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## GHOŠAKA FURTHER RESONATES\*

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As we have outlined elsewhere<sup>1</sup>, Ghoṣaka is mentioned in the *\*Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣā* (T.1545; = AMV), in Dharmaśreṣṭhin’s *\*Abhidharmahṛdaya* (T.1550; = AH), Dharmatrāta’s *\*Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdaya* (T.1552; = SAH), Vasubandhu’s *Abhidharmakoṣa* (T.1558/1559; = AK), and Saṃghabhadra’s *\*Nyāyānusāra* (T.1562; = NAS) and *\*Abhidharmasamayapradīpikā* (T.1563; = ASP). There further is the *\*Abhidharmāmṛtarasa* (T.1553; = AAR) that is attributed to Ghoṣaka.

Of these works, the AMV, NAS and ASP are Kāśmīra works, while the AH, SAH, AK and AAR belong to the Gandhāra philosophical current of Sarvāstivāda *Abhidharma*.<sup>2</sup> The AH and the AAR are syntheses of Gandhāran Sarvāstivāda philosophy. The AH is preserved in a Chinese translation of A.D. 391.<sup>3</sup> In the *Ch’u San-tsang Chi Chi* 出三藏記集, we can read that the original Indian version of the text was written between the Ch’in 秦 and the Han 漢 Dynasties (i.e. between 221 B.C.–A.D. 220).<sup>4</sup> This makes the work older than the AMV.<sup>5</sup> The AAR is only preserved in

\* This article is the result of some reflections after a lecture on ‘Ghoṣaka’ presented at the University of Washington, Seattle, on the 8th. of December 1998. It can be read as complementary to my previous “The Resonance of Ghoṣaka”, *AS* 1998.

1 See Dessein (1998).

2 For a brief description of the *\*Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣā*: see Ichimura, Kawamura, Buswell, and Cox (1996): 511-568 and Willemen, Dessein, Cox (1998): 229-239; of the *\*Nyāyānusāra* and *\*Abhidharmasamayapradīpikā*: Willemen, Dessein, Cox (1998): 240-249; of the *\*Abhidharmahṛdaya*: Willemen (1996): 451-470 and Willemen, Dessein, Cox (1998): 255-269; of the *\*Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdaya*: Willemen, Dessein, Cox (1998): 255-269 and Dessein (1999a): 314-319; of the *Abhidharmakoṣa*: Willemen, Dessein, Cox (1998): 269-278; of the *\*Abhidharmāmṛtarasa*: Willemen, Dessein, Cox (1998): 278-282 and Kritzer (1996): 489-509.

3 Willemen (1975): xxxii.

4 T.2145: 74b23-24.

5 See Lin (1949): 51; Fukuhara (1965): 395; Frauwallner (1971): 86; Willemen (1975): ii-iii; Ryose (1986): 4.

a Chinese translation by an anonymous translator of the Ts'ao Wei 曹魏 (220-265).<sup>6</sup> As an analysis of the factors associated with awarenesses (*cittasamprayukta dharma*) places the AAR in between the *\*Aṣṭagrantha* and the AMV<sup>7</sup>, it is likely that the original Indian work has to be placed around the second century A.D. This makes the work somewhat contemporary to the AH. As to textual format, the most obvious difference between the two works is that the AH consists of stanzas (*kārikā*) that are commented and illustrated in prose, while the AAR is a full prose work. With this, the textual format of the AAR equals the one of the *Vibhāṣā* commentaries.

Since the AMV is the most extensive sourcebook for *Abhidharma* research, it is logical to start an investigation of Ghoṣaka from the data this work reveals. Only a few of the 148 references to Ghoṣaka in the AMV enable us to make clear the position of the AAR and to determine the philosophical position of Ghoṣaka within Sarvāstivāda *Abhidharma* development. In what follows, we will enumerate the most important statements attributed to this Sarvāstivāda master.

