prājāpatya-)kṛcchra- and atikṛcchra-, each explained in Manu 11.211 tryahāṃ prātās tryahāṃ sāyaṃ tryahāṃ adyād adyācitam/ tryahāṃ paraṁ ca nāśniyāt prājāpatyaṃ caran dvijāḥ “A twice-born man who performs (the Krikkhra penance), revealed by Pragāpati, shall eat during three days in the morning (only), during the next three days in the evening (only), during the following three days (food given) unmasked, and shall
fast during another period of three days” (Bühler) and in Manu 11.213 ekaikam grasam aṣṇīyat tryahāṇi trīṇi pūrvavat/ tryahāṇ copavased antyam atikṛcchraṁ caran dvijaḥ “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). Yājñī. kṛcchṛitikṛcchra- is explicitly laid down in Yājñī. 3.320ab kṛcchṛitikṛcchraḥ payasā divasān ekavīṃśatim “kṛcchṛitikṛcchra- [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 avakīryātha bhājane sapavitrake/ śaṁ no devyā payaḥ kṣiptvā yavo ’sītī yavaṁs tathā “Having scattered barley to [the invited Brahmins], having put water in a vessel equipped with pavitra with [the mantra] ‘śaṁ no devyār abhīṣṭaya ṣāpo bhavantu pitaṁ śāṁ yor abhi śravantu nāḥ’ (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 performed not twice but only once at the end of the period (9+9+3=21). kṛcchṛitikṛcchra-, like kṛcchra- or atikṛcchra-, lasts only twelve days in the Śānavidhānabrāhmaṇa, the Baudhāyanadharmasūtra, the Gautamadharmasūtra and the Viśādhadharmasūtra. On the other hand, the source of the dietary prescription in the Yājñāvalyāsmṛti is to be sought outside the Manusmṛti, probably in SVB 1.2.8, BDhS 2.1.2.41, GDhS 26.20 and VaDhS 24.3, where kṛcchṛitikṛcchra- is an expiation to live only on water (ab-bhakṣa-). kṛcchṛitikṛcchra- in the Dharmasūtras is singular, because it is a severer kind of kṛcchra- in its content, and means ‘the Kṛcchra which is above other Kṛchras [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 Yājñāvalyāsmṛti though it has the same singular ending.

It would naturally follow from these, that Yājñī. kṛcchṛitikṛcchra- 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 kṛcchṛitikṛcchraṁ kurvita viprasyaotpādyā  ṣonitam, by copying Manu 11.208cd and simply replacing kṛcchṛitikṛcchru with a singular form which had been used more widely.
gular ending -<ah>, quite unusual for a Dvandva, might be a maneuver to cause the application of the Sandhi rule (-<ah> + a- → -ő) and to push the words into a verse of eight syllables. But by mentioning the duration as twenty-one days, two nine-days' terms of prescribed diet concluded by one final fast of three days, the author might well have emphasized the oneness of this expiation, justifying his own choice of the singular form. And when the author gave the compromised description of this rite in Yājñ. 3.320ab, he has virtually mitigated it into a more practicable one, by changing the wording from ap-(bhakṣa-) 'living on) water' to slightly ambiguous payas- 'milk (or water)'.

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

Manu svarnaṃsteyagyāṛd vipro :: Yājñ. brahmaṇasvarṇahāri.19 Manu 11.99-100 svarnaṃsteyagyāṛd vipro rājānam abhigamyā tu/ svakarma khyāpayan brajaṇ mām bhavān anuśāstu iti// gṛhitvā musalāṃ rāja sakṛd dhanyāt tu tāṃ svayam/ vadhena śudhyāti steno brahmaṇas tapasāiv 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 brahmaṇasvarṇahāri tu rājñē musalam aprayet/ svakarma vyākhyaṁs tena hato mukto 'pi vā śuciḥ “And a stealer of a Brahmīn’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 Brahmīn’s status as a thief in the Manusmr̥ti is changed into a victim of the theft in the Yājñavalkyasmṛti, unless we read xbrahmaṇas svarnaḥāri for brahmaṇasvarṇahāri as discussed above s.v. ḍṛṣṭih śrotrañjātā. The Yājñavalkyasmṛti amalgamates Manu 11.99–100 with Manu 8.316ab sāsanād vā vimoksād vā stenāḥ steyād vimucyate “Whether he be punished or pardoned, the thief is freed from the (guilt of) theft” (Bühler) and modified them into a rule for gold-robbers in general, probably in order to avoid imposing a capital penalty just on a Brahmin.

