Survey of the Pāli *Milindapañha* Manuscripts kept at the National Library of Thailand: A Brief Catalogue

Eng Jin Ooi

Mahidol University, Bangkok

ABSTRACT—Several catalogues of Pāli palm-leaf manuscript collections, preserved at the National Library of Thailand, have been published. These catalogues, however, are mere lists of titles and they do not record the number of physical manuscripts under each title. For instance, the *Milindapañha* (*Questions of King Milinda*) appears as a single entry in these catalogues, but, in fact, the library holds seventy copies. These seventy manuscripts, though not all are complete, are not necessarily direct copies of each other or of a single original exemplar: they are, rather, distinct recensions that were copied in different periods of Thai history. Therefore, they serve as a valuable repository for the study of the text's diverse textual traditions to elucidate the background of its transmission. Moreover, there are other related works, like the *Milindapañha-ṭīkā*, the *Milindapañha Saṅkhepa,* and the *Milindapañhagāthā,* which is embedded in the *Vaṃsamālinī.* The last two are yet to be found outside Thailand. Thus, this short article aims to present a concise listing of them in the hope that they will facilitate further research into these texts.

Background

Buddhism in Southeast Asia is still very much understudied or even neglected, at least in the form of Western-style scholarship compared to Tibetan, Sri Lankan, Japanese or Chinese Buddhism.[1] Despite the clear evidence that Pāli Buddhism's advent to mainland Southeast Asia—for example Śrī Kṣetra in Burma (Myanmar) and Dvāravatī in the Menam Valley as early as the 5th to 6th century CE[2]—the contribution of Southeast Asia to Buddhist studies leaves much to be desired. Among the challenges modern scholars face in stringing together a broader narrative of Southeast Asian Buddhism are the hindrances of geopolitical boundaries and local scholarship that are generally written in their respective local languages. These languages range from Thai, Lan Na, Lao, Mon, Khmer, Burmese to Arakanese.[3] Therefore, unless one has a good grasp of these diverse languages, or works in a collaborative team, Buddhist studies in Southeast Asia remains in silos.

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[1] Skilling, 2009a: 46.

[2] Skilling, 2009b: 106.

[3] Skilling, 2009a: 49.

In Thailand, as well as elsewhere, another factor that hampers research, especially on Pāli literature, is the lack of catalogues describing manuscript collections.[4] In other words, researchers are not aware of what might possibly be in store in the kingdom which has at least a millennium and a half of Pāli scholarship. The vast majority of palm-leaf manuscripts, hundreds of thousands of them, are stored in independently administered temples (*wat*) scattered across Thailand[5] and in selected institutions, such as libraries. Certain temples have collected and stored a good number of manuscripts at temple libraries. For example, in Northern Thailand there are Wat Sung Men[6] and Wat Lai Hin,[7] in the North-east there is Wat Mahathat,[8] in Central Thailand, there are Wat Phra Chetuphon[9] (Wat Pho) and Wat Muang Folk Museum,[10] and in Southern Thailand, there is Wat Samuh Nimit. The number of manuscripts kept at each temple varies. In certain temples, manuscripts are neglected and fall into decay due to lack of interest or the absence of monks who can make use of them.

Efforts for preservation have been carried out in Northern Thailand to digitize manuscripts. For example, through projects like: the Preservation of Northern Thai Manuscripts Project (PNTMP); the Dokumentarische Erfassung literarischer Materialien in den Nordprovinzen Thailands (DELMN), and the Digital Library of Northern Thai Manuscripts (DLNTM). 5,005 palm-leaf manuscripts, which were digitized[11] from 115 temples across provinces such as Chiang Mai, Chiang Rai, Lampang, Lamphun, Nan, Phayao, Phrae and Tak in Northern Thailand, are now available online.[12] In addition, the Social Research Institute (SRI) of Chiang Mai University also catalogued and microfilmed manuscripts, with the majority of them related to secular fields of knowledge such as traditional law and medicine.[13]

In Central Thailand, the effort of cataloguing and digitizing manuscripts from temples is not as extensive as in the North. This kind of undertaking is being carried out by various organizations, such as the joint effort of Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation and Henry Ginsburg Fund. However, it is a small undertaking in which fieldwork at temples is generally conducted during weekends to capture images of manuscripts as well as

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[4] Skilling and Santi Pakdeekham, 2017: 125–150 at 125 and n. 2.

[5] There were 33,902 active temples (with monks) in Thailand in 2004. See ที่มา กองพุทธศาสนสถาน: สำนักงานศาสนสมบัติ (วัดร้าง) ข้อมูล ณ วันที่ 31 ธันวาคม 2547. (Office of National Buddhism, Division of Religious Properties [and Abandoned Temple] as of 31 December 2004. http://www.dhammathai.org/watthai/watstat.php (accessed 12 November 2020).

[6] For the history of these two temples and their efforts to collect and store Pāli manuscripts, see McDaniel, 2009: 124–137.

[7] For a catalogue of Wat Lai Hin manuscripts, see von Hinüber, 2013.

[8] For the preliminary survey of Wat Mahathat manuscripts in Yasothon Province, see Iijima, 2005: 341–357.

[9] King Rama I built a library to store manuscripts of the '*Tripiṭaka* of Scriptural Study.' For the role played by this temple in court Buddhism and the arts, see Skilling, 2012: 297–349.

[10] For the manuscript catalogue of this museum, see Wat Muang Folk Museum, 1993.

[11] Some manuscripts may be digitalized more than once by these three projects.

[12] See the website of the Digital Library of Northern Thai Manuscripts. http://lannamanuscripts.net/en (accessed 18 November 2020).

[13] Ibid.

Figure 1. NL4596 and NL6191, samples of manuscripts copied in the 17th and 18th centuries. They also show the colophons (in Khom Thai script) on the title folios. The text on the folio below is written Khom Pāli/Bāli script.

Figure 2. NL333, copied in the First Reign of the Rattanakosin era, an example of a gilt-edged manuscript with vermilion band in the centre.

Figure 3. An example of a title folio decorated with gilt-floral-motifs on a maroon-black lacquered background.

stone inscriptions and wall paintings. As a single palm-leaf manuscript may have up to 400 folios, the process of capturing them in high resolution is slow and tedious. The images captured are made available to researchers on request.