(1) Consciousness (*vijñāna*) arises because of two conditions: an object-field (*viṣaya*) and a faculty (*indriya*).<sup>8</sup> The importance of this passage lies in the fact that Ghoṣaka is connected to Buddhadeva and to a ‘scriptural text’ (*sūtra*). It has been argued<sup>9</sup> that Buddhadeva has to be associated with the Dārṣṭāntika-Sautrāntika sub-group of Sarvāstivādins.<sup>10</sup>

(2) It is wisdom (*prajñā*) associated with consciousness of the eye (*cakṣurvijñāna*) that sees matter (*rūpa*).<sup>11</sup> According to the *\*Aṣṭagrantha*, is it so that “When the eye (*cakṣus*) takes matter as supporting object

6 Van Den Broeck (1977): 8, suggests that the present version of the work does not belong to the third century, but was (partly) revised, probably under supervision of Samghadeva in Ch'ang-an 長安 in the fourth century. This argumentation is based on the similarities in vocabulary between AH and AAR, especially in chapters 9, 10 and 11.

7 Dessein (1996): 647; Sakurabe (1969): 57-58.

8 T.1545: 984a6-8.

9 Cox (1995): 41.

10 On the relationship between *Sūtra* literature and the Dārṣṭāntika-Sautrāntikas: see Przyluski (1940) and Willemen, Dessein, Cox (1998): 106-110.

11 T.1545: 61c7-10.

(*ālambana*), consciousness of the eye arises".<sup>12</sup> This also is the Vaibhāṣika viewpoint.<sup>13</sup> Ghoṣaka here deviates from the \*Aṣṭagrantha and the Vaibhāṣikas. Related to this problem, Ghoṣaka further states that "All factors (*dharma*) (i.e. including molecules) are subject to vision, because they are the object of the eye of wisdom (*prajñācakṣus*)". This position is contradicted in the AMV.<sup>14</sup>

(3) In Sarvāstivāda psychological classification, the state of being a worldling, ordinariness (*prthagjanatva*), figures in the list of formations dissociated from awarenesses (*cittaviprayukta saṃskāra*). Different schools of Buddhism have different lists (*mātrikā*) of such factors.<sup>15</sup> The AAR lists seventeen formations dissociated from awarenesses<sup>16</sup>, while the Vaibhāṣikas differentiate fourteen of them.<sup>17</sup>

(4) Four characteristic marks (*lakṣaṇa*) that make something conditioned (*saṃskṛta*) are differentiated: birth (*jāti*), duration (*sthiti*), decay (*jarā*) and impermanence (*anityatā*).<sup>18</sup> Also in the AAR four characteristic marks are differentiated.<sup>19</sup> The AAR further differentiates four secondary characteristic marks (*anulakṣaṇa*): birth of birth (*jātijāti*), duration of duration (*sthitisthiti*), decay of decay (*jarājarā*) and impermanence of impermanence (*anityatānityatā*).<sup>20</sup> With this, it follows the AH.<sup>21</sup> This points to a relatively late date for the AAR, and, consequently, for its probable author Ghoṣaka<sup>22</sup>, supporting our claim that the AAR is to be dated around the second century A.D.

(5) According to the AMV, the Vibhajyavādins—term that we can freely translate as 'heterodox'—propose a distinction between a latent and a

12 T.1543: 774c27.

13 Imanishi (1969): 25; Kajiyama (1977): 115.

14 T.1545: 390b8-9, 684a18-19.

15 See Cox (1995): 79-81 and Dessein (1998): note #51.

16 T.1553: 979b28-c3.

17 See Dessein (1999b): Vol.2, 453-454, note #67 and # 68.

18 T.1545: 615b11-15.

19 T.1553: 970a5-9.

20 T.1553: 970a13-16.

21 T.1550: 811b17-28.

22 See Dessein (1998a): note #58.

passive phase of defilements (*kleśa*).<sup>23</sup> This division of defilements belongs to an earlier phase of *Abhidharma* development than the *Vibhāṣā* belongs to. The AMV attributes the following position to Ghoṣaka: “Although [the contaminants] do not have the function of taking an object (*viṣaya*), it is so that there is a possibility to be a bond (*saṃyojana*) in the present”.<sup>24</sup> This implies that Ghoṣaka here accepts the difference between ‘contaminants’ (*anuśaya*) and ‘manifestly active defilements’ (*paryavasthāna*), the latent and the passive phase of defilements respectively. This places the doctrinal position of Ghoṣaka before the Vaibhāṣika-period. Also the AAR implicitly supports the distinction between contaminants and manifestly active defilements.<sup>25</sup> Contrary to what was suggested before, this would justify an earlier date for the AAR.