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19 svarṇa- comes from su-varṇa- by syncope. Another example of syncope is Yājñ. 3.300b pārṣadaḥ for pārīṣadaḥ (AiGr I, p.60 §53c “Hypersanskritismus”).
Manu dāśī ghaṭam :: Yājñ. dāśikumbham. Manu 11.183ab dāśī ghaṭam apāṃ pūrṇaṃ paryasyet pretavat padā “A female slave shall upset with her foot a pot filled with water, as if it were for a dead person” (Bühler) and Yājñ. 3.294ab dāśikumbhaṃ bahir grāmān ninayeran svabāṅdhavaḥ20 “His own relatives should pour down the jar of a slave girl outside the village.” By putting dāśī and kumbha- together, the Yājñavalkyasmṛti creates a difference from the Manusmṛti, that dāśī ‘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 GDhS 3.2.4 dāsah karmakaro vāvakarād amedhyapātram ānityā dāśīhaṭat pūrayītvā daksīṇāmukho yadā viparyasyed amukam anudakaṃ karomiti nāmāgrāham “A slave or a labouror brings a dirty vessel from a dump, fills it from the pot of a female slave, and when he, facing south, turns it over, the name [of the patita] is mentioned with the formula ‘I make So-and-so without water.’”

varṇāśrametarāṇāṃ (Mit.) in Yājñ. 1.1cd varṇāśrametarāṇāṃ no brūhi dharmān aśeṣatah “Tell us completely the duties of the castes, the periods of life, and other [phases of life]”21 reflects an effort to be more strict about the range of dharma than Manu 1.2 bhagavan sarvavarṇānāṃ yathāvad anupūrvaśāḥ/ antaraprayabhavānāṃ ca dharmān no vaktum arāhī “Deign, divine one, to declare to us precisely and in due order the sacred laws of each of the (four chief) castes (varna) and of the intermediate ones” (Bühler). What the Yājñavalkyasmṛti means here by itara-, I think, is to comprise those dharmas which are not covered by 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- :: Yājñ. sahoḍha-ja- in Yājñ. 2.131d garbhe vinnah sahoḍhajaḥ

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20 Bāl. dāśīhaṭam apāṃ pūrṇam.
21 Although itara- usually means ‘other than, different from’ when used as the last member of a compound, a Dvandva of the same makeup is also attested in ŚvetU 1.1 kim kāranaḥ brahma kutaḥ jāta jīvāmah kena ca sampratīṣṭhāḥ/ adhīṣṭhitāḥ kena sukhetāreṣu vartamāhe 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.”
3. Position of the Yājñavalkyasmṛti in linguistic history

a. cvi-formation

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

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22 Bāl. sahāvasthānam, Apar. and Vir. sahaikasthānam.
23 For the examples of bhasma- as a symbol of uselessness see Hara (1967), pp.414–409.
ful as [the king] himself,” Manu 9.33a kṣetrabhūtā “like a field,” b bījabhūtah “like seeds,” Manu 10.91c kṛmibhūtah “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 sṛṇi- that can be compounded with bhūta- to form Karmadhārayas according to Pāṇini, Aṣṭ. 2.1.59 sṛṇyādayah kṛtādibhīh, *kṛmibhūta-, a cvi-formation, would rather be expected.  

The Yājñavalkyaśmṛti uses bhūta- as the last member four times together with cvi-forms: Yājñ. 2.17c pūrvapakṣe ‘dharībhūte “when the statement of plaintiff is turned down”, 2.64a dviguṇībhūtam “which has become twice”, 2.100c pratimānasamībhūto “who has become the same in weight”, 3.218a niśkalmaśībhūtah “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 saṁkleda- bhūtah “which has become moisture” Yājñ. 3.186ed bīja- bhūtah “who have become seeds” Yājñ. 3.248ab lakṣya- bhūtah25 “who has become a target”. Pāda borders are not crossed by a word in the Yājñavalkyaśmṛti except the one between 1.79c and d: brahmaśāry eva parvāṇy ādyāś ca taśras tu varjayet. We have already seen above in 1b the tendency that metrical conditions outweigh a consistent use of one form in the arbitrary change between madhu-sarpiṣā and madhu-sarpibrhyām.