Other institutions that house palm-leaf manuscripts in Central Thailand are, among others, the Siam Society in Bangkok[14] and the National Library of Thailand, which boasts a staggering 225,733 titles of palm-leaf manuscripts in its treasure trove,[15] dwarfing any temple collection, single or combined. With such a collection, let us now explore briefly the background of this library.

National Library of Thailand

According to George Coedès, who was chief librarian between 1918 and 1929, the National Library of Thailand[16] has one of the finest and richest collections of Khom-script Pāli manuscripts in the world.[17] The library was formed by a Royal Decree of 15 October 1905, amalgamating three existing libraries at that time, viz., the Mandira Dhamma Library,[18] the Buddhasasanasangaha Library and the Vajirañāṇa Library.[19] The Mandira Dhamma Library was built by King Rama I in 1783 to house the Royal collections of the *Tripiṭaka* from the beginning of the Rattanakosin (Bangkok) period (1782 to the present). The Buddhasasanasangaha Library was founded by King Chulalongkorn (Rama V) in 1900 to gather all works related to Buddhism in one place. The Vajirañāṇa Library was established by King Mongkut's children in 1882 for general use and as the library of King Mongkut (Rama IV) and his brother, the viceroy Phra Pin Klao.[20]

All the royal collections or editions, with the exception of two, which are kept in the precincts of the Temple of the Emerald Buddha, are now kept at the National Library.[21] Of the Pāli works which are known to exist, only a few are not available in the National Library. Those works, which have not previously been included in the Siamese collection, have been purchased or copied in Ceylon (Sri Lanka) or Burma sometime around the first quarter of the 20th century with the permission of the British Government.[22] The National Library also incorporated Pāli manuscripts coming from various temples in Siam. The manuscripts from these temples were classified, properly wrapped with cloth and preserved at the National Library. According to the guidelines established nearly a century ago, if the temple requested the return of the manuscripts, they would be sent

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[14] See von Hinüber, 1987: 9–74.

[15] Suwakhon Siriwongworawat, ed., 2000: 14.

[16] The official name of the library has changed several times, from Vajirañāṇā National Library, to Vajiravudha Library, then to the National Library after the 1932 revolution (Suwakhon Siriwongworawat, ed., 2000: 1–2). For convenience, I refer to it as the 'National Library' throughout this article.

[17] Coedès, 1924: 21–25.

[18] Also known as Ho Phra Monthien Tham, which stands in the compound of the Temple of the Emerald Buddha within the precincts of the Grand Palace, Bangkok.

[19] Suwakhon Siriwongworawat, ed., 2000: vii–ix.

[20] The Siam National Library, 1926: 264.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid.: 265.

back together with a catalogue. However, if any rare or important piece was discovered, it would be retained by the National Library.[23] As such, the National library has an extraordinarily rich and diverse manuscript collection of Pāli literature.

The majority of the manuscripts are undated and are generally considered to come from the period after the formation of the Rattanakosin era in 1782. The sacking of the ancient capital of Ayutthaya in 1767, during the war with Burma, resulted in the destruction of a huge number of manuscripts. Despite that, the National Library does possess a small number of Pāli manuscripts copied during the 17th, the 16th and even the 15th century.[24]

The bulk of the manuscripts were written in a type of Khom script used to write the Pāli language known as 'Khom Pāli' (ขอมบาลี), sometimes Romanised as 'Khom Bāli.'[25] Thai language manuscripts are written in Khom Thai (ขอมไทย) which is more complex, as it has signs for recording the complete sound system of the Thai language with additional marks or strokes to cater for sounds and words which are not found in Pāli or Sanskrit. Khom Pāli is also called *Akson Kambujja* (Figure 4) in some manuscripts. Other scripts available include the Mon, Tham Isan/Tham Lao, Tham Lanna and central Thai script. Besides monolingual Pāli manuscripts, there are *phadet,* which are translations into Thai, glosses or bilinguals in the style of *nissaya,* where Pāli words, phrases or sentences are embedded within a greater Thai framework.
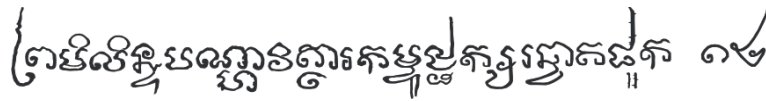

Figure 4. NL2018. *Bra Milindapaṇhā-vitthāra-kambūjjakṣarachvāt phuk ๑๕* (The extended version of the *Questions of King Milinda* written in Kambujja script, fascicle no. fifteen)

Catalogues of the National Library

Several catalogues on the collections of Pāli literature in palm-leaf manuscripts, kept at the National Library of Thailand, have been published, two of them by the library itself. The first one was published in 1916, titled the *Catalogue of Books in the Vajirañāṇa Library, Part 1, Pāli Section, 2459 BE,*[26] in the Thai language. This Pāli section has been re-edited and published in English.[27] The second one was published five years later in 1921, the *Catalogue of Texts in Pāli and Sanskrit in the collection of the Vajirañāṇa Library in the Monkey Year 2463 BE,*[28] also in Thai. A third catalogue

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[23] Ibid.: 266.

[24] Ibid.

[25] The word 'Pāli' is sometimes written in modern Thai script as 'Bāli.' For example, in the catalogue card, the title is written as *milindapañhābāli* (มิลินฺทปญฺหาบาลี) and the language section, it is stated as 'Bāli' (บาลี) instead of Pāli (ปาลิ). Therefore, Khom Bāli also means the Khom script that is used to write the Pāli language.

[26] In Thai: บาญชีเรื่องหนังสือในหอพระสมุดวชิรญาณ ภาคที่ ๑ แพนกบาฬี พ.ศ. ๒๔๕๙.

[27] Skilling and Santi Pakdeekham, 2004.