(6) Of the bad paths of action (*akuśala karmapatha*), taking life (*prāṇātipāta*) is manifesting (*vijñapti*).<sup>26</sup> This is also the opinion attributed to Ghoṣaka in the AK<sup>27</sup> and in the NAS.<sup>28</sup> A special form of good action (*kuśala karman*) is fasting (*upavāsa*). The statement attributed to Ghoṣaka in the AMV is also attributed to Samghavasu.<sup>29</sup> The importance of the person of Samghavasu here, is that the theory concerning the successive-ness of awarenesses (*citta*) that is attributed to Ghoṣaka in the SAH<sup>30</sup> is attributed to Samghavasu in the AMV.<sup>31</sup> This gives evidence that the Ghoṣaka mentioned in the SAH is the same person as the Ghoṣaka mentioned in the AMV.

(7) Ghoṣaka’s definition of meditative attainment without conceptual identification (*asamjñisamāpatti*)<sup>32</sup> is not the Vaibhāṣika opinion of the AMV<sup>33</sup>, however, it is the opinion attributed to Ghoṣaka in the AK<sup>34</sup>.

23 T.1545: 313a1ff..

24 T.1545: 113a28-b4.

25 T.1553: 968c24ff..

26 T.1545: 617b23-25, 619c8, 619c11-12.

27 T.1558: 94a12-13; T.1559: 248b12.

28 T.1562: 588c23-25.

29 T.1545: 747b16-19.

30 T.1552: 955b2.

31 T.1545: 816a5-10.

32 T.1545: 541c13-15.

33 T.1545: 784b24-c1.

(8) The analysis of the twelve-membered chain of dependent origination (*dvādaśāṅga pratītyasamutpāda*)—the interpretation as to the three periods of time—that is attributed to Ghoṣaka in the AMV<sup>35</sup> is also found in the AAR.<sup>36</sup>

(9) Of the four theories the AMV<sup>37</sup> mentions to explain the existence of the three periods of time, the theory that it are the characteristic marks that are different (*lakṣaṇānyathātva*) is attributed to Ghoṣaka.<sup>38</sup> Ghoṣaka is attributed with the same theory, also in the AK<sup>39</sup>, the NAS<sup>40</sup>, and the ASP.<sup>41</sup>

(10) Related to the cause-fruition series, is the succession of different awarenesses of the different realms.<sup>42</sup> The same theory is attributed to Ghoṣaka in the SAH<sup>43</sup>, in the NAS<sup>44</sup> and in the ASP.<sup>45</sup> Ghoṣaka is familiar with both the four conditions (*pratyaya*) and the six causes (*hetu*) to explain causality.<sup>46</sup> As the AMV, also the AAR has notion of the six causes and the four conditions.<sup>47</sup> This again points to a relatively late date of the person Ghoṣaka.

(11) There are two kinds of aids to penetration (*nirvedhabhāgīya*). The first two of these—warmth (*ūṣman*) and summit (*mūrdhan*)—are bound to the realm of sexual passion (*kāmadhātu*); the last two—patience (*kṣānti*) and the highest worldly factor (*laukikāgradharma*)—are bound to the realm

34 T.1558: 25c28-26a6; T.1559: 184b5-10.

35 T.1545: 118b12-15, 124c17-24, 980b15-17.

36 T.1553: 970c25-971a2. See in this respect: Dessein (1999c): 53-83.

37 T.1545: 396a13-b23: Dharmatrāta: *bhāvānyathātva*; Ghoṣaka: *lakṣaṇānyathātva*; Vasumitra: *avasthānyathātva*; Buddhadeva: *anyonyathātva*.