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

24 The Manusmrīti has very few cvi-forms: 3.97c according to Kullūka bhasmībhūtēsu; 4.188d bhasmībhavati.

25 Bāl. laksabhūtah. 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 bhasmībhūtēsu for Manu 3.97c bhasmabhūtēsu 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 vacarjanam— in the Brähmanas, it seems to have struck even the old writers as strange, for MaiUp 6.9 and Viṣṇu 61.16 uses yata-vac-, a Bahuvrihi in the regular order.27

karma-duṣṭah in Yājñ. 1.224cd parapūrvāpatih stenaḥ karmaduṣṭaś ca ninditah28 “The husband of a remarried woman, a thief, and people of degraded conduct are blamed.” The usage in the Manusmrta 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-sevitah (Bāl.) in Yājñ. 1.309ab (Bāl.) mahotsahāh sthulalakṣaḥ krtajño vṛddhasevitah29 “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 MB ṇ 1.45.14 and 3.261.3.30

lakṣaṇa-bhraṣṭaḥ in Yājñ. 3.217cd jñānte lakṣaṇabhraṣṭā daridrāḥ puruṣāddhamāḥ “They are born as the meanest of men, poor and with any auspicious marks fallen.” Since the verb bhraṣ/ 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 Aṣṭ. 2.1.38 does not include bhraṣṭa- in the verbal adjectives which form compounds with nouns in the ablative. Mit. duṣṭalakṣaṇaḥ and Apar. bhraṣṭasubhalakṣaṇaḥ paraphrase this compound as an inverted Bahuvrihi, which is described by Pāṇini in Aṣṭ. 2.2.37.

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

kūṭacihna-ktād (Bāl.) in Yājñ. 2.212cd (Bāl.) druṣṭavyo 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. karmaduṣṭaś.
29 Mit. and Apar. vṛddhasevakaḥ.
31 Dr. Tsutomu Yamashita pointed out to me that Caraka 4.4.9 prathame māsi saṃmūrcchitāḥ sarvadhātuḥkalusikṛtaḥ kheṭabhūto bhavaty ... provides source for this passage.
kūṭacihnakrtād bhayāt\textsuperscript{32} “But a case should be examined for fear of one who made false signs.”

kāla-kṛtaḥ in Yājñi. 2.58c kāle kālaṅkrto naṁyet “[A pawn] — will be forfeited at [the expiration of the] term.” The Mitāksarā 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 kālaṁ kṛ `[a] Zeit festsetzen' noted in PW II, col. 249, s.v. 2 kāla 1, with a quotation from Rām. 6.38.29 kālaś ca kriyatām 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 kar/kṛ and its derivatives like kṛta- are often used in combination with action nouns in Bhāravi’s Kirātārjunīya.\textsuperscript{33} The Yājñavalkyasmṛti is also characterized by a similar dependence on this verb: Although the author employs every possible means to make the text short, he uses this verb with various action nouns merely to simplify inflections, e.g. 1.155c na nindātādane kuryāt, 1.329c balānāṁ darsanāṁ kṛtvā, 2.204c kṣepāṁ karoti ced, 3.8b-c sāramārgaṇāṁ karoti yaḥ, 3.56a kṛtveśtim. This root is also used as a substitute for other verbs, e.g. Yājñi. 1.147c krte 'ntare (cf. Manu 4.126c antarāgamane), 1.287a kṛtākṛtāms 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 Yājñavalkyasmṛti.

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

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

\textsuperscript{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 Mitākṣara. Finding in this stanza an influence of Manu 1.2 bhagavan sarvavarnānāṃ yathāvad anupūrvaśah/ antaraprabhavānāṃ ca dharmān no vaktum arhasi, the Bālakṛtā 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 Mitākṣara agrees with the interpretation of the Bālakṛtā, it gives a different inflection -i/taṇāṃ, 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. varṇāśrametāreśāṃ, 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 Mitākṣara toward grammatical strictness: The Mitākṣara reads vṛddha-sevakaḥ for Bāl. vṛddha-sevītaḥ in Yājñ. 1.309b. The word vṛddha-sevakaḥ, a formation from the root sev with the agent suffix -aka- (‘abhi-‘) sounds an innovation of vṛddha-sevīta-, for it suggests an intention to shut out the possibility to take vṛddha- as the agent of sevīta- with a passive meaning, and vṛddha-sevīta- is attested in the Mahābhārata.