[28] บาญชีคัมภีร์ภาษาบาลี แล ภาษาสันสกฤต อันมีฉบับในหอพระสมุดวชิรญาณสำหรับพระนคร เมื่อปีวอก พ.ศ. ๒๔๖๓. Cf. Skilling and Santi Pakdeekham, 2004: ix–x.

of Pāli texts was published privately as part of the *Sap Songkhro* (ศัพท์สงเคราะห์) by Thong or Maha Kim Hongladarom in 1925 as a convenient handbook for students. The *Sap Songkhro* has three sections based on the Three Jewels, namely: the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Sangha. The section on the Dhamma has two parts: part one is a list of titles of 528 texts accompanied by brief descriptions and part two is a list of monk's rules according to *Pātimokkha*. The first part, which draws extensively from the 1921 National Library catalogue, has been re-edited by Skilling and Santi Pakdeekham into a trilingual edition, *Pāli Literature Transmitted in Central Siam,* published in 2002.[29]

These catalogues have been useful and valuable. However, as Prince Damrong Rajanubhab rightly pointed out in his foreword in the 1916 Catalogue,[30] they are lists of works, of titles and not records of the number of manuscripts of each work. The number of manuscripts is much greater, since most titles are available in multiple copies, such as the many royal editions of the *Tripiṭaka*. This is true also in the case of the Pāli *Milindapañha* manuscripts, which are listed as a single entry when the National Library has seventy of them, some complete and some not. These seventy manuscripts are not necessarily direct copies of each other or of a single original exemplar: they are, rather, different recensions that were copied in different periods of Thai history.

Reasons to catalogue the *Milindapañha* manuscripts

There have been studies[31] showing that the textual tradition of the Thai-script printed edition, the *Milindapañhā*, edited by Cattasalla Thera et al., published in 1923 (hereafter Si),[32] differs considerably from the Roman-script *editio princeps*, the *Milindapañho,* edited by V. Trenckner in 1880 (hereafter Mil).[33] They differ in syntax, content, number of dialogues, as well as in details. While Mil derived mainly from manuscripts copied in Sri Lanka,[34] there is no information regarding the manuscript(s) used in editing Si. Therefore, in order to understand why these dissimilarities have come to be, one has to go back to the manuscripts to find out how they have evolved. To do that, the first step is to find and document all accessible witnesses so that the textual traditions of these manuscripts can be studied and analysed.

Moreover, another three related texts are found in the National Library collection: the *Milindapañha-ṭīkā*, the commentarial text; the *Milindapañha Saṅkhepa,* the abridged version; and the *Milindapañhagāthā,* composed in verses. The last one is embedded in Chapter XIII of the *Vaṃsamālinī* (see below). At the moment, little is known about the *Saṅkhepa* and the *Milindapañhagāthā*, which are not found outside Thailand.

Hence, for the reasons above, it is justifiable to go one step further to provide a brief catalogue of each *Milindapañha* manuscript and its related texts. Due to limitations of

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[29] Skilling and Santi Pakdeekham, 2002.

[30] Cf. Skilling and Santi Pakdeekham, 2004: ix.

[31] See Mizuno, 1959: 37–40; Thich Minh Chau, 1964: 226–227; and Skilling, 2010: 1–24.

[32] Cattasalla Thera et al., ed. 1923. (Si)

[33] Trenckner ed., 1880. (Mil)

[34] Ibid.: iii–vii.

space, this listing will provide only key information on: the entry code, title, number of *phuk*[35] (ผูก), or fascicles, date (if available), contents of the colophon and additional remarks (if any).

Accessing the manuscripts

The National Library of Thailand is located at the junction of Samsen and Si Ayutthaya roads in Dusit District, Bangkok. The Manuscript Department is on the fourth floor. The title entries of palm-leaf manuscripts can be browsed from the card catalogue cabinet situated near the service counter of the department. They are accessible to the public. However, the catalogue cards are handwritten in Thai characters, including the title entry. For example, the title entry of the *Milindapañha* is written in Thai as มิลินฺทปญฺหาบาลิ (*milindapañhābāli*). The cards are organized into sections according to script. For example, Khom manuscript entries are arranged together following Thai alphabetical order. Both monolingual Pāli and bilingual, namely Pāli-Thai, entries of the *Milindapañha* are lined up together in the drawer. Information available on the catalogue card, among others are: the code of the manuscript, title, number of *phuk*, type of script, type of language, number of lines per page, type of folio presentation or *chabap* (ฉบับ) and type of wooden-boards, *maiprakab* (ไม้ประกับ), used to stack these *phuk* together.

The card catalogues for the royal editions of manuscripts are kept in separate drawers in the same cabinet. Each reign has a separate drawer(s). The entry card will indicate the respective royal reign when the manuscript was copied. For example, if it indicates *Rachakan thi 1* (รัชกาลที่ ๑), it means the manuscript was copied during the First Reign of the Rattanakosin era. Each reign has its own royal seal.[36] There are nine entries for the *Milindapañha* and four for the *Milindapañha Saṅkhepa* manuscripts classified under this royal category.

Permission to access those manuscripts is generally granted to students and researchers from Thai (public) institutions of higher learning. A letter from the institution indicating the purpose of research, the name of the project, the list of the manuscripts the researcher wants to examine and/or to make digital copies of, will suffice.[37] The letter will then be sent to the Director of the National Library via the Manuscript Department for approval. Permission, if granted, will come within five working days. If one wants to examine further manuscripts, a new approval is required. For foreign researchers, the approval from the National Research Council of Thailand, Office of International Affairs, is required.[38]

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[35] A *phuk* is a small bundle of manuscripts generally consisting of twenty-four written folios (palm-leaf on both sides) with one to three blank folios in front and at the back as protective folios.

[36] Kongkeow Wiraprachak and Wirat Unnatharawarangkun ed., 1984: 16–29.

[37] There is a department which performs digital imaging of manuscripts. The order will need to go through the Department of Manuscripts.

[38] https://foreignresearcher.nrct.go.th/index.php?lang=en&mod=home&op=index (accessed 13 November 2020).

The *Milindapañha* manuscripts kept at the National Library

The card catalogue shows that there are sixty-nine entries for monolingual Pāli *Milindapañha* in Khom (ขอม) and one in Mon (มอญ) script. However, there is no Pāli monolingual entry in Isan (อีสาน) or Lan Na (ล้านนา) script, only bilingual versions. As for the Pāli *Milindapañha Saṅkhepa*, there are eight entries in Khom and one entry in Mon script.[39] There are also eight entries for the *Vaṃsamālinī* and one *Milindapañha-ṭīkā*. The latter is found in the same bundle (มัด) as a *Saṅkhepa* version. The listing and details of these manuscripts are given in Tables 2 to 8 in Appendix I.