38 T.1545: 396a13-b23.

39 T.1558: 104c8-13; T.1559: 258a7-12.

40 T.1562: 631a21-26.

41 T.1563: 901c18-23.

42 T.1545: 373b6-10, 960a7-10, 961c13-16.

43 T.1552: 955b2-4.

44 T.1562: 453a26-27.

45 T.1563: 826c11-12.

46 T.1545: 81a28-b3, 97b5-9, 105b16-22, 283b17-22, 680c16-20.

47 T.1553: 970a16-b3.

of form (*rūpadhātu*). The AMV does not agree with this opinion: all roots of merit (*kuśalamūla*) belong to the realm of form.<sup>48</sup> This opinion of the AMV also is the opinion of the AAR<sup>49</sup>. In the SAH<sup>50</sup>, AK<sup>51</sup>, NAS<sup>52</sup>, and ASP<sup>53</sup> Ghoṣaka is attributed with the theory that divides the roots of merit to the realm of sexual passion and the realm of form. The importance of the above is that the Ghoṣaka of the AMV and the AAR do not share the same opinion. For the application of mindfulness on feelings (*vedanā-smṛtyupasthāna*), Ghoṣaka is quoted by a reference to some undefined scriptural text.<sup>54</sup> In his definition of mindfulness (*smṛti*) produced by attention through resolve (*adhimuktimanaskāra*), Ghoṣaka contradicts Kātyāyanīputra.<sup>55</sup>

(12) The path of vision is described as “the wheel of the doctrine”<sup>56</sup>. Also the Ghoṣaka of the SAH<sup>57</sup>, AK<sup>58</sup>, NAS<sup>59</sup>, and ASP<sup>60</sup> explains the path of vision as the turning of the wheel of the doctrine.

(13) In explaining the process of abandoning defilements<sup>61</sup>, ‘scriptural texts’<sup>62</sup> and the «*Sheng-chih Lun*» (*Jñānotthāpanaśāstra*) are referred to.<sup>63</sup> The AMV and the *\*Abhidharmavibhāśāśāstra* (T.1546) connect the «*Sheng-chih Lun*» with Ghoṣaka.<sup>64</sup> The AMV explains that for abandoning

48 T.1545: 1545: 25c14-18.

49 T.1553: 973a19-21.

50 T.1552: 910a26-27.

51 T.1558: 120b3-4; T.1559: 272b1-3.

52 T.1562: 681b29-c1.

53 T.1563: 922b24-26.

54 T.1545: 518b13-15.

55 T.1545: 205a28-b2.

56 T.1545: 912b1-4.

57 T.1552: 950b22-23.

58 T.1558: 128c2-6; T.1559: 280a5-8.

59 T.1562: 709a24-27.

60 T.1563: 934b21-24.

61 T.1545: 186a8-9, 253a4-10, 254a23-25, 268b1-2, 444c28-445a1, 487a24-27, 497b17-23, 534a18-22, 540c8-10, 556b21-26, 627a20-24.

62 T.1545: 316b6-12, 497b17-23.

63 T.1545: 397b13-22, 507a28-b11.

64 T.1545: 5c9, 38b10, 397b19 and 507b4; T.1546: 245b9.

defilements, there are two kinds of antidote (*pratipakṣa*): the antidote that is abandoning (*prahāṇapratipakṣa*) and the antidote that is detraction (*vidūṣaṇāpratipakṣa*). The pre-trance (*anāgamyadhyāna*) is with both kinds of antidote, and the higher five stages<sup>65</sup> are without the antidote that is abandoning.<sup>66</sup> To this, the venerable Ghoṣaka is reported to have objected that all six stages of the realm of form<sup>67</sup> all have the two kinds of antidote.<sup>68</sup> The opinion of Ghoṣaka here equals the one of the *Prakaraṇapāda*<sup>69</sup>, one of the oldest Sarvāstivāda texts. The same opinion is attributed to Ghoṣaka in the AK<sup>70</sup> and in the ASP.<sup>71</sup> These texts contradict the ‘orthodox’ Vaibhāṣika viewpoint.