kūṭacihna-ktāḥ (Mit.) :: kūṭacihna-ktād (Bāl., Apar.36) in Yājñ. 2.212d. Judging from its paraphrase kūṭacihnakāriduṣṭapuruṣabhayai ‘for fear of a wicked person making a false sign,’ the Bālakṛtā understands krt- as actively governing kūṭa-cihna-. In the reading of Mit. kūṭacihna-ktāḥ ‘[for fear] of one who makes a false sign’, krt-, 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 vṛddhasevīta- :: vṛddhasevaka-.37

34 Bāl. varṇā brāhmaṇādāyāḥ/ aśramā brahmaçāryādāyāḥ/ varṇetārā antaraprabhāvā anulomādāyāḥ/ aśrametārāḥ pāśādāyāḥ/ tEspīḥ varṇāśrametāreśāṃ/ .../ anyah pāthāḥ — ‘varṇānāṃ sāsrāmānām’ iti.
35 Mit. ‘itara śabdasya ‘dvandve ca’ iti sarvanāmasamānyāpratiṣedhā. The Bālakṛtā might have been conscious of this sūtra when it offered an optional reading varṇānāṃ sāsrāmānām.
36 kūṭacihnakṛtād rtē.
37 The commentary part of the Mitākṣara, however, seems to explain not kūṭacihna-kṛt- but kūṭacihna-kṛta-, and that differently from the Bālakṛtā: kūṭacihnakṛtāsamhāvenābhayāt ‘for the fear, which feeling is caused by a false sign’. The difficulty with this interpretation is the redundancy of kṛta-, for kūṭacihnaḥ bhayāt or kūṭacihna-hayāt would be enough for this meaning.
b. Some readings of the *Bālakrīḍā*, which the *Mitākṣara* does not follow, are grounded on the *Mahābhārata*, just as the above-mentioned form, Bāl. *vyddha-sevitaḥ*, has its source in the *Mahābhārata*, and Yājñ. 3.312c (Bāl.) *adroho* in Bhagavadgītā 16.3b. Another example of the same sort is *sahasra-kāḥ* (Mit., Apar.) :: *sahasrasaḥ* (Bāl.) in Yājñ. 3.119 (Mit.) *mohajālam apāsyeha puruṣo drṣyate hi yaḥ/ sahasrakarpannetraḥ sūryavarcāḥ sahasra-kāḥ* “If one cast off the net of delusion, Puruṣa, who has a thousand hands, feet and eyes, whose lustre is like the sun, and who has a thousand heads, becomes visible [to him].” Puruṣa of a thousand heads, eyes and feet must have been widely known by the famous verses of RV 10.90.1ab (=VS 31.1ab etc.). *sahasra-kara- ‘thousand-handed’* and *sūrya-varcas- ‘of lustre like the sun’* can be traced back respectively to AV 19.6.1a *sahāsrabāhuḥ* and to VS 31.18b *ādityāvārṇam*.38 Though *ka- ‘head’* as a single word sounds like lexicographer’s invention, it is not necessarily to be rejected here as such, for *kaṇḍharaḥ* is used in Yājñ. 2.220c, which might be a compound having this word as the first member (*kaṃ-dharā ‘holding the head → neck’*), or from which this word might have been abstracted through such interpretation. While the reading of the *Mitākṣara* is in accordance with the ambitious attitude of the *Yājñavalkyasmrī* to cover as many sources as possible, Bāl. *sahasraśaḥ* ‘by thousands’ agrees with the frequent use of this word in the cadence of the even pādas of the ślokas in the *Mahābhārata*.39

c. When a difference in reading seems to have its origin in the background of each commentator, it makes us hesitate to arrange the readings in one linear genealogical order. The *Bālakrīḍā* has sometimes a philosophical rather than a practical bent. For example, the *Mitākṣara* on Yājñ. 3.174 (Mit.) *icchā dhāraṇājīvite* 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. *icchādhaṇājīvite* which joins *icchā* with *a-dhāraṇa-*, its interpretation ‘non-sustaining (i.e. renouncement) of a body at will’40 together with its paraphrase of *bhṛtyāḥ 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,