The size of a complete *Milindapañha* manuscript is between fifteen to twenty *phuk* depending on the size of the letters and the type of recension. For example, NL4602[40] comes in fifteen *phuk* and it is complete; NL3964 is complete in eighteen *phuk*, while NL333 is complete in twenty *phuk*. An entry which is less than fifteen *phuk* is generally not complete, where some *phuk* are missing. There are also entries where loose *phuk* are put together in the same bundle. For example, entry NL4427 consists of only nine *phuk* altogether, but with two eleventh and two fourteenth *phuk*. Another example is NL6552, which has twenty-one *phuk*, made up of three sets of incomplete manuscripts. This kind of mixed bundle is not uncommon and can be seen in other entries too— for example, NL4596, NL4606 and NL6133. Despite being incomplete, these mixed bundles may carry important remnants of old manuscripts, for instance, some 17th century manuscripts are found among them.

Certain entries of the royal edition are presented in a different way. Some of them are split into two parts of ten *phuk* each. The first part is called *banton* (บั้นต้น) and the second half *banplai* (บั้นปลาย).[41] Each part has its own catalogue entry and code. The distribution of the texts in the two bundles is the same for all entries of this nature. The *banton* ends at the *Question on Concealment of Dhamma and Vinaya* (*dhammavinayapaṭicchannapañho*)[42] and the *banplai* begins with *Question on the Nature of Light and Heavy [Offences] due to Lying* (*musāvādagarulahubhāvapañho*).[43] However, the pairings are not clearly indicated. One can only judge by assessing the design of the gilt floral motifs on the folio cover.

Dating of manuscripts

The dates of the manuscripts can be assessed in three ways. First, it is as indicated on the title folio. Second, it is indicated on the catalogue card, especially the royal

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[39] The card catalogue initially indicated eighteen entries for the *Saṅkhepa* version; however, not all of them are the *Saṅkhepa* version, but instead certain loose *phuk* of the *Milindapañha*.

[40] 'NL' is an abbreviation for National Library. The NL is added as a prefix here to differentiate the manuscript from other coding systems from other libraries or institutions.

[41] Generally there can be three parts: the first or *banton* (บั้นต้น); the middle or *banklang* (บั้นกลาง); and the final *banplai* (บั้นปลาย). In the case of the *Milindapañha*, it is only divided into two parts.

[42] The titles of the dialogues are taken from Si. Corresponding to Si 264–266; Mil 190–192.

[43] Corresponding to Si 266–268; Mil 192–193.

edition which states the reign in which it was copied. Lastly, the age of the manuscript is estimated by way of palaeographic assessment.

The dating method uses the Buddhist Era (BE) system appearing as *Phuttha-sakkarat* (พุทธศักราช). It also utilises the sexagenary system, which is a combination of the duodecimal animal cycle and the numeral decimal series or the *Sok* (ศก) system. The latter indicates the year, from the first to the tenth year of the decade. The *Sok* system numeric number points to the last digit of the year in *Chula-sakkarat* (จุลศักราช, CS)[44] or the Lesser Śaka Era. Each numeral in the *Sok* system has a name derived from the Pāli language.[45] Thus, one sexagenary cycle will have the duodecimal series repeated five times and the decimal series six times.
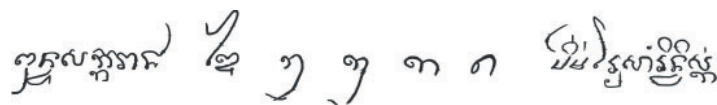

Figure 5. The date of manuscript NL4583 written in Khom Thai script.

An example of the dating system can be seen in manuscript NL4583 (Figure 5). On the title folio, it states: '*Phuttha-sakkarat dai* 2231 *Pī Marong Samritthisok,*' which means: 'the year is 2231 BE (1688 CE), the Year of the Dragon, *Samritthisok* era or tenth year of the decade.' The ordinal number 'tenth' here is the year of *Chula-sakkarat* that ends in zero (2231 BE minus 1181 = 1050 CS). There are seventeen *Milindapañha* manuscripts dated in this way at the National Library (Table 1).

The other way to assess the date of the manuscript is through the period in which it was copied, especially for royal editions. For example, NL333 was copied during the First Reign (1782–1809), whereas NL330, NL337, NL334, NL 335 and NL327 were copied during the Third Reign (1824–1851).
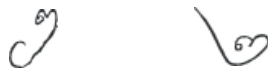

Figure 6: The numeral '2' in different periods: left, late Ayutthaya period; right, Rattanakosin period.

The last option is through palaeographic examination. This type of assessment does not allow us to point to any specific year or even to any particular reign, but to broad Thai historical periods. For example, either they are of the late Ayutthaya (~1351–1767) or the Rattanakosin era (1782–early 1900s). This method is very subjective as the variants are small and we have to take into consideration that the writing style of each scribe may differ. However, one alphabet that stands out is the numeral '2'. As in Figure 6, the tail of the numeral '2' of the (late) Ayutthaya period stays below the line, whereas the tail of the numeral '2' of the Rattanakosin Period is curved, points upwards and then rises above the line. The former was the writing style of the second half of the 17th to the first half of the 18th century. The latter was generally used from the second half of the 18th century

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[44] BE – 1181 = CS. See Wisut Busayakun, 2004: 477.

[45] B.J. Terwiel, 1981: 67 and 98 for Tables 6 and 7 on the listing of the duodecimal animals and the numeric decimal series.

onwards.[46] However, this numeral identification is limited to manuscripts which have *phuk* 2, 12 or 20, as the numeral '2' was written on the title folio. An example is NL6552, which is undated, but is estimated to be copied during the (late) Ayutthaya period.

Dates of the *Milindapañha* manuscripts

There are eight *Milindapañha* manuscripts dated in the Ayutthaya period (Table 1). The oldest is NL5008. Unfortunately, none of the manuscripts from the Ayutthaya era is complete.