(14) Eight full overcoming comprehensions (*parijñā*) in the fundamental trances (*mauladhyāna*) are differentiated.<sup>72</sup> This is also the opinion of Ghoṣaka in the SAH<sup>73</sup> and in the NAS.<sup>74</sup> This contradicts the Vaibhāṣika idea that there are only five full overcoming comprehensions in this case. The AAR<sup>75</sup> lists a completely different set of nine full overcoming comprehensions, i.e. a combination of the full overcoming comprehensions as we find them in the AH<sup>76</sup> and in the *\*Aṣṭagrantha*.<sup>77</sup> This set of nine is the same as in the AK<sup>78</sup>.

(15) The knowledge of birth and death (*cyutupapādajñāna*) is included in four knowledges (*jñāna*), and the knowledge of the former

65 The intermediate trance and the four fundamental trances.

66 T.1545: 15a7-10.

67 The pre-trance, intermediate trance and four fundamental trances.

68 T.1545: 15a11-21. See also T.1545: 411c8-18.

69 T.1541: 637a8ff.; T.1542: 697b6ff., 716c11ff., 718a4ff., 758a4ff., 760c21ff., 764a1ff.. Notice that the *\*Abhidharmāvatāra* is conceived as a commentary on the *Prakaraṇapāda*.

70 T.1558: 112c3-4; T.1559: 265b2-5.

71 T.1563: 912b12-13.

72 T.1545: 324c20-21.

73 T.1552: 906b17-19.

74 T.1562: 654c27-28.

75 T.1553: 972b28-c4.

76 T.1550: 817c19-27.

77 T.1543: 790a17. See also Van Den Broeck (1977): 66-67.

78 T.1558: 112aff..

existences (*pūrvanivāsānusmṛtijñāna*) is included in six knowledges.<sup>79</sup> Also the SAH attributes this opinion to Ghoṣaka.<sup>80</sup>

(16) The interpretation of the diamond-like *samādhi* (*vajropama-samādhi*)<sup>81</sup> is the same as the opinion attributed to Ghoṣaka in the SAH<sup>82</sup>, in the NAS<sup>83</sup>, and in the ASP<sup>84</sup>.

(17) The opinion concerning the *arhat* who is able to prolong his own life (*āyuḥsaṃskāra*) depending on the fourth trance<sup>85</sup>, is the same opinion as the one attributed to Ghoṣaka in the AK.<sup>86</sup>

This brings us to the following scheme, in which the Abhidharma texts are listed in chronological order:

79 T.1545: 547a11-12, a16. Four knowledges: knowledge of the doctrine (*dharma-jñāna*), subsequent knowledge (*anvayajñāna*), conventional knowledge (*saṃvṛti-jñāna*) and knowledge of frustration (*dukhajñāna*). Six knowledges: no knowledge of the awareness of another (*paracittajñāna*) and no knowledge of cessation (*nirodhajñāna*). See Dessein (1999b): Vol.1, p.414 and Vol.2, p.328, note #453.

80 T.1552: 920c23-25. The \**Abhidharmāmṛtarasa* equals *pūrvanivāsānusmṛtijñāna* to the conventional knowledge (*saṃvṛtijñāna*). This is seen as the opinion of the Ābhidhārmikas of Kaśmīra in Upaśānta's \**Abhidharmahṛdaya* (T.1551: 855a18-b1). Also the *Abhidharmakośa* (T.1558: 142c29-143a1) equals *pūrvanivāsānusmṛtijñāna* to *saṃvṛtijñāna*.