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38 I owe the reference to Mr. Makoto Fushimi.
39 *sahasraśaḥ* occupies this position in 349 out of the 366 passages which I looked up in Tokunaga’s electronic text.
40 *icchāyat adhāraṇāṃ sarīrya tatparityāgaṃ tad icchādhaṇāṃ*. 146
of course, that the reading of the Bālakrīḍā is more interpolated than that of the Mitākṣara: In Yājñ. 3.154ab (Bāl.) jñē jñē ca prakṛtāt caiva vikāre cāviśeṇavān “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 Mitākṣara might mean that it had assumed editorship on the texts of preceding commentators and worked them up into its own text through selection and emendation; the following example is interesting in this respect. The word pākhaṇḍyanāsritāḥ (Mit.) in Yājñ. 3.6 (Mit.) a pākhaṇḍyanāsritāḥ b stenā c bhartrgyhnyāḥ d kāmāgādikāḥ42 / c surāpya f ātmatyāpyaṇyo43 nāsawocadakabhājanāh “— 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 ātmanaś tyāginām caiva nivartetodakaśryā/a pāsaṇḍam āśritānām ca44 carantiṇām ca kāmatah/ garbhadhārtrō-druhām caiva āsurāpānām ca yosītām. The expressions carantiṇām ‘[women] who through lust live (with many men),’ garbhābhadhārtrō-hruhām ‘[women] who have caused an abortion, have killed their husbands,’ āsurāpānām ca yosītām ‘to women ... [who] drink spirituous liquor (Bühler)’ in Manu 5.90 support the interpretation to take pāsaṇḍam āśritānām also as women: “[to women] who have joined a heretical sect” (Bühler). The Yājñavalkyasmti has three different readings according to the three commentators: Mit. pākhaṇḍyanāsritāḥ, Bāl. pāsaṇḍam āśritāḥ and Apar. pāsaṇḍam āśritāḥ. The Bālakrīḍā follows the Manusmrty not only in its reading but also in commenting b kāmāgās tathā as tathāśabdāḥ smṛtyantaroktvṛthāsankara-vatādityarthāḥ “The word tathā means ‘those born in vain or from mixture [of castes] etc.’ mentioned in another law book (i.e. Manu 5.89)”44. The reading of the Mitākṣara

41 I thank Professor Kyō Kanō for the reference.
42 Bāl. kāmāgās tathā.
43 Apar. ātmaghātīnyo. The reading of the Mitākṣara and the Bālakrīḍā seems to be taken from Manu ātmanaś tyāginām, whereas that of the Aparārka goes with ātmaghātin- m. in Yājñ. 3.21b anvakṣaṁ cātmaghātinām.
44 Agreement with the Manusmrty 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 nāstikyam vrata-lopaḥ ca ... kauṣṭalyaṁ 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 sahasrakaḥ, and interprets this as a Dvandva of ‘heretics’ and ‘those who have not undergone proper modes of life’. Though the Aparārka agrees with the Bālakrīḍā in its interpretation, its reading pāsanḍānāśritāḥ can also be divided as pāsanḍ/a-nāśritāḥ, i.e. a Dvandva like Mit. pākhaṇḍy-anāśritāḥ. The reading of the Aparārka is compatible with both the Mitākṣarā and the Bālakrīḍā in this case.

5. Conclusion

The tendency of the YājnāvalkyASMṛti 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 sloka meter. On the other hand, some of the modest revisions made to the compounds in the foregoing literature, such as the singular form kṛcchṛti kṛcchraḥ compared to the dual form kṛcchṛti kṛcchrau in the Manusmṛti, might suggest an enterprising policy of the author to integrate the ordinances of the foregoing literature into a more self-consistent legal system. Among the original texts cited in the commentaries, the one in the Mitākṣarā shows less grammatical irregularities than that of the Bālakrīḍā, but it might be a result of correction of the original text.

List of Abbreviations


These two synonymous action nouns vratalopaḥ and vratalopanam, formed from the root lup/lop: tumpāti ‘break’ respectively with suffixes -a- (‘ghaṇ’) 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 vratalo-pa- and vratalo-pa-in Mit., but it is not grounded on the foregoing literature. Mit. vratalo-pa-nam agrees with Manu 11.61b vratalo-pa-nam.
NOMINAL COMPOUNDS IN THE YĀJÑAVALKYASMṚTI


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