Table 1. The dates of the *Milindapañha* in chronological order

Period of Thai history	Year [47] (CE)	Entry Code	Number of *phuk* (*phuk* no.)
Ayutthaya (1351–1767)	1686	NL5008	1 (1)
	1687	NL4596 (Set 2)	8 (5, 7–8, 11–15)
	1688	NL4583	2 (4 – 5)
	1727	NL377	13 (2–7, 9–15)
	1745	NL6191	5 (3 – 7)
	1755	NL4606 (Set 1)	7 (6, 8–9, 11, 13–15)
	1755	NL5215 (Set 1)	1 (4)
	1755	NL6133 (Set 1)	10 (4, 6–10, 12–15)
Thonburi (1767–1782)	1782	NL11815	16 (complete)
Rattanakosin (1782– present)	First Reign (1782–1809)		
	1783	NL8307	17 (complete)
	1788	NL3964	18 (complete)
	1793	NL5435	16 (complete)
	1802	NL1781	2 (13, 16)
	1802	NL4647	1 (14)
	1802	NL4698	1 (7)
	NA	NL333	20 (complete)
	Third Reign (1824–1851)		
	1850	NL5077	15 (6–20)
	NA	NL330	10 (1–10)
	NA	NL337	10 (11–20)
	NA	NL334	10 (1–10)
	NA	NL335	10 (11–20)
	NA	NL327	10 (11–20)
	Fourth Reign (1851–1868)		
	NA	NL331	10 (11–20)
	NA	NL332	18 (complete)
	1868	NL2921	20 (complete)
	Fifth Reign (1868–1910)	NA	NL322	11 (1–11)

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[46] National Library of Thailand, 2004: 37.

[47] All dates are converted from Buddhist Era and given in CE. The conversion from BE to CE is an approximate (+/ - 1 year) for easy reference. Before 1940, the Thai new year started in March/April of each year until it was aligned to start on 1 January in 2484 BE or 1941 CE. See The Calendar Year Act, B.E. 2483. *Royal Gazette* (in Thai). 57 (0 ก): 419. 17 September 1940 [พระราชบัญญัติปีปฏิทิน พุทธศักราช ๒๔๘๓].

Only one manuscript, NL11815, was copied in the transition year, 1782, from the Thonburi (1767–1782) to the Rattanakosin era. It comes in eighteen *phuk,* a complete set. The rest of the dated manuscripts were copied in the Rattanakosin era, ranging from NL8307 in 1783 to NL2921 in 1868. The remaining manuscripts are undated and were most probably copied in the 19th century. However, older manuscripts do not mean they are antecedent to the rest in the line of transmission. A newly copied manuscript could stand as a witness to an older manuscript (which is no longer extant) if the scribe carefully copied them from old leaves to new ones.

The terms, *vitthāra*, *saṅkhepa* and *paṇāmagāthā*

The term *vitthāra* in the *Milindapañha Vitthāra* (PLTCS 2.176; HPL §172–180) means it is an extensive or extended version of the *Milindapañha*. Despite there being certain recensions which may seem extended,[48] this term was probably used to differentiate it from the abridged version, the *Milindapañha Saṅkhepa*. The term *vitthāra* was used quite loosely in the manuscripts. For example, not all the *phuk* in the same bundle have the word *vitthāra* on the title folio of each *phuk.* In general, manuscripts that have the word '*vitthāra*' on their title folios—for example, NL332, NL3964, NL4090 and NL4890—come in eighteen to twenty *phuk*. On the other hand, the *Milindapañha Saṅkhepa* comes in just three *phuk*.

The *paṇāmagāthā*, or the verses of homage totalling approximately 350 Pāli words, have two parts.[49] The first part consists of five verses paying obeisance to the Three Jewels. The second part is in prose, narrating parts of the Buddha's address to his monks at the time of his demise (*parinibbāna*) in Kusinārā, where he reiterated what he had declared to them so far as well as predicting the three recital councils and the debate between King Milinda and Nāgasena five hundred years after his passing. This *paṇāmagāthā* is found in the opening of Si[50] and not in Mil. Manuscripts that come with the *paṇāmagāthā* begin with '*cariyā sabbalokassa hitā…,*' whereas, those without, begin with '*milindo nāma so rājā*…' The *Milindapañha* with *paṇāmagāthā* has circulated in Central Siam at least from the late Ayutthaya period, as evidenced by NL5008, dated 1686.

Not all the Siamese *Milindapañha* manuscripts with a '*vitthāra*' label have the *paṇāmagāthā*. Moreover, the *paṇāmagātha* is also found at the opening of the *Milindapañha Saṅkhepa*. The presence of the *paṇāmagāthā* in the *Milindapañha* could be a later addition either from the *Saṅkhepa* or other texts.

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[48] The discussion on the various recensions with different textual traditions of the *Milindapañha* found in Thailand is beyond the scope of this article. There is a certain recension that seems to be extended partly due to the presence of the *paṇāmagāthā*, cognate dialogues (i.e. duplicate dialogues but may contain important differences in details), and dialogues not found in other recensions. Further discussion on this is available in the forthcoming 'Transmission of the *Milindapañha.*'

[49] For the Pāli and its English translation, see Skilling, 2010: 5–10.

[50] It is also found in the Khmer translation, which is probably based on a Pāli version from Thailand. See Oum-Sau, 1926; Jacob, 1996: 49; It also appears in an online Chinese translation of the Pāli Tripiṭaka (漢文大藏經). http://tripitaka.cbeta.org/N63n0031_001 (accessed 12 November 2020).

The *Milindapañha Saṅkhepa*

Little is known of the *Milindapañhā Saṅkhepa*. At the moment, it is not found outside Central Siam. The known examples come in three *phuk*. At the National Library, there are eight sets of *Saṅkhepa* manuscripts in Khom and one in Mon script (Table 5 and 6 in Appendix I). No date was indicated on the manuscripts. However, one of them, NL336, was copied during the First Reign and another two, NL334 and NL376, were copied during the Third Reign.

The *Saṅkhepa* is not a selection of parts of the *Milindapañha* put together. Its textual tradition is entirely different. For example, terms like *ākāsakasiṇavasena* (the basis of concentration on space) and *vāyokasiṇavasena* (the basis of concentration on air), which are generally found in the *Paṭisambhidhāmagga*[51] (the *Path of Discrimination*) and the *Visuddhimagga*[52] (the *Path of Purification*) and not in the *Milindapañha,* appear in the *Saṅkhepa*. As such, the *Saṅkhepa* is a digest of the *Milindapañha* rather than an abridged version. However, we do not know who compiled or edited it.