81 T.1545: 143c20-26.

82 T.1552: 957c27-958a3.

83 T.1562: 700b25-28.

84 T.1563: 930c25-28.

85 T.1545: 657a27-b1.

86 T.1558: 15b23-27; T.1559: 174c28-175a2.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Prakaraṇapāda (T.1541/1542)													=				
*Aṣṭagrantha (T.1543)			≠											≠			
Jñānaprasthāna (T.1544)																	
*Abhidharmaḥṛdaya (T.1550)				=													
*Abhidharmāmṛtarasa (T.1553)			≠	=	=			=		=	≠				≠		
*Mahāvibhāṣā (T.1545)	≠			=	≠		≠		≠	=	≠			≠	≠		
*Saṃyuktābhidharma- ḥṛdaya (T.1552)					⊕				⊕	⊕	⊕			⊕	⊕	⊕	
Abhidharmakośa (T.1558/1559)					⊕	⊕		⊕		⊕	⊕	⊕					⊕
*Nyāyānusāra (T.1562)					⊕			⊕	⊕	⊕	⊕			⊕		⊕	
*Abhidharmasamaya- pradīpikā (T.1563)								⊕	⊕	⊕	⊕	⊕				⊕	
Buddhadeva	=																
Kātyāyanīputra												≠					
Saṃghavasu						=											

= : agrees with the Ghoṣaka of AMV

≠ : disagrees with the Ghoṣaka of AMV

⊕ : attributes the same theory to Ghoṣaka as the AMV does.

While some of the above elements suggest an early philosophical position for Ghoṣaka (e.g., position 5), other elements force us to see in Ghoṣaka a later philosopher (e.g., positions 4, 8, 10). The similarities between the AAR and the Ghoṣaka of the AMV in 4 and 10 explain the attribution of the AAR to Ghoṣaka by many eminent scholars.<sup>87</sup> There are, however, positions that oppose such an identity (e.g., 3 and 11).

87 Lin (1949): 47-48; Bareau in Śānti Bhikṣu Śāstri (1953): ii; Mochizuki (1960-63): Vol.V, 4780, Vol.VI, 4292; Frauwallner (1963): 27; Fukuhara (1965): 390; de La Vallée Poussin (1971): Vol.1, xlvi; Akanuma (1979): 203-205; Warder (1991): 347; Buswell and Jaini (1996): 102; Kritzer (1996): 489.

The tradition knows Ghoṣaka as a Tokharian, settled in Gandhāra, who after the synod of Kaniṣka (second century A.D.<sup>88</sup>) went to the West of Kaśmīra and near Tukhara.<sup>89</sup> This Gandhāran affiliation of Ghoṣaka explains why he is criticized in the AMV, and why some of his philosophical positions have to be dated relatively early and/or are non-Vaibhāṣika (e.g., position 15). It further explains that Ghoṣaka, although disagreeing with the *\*Aṣṭagrantha*, is familiar with the philosophical concepts of that work (e.g., position 14), and that he agrees with other Gandhāran philosophers, i.c. Buddhadeva (position 1) and Saṃghavasu (position 6), while disagreeing with Kātyāyanīputra (position 11). We know that Kātyāyanīputra has to be connected to the Kāśmīri Sarvāstivādins. The association of Ghoṣaka with *sūtras* is also to be noted in this respect (positions 1, 11 and 13).

Vaibhāṣika positions in the *\*Abhidharmāmr̥tarasa* (positions 4, 8 and 10) can be explained by the same historical fact: as Ghoṣaka moved to the West of Kaśmīra and near Tukhara (and became known as a Tokharian), he undoubtedly was influenced by Vaibhāṣika ideas. Vaibhāṣika influence was general in this period and is also visible in Upaśānta's *\*Abhidharma-hṛdaya* and in the SAH. Vaibhāṣika influence is, further, also seen in, e.g., the enumeration of the same ten envelopers (*paryavasthāna*) as in Dharmatrāṭa's work.<sup>90</sup> The treatment of the moments for leaving non-restraint (*asamvara*)<sup>91</sup>, the treatment of factors arising with awarenesses<sup>92</sup>, the enumeration of seventeen heavens in the realm of form<sup>93</sup>, and the treatment of preparatory exercises for the path<sup>94</sup> fit in the tradition after Dharmāśreṣṭhin. Hence, José Van Den Broeck concluded that the AAR is an adaptation of Dharmāśreṣṭhin's *\*Abhidharma-hṛdaya*.<sup>95</sup>

88 For the dates of Kaniṣka: see Basham (1968); Simonetta (1978): 168 and 176; Fussman (1980a): 29-31 and 41, (1980b): 46; Posch (1995): 101.