The *Milindapañha* in the (*Mahā*)*Vaṃsamālinī*

There are eight entries of the *Vaṃsamālinī* (spelt as *Vaṅsamālinī* in the manuscript) at the National Library, seven in Khom and one in Mon script (Tables 7 and 8 in Appendix I). They come in thirteen *phuk.* The *Vaṃsamālinī* is a recast of the *Mahāvaṃsa* and it covers the same period as the latter.[53] It contains thirteen *pariccheda,* or chapters. In chapter thirteen, the *rājavaṃsādikathā pariccheda* (*The Chapter on the Chronicle of Kings and the rest*)*,* there is a section on the *Milindapañha*, composed entirely in 733 *gāthā*,[54] or verses. Nedis reports that the *Vaṃsamālinī* was compiled in the 19th century BE or the 15th century CE by a monk in Lan Na, Northern Thailand.[55]

The *Milindapañha* section is preceded by *Kuṭakaṇṇatissarājakathā* (the *Tale of King Kuṭakaṇṇatissa*) and followed by *Buddhaghosanidānakathā*[56] (*the Account of Buddhaghosa*). The verses of the *Milindapañha* come between *phuk* 10 and 12 of the *Vaṃsamālinī*.

There are also nine entries entitled '*Vaṃsamālinīpakaraṇa-ṭīkā*' (*the Commentary to the Exposition of Vaṃsamālinī*) in the catalogue cards. The manuscript title spelt it as '*Ṭikāvaṅsamālinī*'. It seems to come in nineteen *phuk* split into two parts. However, upon examination, it is actually a commentary to the *Mahāvaṃsa* or the *padyapadoruvaṃsa*[57] and not a commentary to the *Vaṃsamālinī*. At the moment, the *ṭīkā* or commentary on the *Vaṃsamālinī* is yet to be found and we do not know whether or not such a text actually exists.

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[51] Cf. Paṭis: 95.

[52] Cf. Vism: 176; Ñāṇamoli transl. 1975 (4th ed. 2010): 167.

[53] See Skilling, 2014: 360; von Hinüber, 1996: 93.

[54] Nedis Rucirarucana, 1989: 301–354. The thesis includes a translation of this section in Thai.

[55] Ibid.: In the Abstract.

[56] In the manuscript, it is written as '*buddhaghosassa nidānaka[tha]ṃ vilāsakaraṇaṃ yeva nava'* or 'the new beautiful introduction to Buddhaghosa'.

[57] Von Hinüber, 1996: 92.

A variety of titles

There are two features I have observed regarding the title of the *Milindapañha* among this group of manuscripts. First, the writing convention of the title given on the catalogue card, and the title that appears on the manuscript folios, do not necessary match. In fact, they differ quite considerably in some cases. Second, the titles which appear on each title folio of each *phuk* within the same bundle differ. For example, some *phuk* have *Milindapañhā*, the others have *Milindaprisnā*, some with *vitthāra* and some without.

The titles given in the catalogue card can be broadly divided into two groups. First, a small group of them, around seven entries, recorded the title as the 'มิลินฺทปนฺหา' (*milindapanhā*) or at the subtitle 'พระ มิลินฺทปนฺหา' (*braḥ*[58] *milindapanhā*). The majority of them, in the second group, have 'มิลินฺทปนฺหาบาลิ ขุทฺทกนิกาย' (*milindapanhābāli khuddakanikāya*), with subtitles of 'พระ มหาติปิฎกจุฬาภัย' (*Phra Mahatipitaka Chulabhaya*) and 'พระ มิลินฺทปนฺหา' (*braḥ milindapanhā*). The monk Phra Mahatipitaka Chulabhaya could refer either to the Ceylonese Thera of Mahāvihāra in Anurādhapura[59] or a local monk with the same name. Unfortunately the name of the Thera does not appear in the colophons or on the title folios in the *Milindapañha* manuscripts. That raises a possibility that the name assigned on the card could be entirely arbitrary. Similarly, the manuscripts themselves never refer to the *Milindapañha* as part of the *Khuddaka-nikāya*, and the Thai tradition does not treat it as such. The mention in the card catalogue must be a classification arbitrarily added by later librarians basing themselves on Western or Burmese sources.

At the manuscript level, titles appearing on the title folios have a variety of names or are spelt differently. For example:

1. *braḥ milindapañhā* (Figure 7)
2. *braḥ milindapaṇhā* (Figure 8)
3. *braḥ milindapaṇhā vitthāra*
4. *bra milindapaṇhā vitthāra kambujjakṣarachvāt* (Figure 4)
5. *milindaprisnā* (Figure 9)
6. *braḥ milindaprissanā* or *bra milindaprissahnā* (Figure 10)
7. *brañā milindapañhā* (Figure 11)
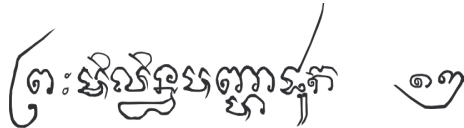
Figure 7: NL4563 *braḥ milindapañhā phuk 12*   Figure 8. NL377 *braḥ milindapaṇhā phuk 2*

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[58] พระ is transliterated as either 'Braḥ' or 'Phra'. พระ has several meanings: it can mean monk, venerable, amulet, or Buddha image. It can also be used as a prefix to objects or persons of reverence or respect, like Buddhas, arhats, monks, royal persons, shrines (*cetiya*), images, and so on. Here, I will transliterate พระ as 'Braḥ' following the transliteration convention from Pāli/Sanskrit to Roman characters for a text title found on the manuscript. For more information on this honorific, see F. Pain, 2019: 111–141.
[59] Cf. DPPN I: 907–908, s.v. *cūlābhaya*.

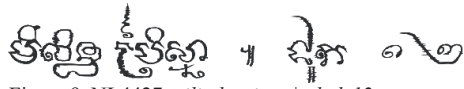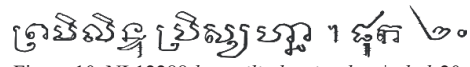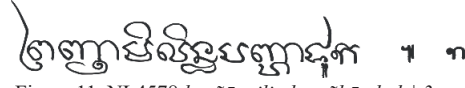Figure 9. NL4427 *milindaprisnā | phuk* 12   Figure 10. NL12288 *bra milindaprissahnā | phuk* 20

Figure 11. NL4578 *brañā milindapañhā phuk | 3*

-pañhā: is it a plural or a feminine noun?

The word *-pañhā* in the *Milindapañhā'* is spelt with a long 'ā'. It is either a plural or a feminine noun. If it is in a plural form, it could indicate that the text is regarded as a compilation of several sets of texts—for example, the *milindapañha*, the *meṇḍakapañha*, the *anumānapañha* and *Opammapañha*—put together. The commentator, Buddhaghosa, quoted the *Milindapañha* in his *vinaya* commentary as '*meṇḍaka-milindapañhesu…*'.[60] If the word '*-pañhesu*' in this *dvanda* compound is used distributively, then Buddhaghosa could be referring to two sets of (separate) texts, the *Meṇḍakapañha* and the *Milindapañha*, rather than a single set.

The plural could also reflect the multiple questions seen in the *Milindapañha*. For example, the plural *'-pañhesu'* is also seen in the *Nidānasaṃyukta*: *tatra bhagavān āyuṣmantaṃ sāriputram āmantrayati | uktam idaṃ śāriputra mayā parāyaṇśv ajitapraśneśu*[61] (there the Blessed One addresses the Venerable Śāriputra: 'O Śāriputra, it is said by me in "the *Questions of Ajita*" of the *Parāyaṇa*'). The plural *'pañhā'* for multiple questions also occurs in the Suttas; for example, in the *Rathavinīta Sutta* (M 24): *āyasmatā puṇṇena mantāṇiputtena gambhīrā gambhīrā pañhā anumāssa anumāssa byākatā*[62] (these profound questions were answered point by point by the Venerable Puṇṇa, son of Mantāṇi).

Trenckner chose the name '*Milindapañho*' over '*Milindapañhaṃ*' or '*Milindapañhā*' as he regarded the text as a collective singular and '*-pañhā*' as a feminine rather than as a plural.[63] Perhaps he comes to that opinion based on the Burmese manuscript, M, which is one of the witnesses he referred to, having dialogue titles reflecting *-pañhā* as a feminine noun. For example, a dialogue title appears as *buddhanidassanapañhā dasamī* (the *Tenth Question on Pointing Out Where the Buddha Is*).[64] Here, the adjective *dasamī* is in feminine form so that it is in agreement with *-pañhā,* which is regarded as a feminine noun. A similar case is found in another *Milindapañha* manuscript kept in Southern Thailand.

On the other hand, the long 'ā' could simply be an adoption from the vernacular Thai ปัญหา (*pañhā*), or Khmer បញ្ហា (*bañhā*) or Lao ບັນຫາ (*banhā*),[65] as it is uncommon for

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[60] See Sp: 742

[61] Tripāṭhī, ed., 1962: 198. In the Pāli version, instead, the word *-pañhesu* is given as *-pañhe* in '*vuttam idaṃ Sāriputta Parāyane Ajita-pañhe.*' See S II: 47.

[62] M I: 150.13–14.

[63] Trenckner ed., 1880: vi.

[64] Ibid.: vii.

[65] These languages do not have plural form.

Khmer or Tai words of Indic origin to be pronounced with a final short 'a' after 'ñh'.[66]

All the Burmese manuscripts listed in the Fragile Palm Leaves collection have '-pañhā',[67] as does the manuscript kept at the Bagaya Monastery south of Mandalay (B^BGY).[68] The Laos manuscript at Vat Nyuttithammathalalam, Campasak (L^VN),[69] and the Lan Na manuscript at Wat Lai Hin, Lampang (L^LH),[70] both have '-pañhā' as well. With these, we can roughly deduce that the long 'ā' form is a common feature in mainland Southeast Asia, especially in the Tai speaking region.

The nasal in -pañha, -paṇha and -panha

Another aspect of the word '-pañha' is the quality of the nasal consonant. On the title folio, pañha is generally spelt as '-paṇha', with a cerebral 'ṇ' rather than a palatal 'ñ'. This form appears in the majority of the manuscripts kept at the National Library. On the evidence of the manuscript catalogues that I have been able to consult, this form is not found in either Sri Lankan or Burmese manuscripts.[71] It is also not found in L^LH and L^VN. The cerebral 'ṇ', or 'n' in pañha, seems to be a feature of Central Siam.

However, paṇha is also regarded as a form of Prakrit or Ardhamagadhi.[72] Another example of possible Prakrit usage in Siamese manuscripts is the word ṇhāpaka-, found in the Meṇḍakārambhakathā (Introduction to the Dilemmas), for nhāpaka- or nahāpaka- to describe 'bath attendant'. However, the presence of Prakrit here seems puzzling. An appositive explanation is that, to the Thai, 'na', 'ṇa' and 'ña' are pronounced alike 'na' for words of Indic origin.[73] This will also help to explain why some manuscripts even have '-panhā', a dental 'n' instead.

Prisnā in Milindaprisnā

It is noteworthy that the title Milindaprisnā (Figure 9) appears quite often as well. It may not necessarily occur at the first phuk, but in some other phuk of the same bundle. The word '-prisnā' could simply be 'ปริศนา' or 'priśnā' in Thai, for the Sanskrit word 'praśna' to mean 'puzzle', 'problem' or 'question'. The forms 'ศ'(śa) or 'ษ' (ṣa) are used interchangeably with 'ส' (sa). The influence of Sanskrit in this region is a well-known fact and, in general, Sanskritic or hybrid forms are preferred over Pāli as in this case. But why is it 'priśnā' instead of 'praśna'? This could be a long-standing Thai practice or it may be an older Khmer spelling. In a Khmer inscription from 1701 (la Grande

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[66] Trent Walker, personal communication, email dated 18 January 2020.

[67] See Nyunt, 2014: 939.

[68] B^BGY dated 1758 CE as in the colophon. https://mmdl.utoronto.ca/databases/national-library-of-myanmar/m-o/ (accessed 21 November 2020).

[69] L^VN dated 1637 CE. https://www.laomanuscripts.net/en/texts/8739#1 (accessed 21 November 2020).

[70] L^LH dated 1495 CE. http://lannamanuscripts.net/en (accessed 21 November 2020). For more information on this manuscript, see von Hinüber, 1987: 111–119; von Hinüber, 1988: 173–174; von Hinüber, 2013: 112–113; and Hundius, 1990: 63–64.

[71] I am referring to the title only.

[72] It is a kind of metathesis with the concomitant change of the sibilant into h. For example, paṇha = praśna (Sanskrit). See Pischel, 1900: 253 at §312; Geiger, 1916: 40 at §50. For some old spellings attested in the Thai Pāli tradition, see Santi Pakdeekham transliterated and ed., 2020: lxviii.