89 See Bareau in Śānti Bhikṣu Śāstri (1953): ii; Malalasekera (1961-present): 84; Schiefner (1965): 49; de La Vallée Poussin (1971): Vol.1, xlvi.

90 T.1553: 972b16-27.

91 T.1553: 968b20-21.

92 T.1553: 970b20-c17. See Dessein (1996): 634-635.

93 T.1553: 966c14-19.

94 T.1553: 972a25-b10.

95 Van Den Broeck (1977): 83.

This is not necessarily so. As mentioned, the AAR is a full prose work. This is the style that is predominant in Kāśmīra texts. As Ghoṣaka is reported to have moved near Tukhara, it is not unlikely that he chose the textual type that was predominant in that region to compose a text (the AAR) that had the same purpose as the AH. A logical consequence of this is that the AAR is not—as José Van Den Broeck claimed—a first adaptation of the AR, but is an independent work. This would account for its peculiar positions (e.g., positions 3 and 14). The style of prose works was not exclusively Kāśmīra: we know that *vibhāṣās* were also written in Gandhāra (e.g., Sitapāṇi's *\*Vibhāṣā[śāstra]* T.1547).<sup>96</sup> However, the textual type peculiar to the Gandhāra region is the type the AH belongs to: *sūtra*-like treatises. It is very likely that starting from the second century A.D.—the heydays of Kāśmīra philosophy—the Gandhāran Sarvāstivādins developed this peculiar type of texts, to the disadvantage of the full prose works. The first of these developments was the *\*Abhidharmahṛdaya* by Upaśānta (around the third century A.D.).<sup>97</sup> This development resulted in it that the AAR, a text that as to textual format was reminiscent of the Kāśmīra works, was neglected and the name of its author was lost.

After Kāśmīra dominance, the AAR was reclaimed by the Gandhāra philosophers and attributed to Ghoṣaka.<sup>98</sup> This attribution explains the different opinions between the AAR and the AMV. In this respect, we have to remark that all post-*Vibhāṣā* works refer to the same Ghoṣaka as the AMV does (positions 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, and 17), and that, e.g., the SAH only refers to one other philosopher: Ghoṣaka (positions 6, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, and 16).

A similar scheme can, further, be drawn for Skandhila, a fifth century author, who wrote the *\*Abhidharmavatāra* (T.1554).<sup>99</sup> Also this work is a full prose work that is reported to have been written in a place ‘close’ to Kāśmīra. The work is conceived as a commentary on the Gandhāra version of the *Prakaraṇapāda* and serves as a handbook for *Abhidharma*.<sup>100</sup> Its

96 See Willemen, Dessein, Cox (1998): 125 and 156-159.

97 Kimura (1974): 230.

98 See Dessein (1998).

99 Van Velthem (1977): x. Van Velthem (1977): xi, describes Skandhila as a rival of Samghabhadra.

100 See Van Velthem (1977): ix; Willemen, Dessein, Cox (1998): 76-77 and 283.

dependence upon the *Prakaraṇapāda*, a work even prior to the *\*Aṣṭa-grantha*, may just be one reason why the work was not as influential as, in the past, the AH had been, and, now, the AK was beginning to be. Also its textual format was not advantageous for such a development. As the AAR, the *\*Abhidharmāvatāra* at the one hand shows positions which are peculiar of Gandhāra *Abhidharma*, and others which are clearly Vaibhāṣika influenced.

One more question to be answered is why Skandhila would conceive his work as a commentary on the *Prakaraṇapāda*. Skandhila lived in the fifth century, the same period Vasubandhu lived in Gandhāra. That Vasubandhu compiles his AK gives evidence of it that the Vaibhāṣika dominance had already declined. That Skandhila returns to the *Prakaraṇapāda* may be the result of it that the AMV had been conceived as a commentary on the *Jñānaprasthāna*, the Kāśmīra interpretation of the Gandhāran *\*Aṣṭagrantha*. As a consequence, Skandhila turned to that other work of which a Kāśmīra adaptation had been made: the *Prakaraṇapāda*.

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