[73] Trent Walker, personal communication, 18 January 2020.

Inscription d'Angkor Vat, IMA 38), the form *'prisnā'* is used four times to mean 'riddle' or 'religious question', but the form is not in Thai epigraphy.[74] The preferred form in Thai inscriptions and older Thai literature for *priśnā* is *pṛṣṇā* (ปฤษณา), presumably the spelling was modified to the more readable form *'priśnā'* later.[75] This also helps to explain why some manuscripts read *milindaprissahnā* (Figure 10); this is an adaptation of the orthography to suit the pronunciation, as the word *'priśnā'* has two syllables in Sanskrit but three in Thai: *'prit - sa – naa'*.

Brañā in Brañā Milindapañha

Some manuscripts carry titles such as *Brañā Milindapañha* (NL4578, Figure 11) or just *Brañā Milinda* (NL6952). It actually means *Phaya* (พญา) *Milindapañhā* or *Questions of King Milinda*. The title *'cau braḥñā'* first appeared in inscriptions dating back to the end of King Lithai's reign (1347–1368) in the Sukhothai era.[76] In the cosmological treatise, the *Traibhūmikathā,* purportedly authored by the same king, the word *'braḥñā'* is used for 'king'.[77]

In summary, based on these examples, one can deduce that pronunciation played an important role in the natural evolution of Thai orthography for both Thai and Pāli-Sanskrit words.

Colophons

There are generally two types of colophon: the final colophon and the colophon on the title folio. The final colophon is found at the end, on the last folio immediately after the body of the text. The colophon on the title folio is given on either side of the title of the text. Sometimes, a colophon can be found on a separate folio placed after the title folio or at the end of a fascicle.

The colophons on the title folio, if any, generally consist of the date of the manuscript (as discussed above). They may include the name of the scribe, donor(s) or name of a monk or temple (see Appendix II). They are usually written in Thai, but mostly in Khom Thai script. The title folios may have notes that record the text has been proofread or checked (ทานแล้ว) with the name of the responsible person(s), usually written in Thai, presumably by their own hand. However, in this cataloguing exercise, these notes are not recorded.

The final colophon generally consists of the title of the text, verses of homage and taking of refuge in the Three Jewels. Some colophons carry the aspirations (*patthanā*) of the donor(s) and scribe(s). It is believed that sponsoring a manuscript to promote and sustain the teaching of the Buddha constitutes meritorious deeds that yield good karmic returns to the contributor(s). The aspiration could be a simple wish to attain Nirvana in

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[74] Pou-Lewitz. 1975: 304. I would like to thank T. Walker for highlighting this to me.

[75] Trent Walker, personal communication, 18 January 2020; Peter Skilling, personal communication, 20 December 2020.

[76] Vickery, 1991: 28.

[77] Ibid.: 32.

the eventuality, for example, *nibbānapaccayo hotu* (may this be a contributing condition to [attain] Nirvana). Some desire perfect physical embodiment or to be as wise as Nāgasena while transmigrating through the cycle of rebirths (*saṃsāra*) before achieving the final prefect bliss. It is also not uncommon to find people setting their hearts to become full Buddhas. For example, the stock phrase: *iminā puññatejena milindapaṇhā likkhitvāna pāramiyo paripuṇṇo buddho homi anāgate* (Through the force of the merit of sponsoring/copying the *Milindapañha*, in the future, may I fulfil the Perfections[78] and become a Buddha), is quite common in this group of manuscripts.[79]

Colophons that allude to the quality of the copying (i.e. NL4563) deserve special attention, as this may be a way the scribe informs the reader that he is not familiar with the Pāli language. Although this could be an understatement or a sign of mere politeness of the scribe, it communicates a message that the reader should read the text with a critical attitude since there might be mistakes due to various reasons.[80]

The principles of cataloguing

This catalogue records the texts just as they appear on the folios of the manuscript. This principle applies to all, including the spelling, even if an error is an obvious one.

The title is the title that appears on the first *phuk* of the manuscript. If the first *phuk* is not available, the title that appears on the *phuk* that comes first in the sequence will be recorded. As explained above, the titles on different *phuk* in the same bundle may differ. It will also be recorded as it is. For example, some have the prefix *'bra'*, some have *'braḥ'*, and some are without the prefix.

The colophon written in Pāli will be transliterated to Roman script. If it is given in Thai language, even when written in Khom Thai script, it will be transliterated into modern Thai script rather than into Roman script. However, where it is appropriate, an English translation will be provided. Proper names (in Thai), which are embedded in English sentences, will be transcribed into Roman script. The use of diacritics (including names) is limited to Pali-Sanskrit words.

The manuscripts in this listing will be arranged by versions and scripts: first, the *Milindapañha* (*vitthāra*) in Khom-script then followed by Mon-script; second, the *Milindapañha Saṅkhepa* in Khom-script and then Mon-script; and lastly, the *Vaṃsamālinī* in Khom-script and followed by Mon-script. Within each version, the entries will be arranged in numerical order as per the library code.

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[78] The Perfections (*pāramī*) are the ten principal virtues cultivated by a Bodhisatta (Sanskrit: Bodhisatva: Buddha-to-be). In order to become a Buddha, these ten virtues need to be developed to the highest degree. See Ja I: 73; Dhp-a: 84.9; For the ten virtues, see Bv: verses 76 and 77, p. 6.

[79] The discussion of selected colophons from this group of manuscripts is forthcoming.

[80] For more examples of this type of colophon, see Hundius, 1990: 33–34.

Abbreviations

BCE	Before Christian Era[81]
BE	Buddhist Era (BE – 543 = CE)
CE	Christian Era
DPPN	*Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names I, A–Dh.* ed. G.P. Malalasekera, 1937. London: John Murray for the Government of India.
HPL	Oskar von Hinüber, 1996. *A Handbook of Pāli Literature.* Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter.
n.	footnote
NA	Not Available
NL	National Library of Thailand. The NL prefix is added to the manuscript entry code in this article.
PLTCS	Peter Skilling and Santi Pakdeekham ed., 2002. *Pāli Literature Transmitted in Central Siam.* Fragile Bangkok: Palm Leaves Foundation & Lumbini International Research Institute. In Materials for the Study of the Tripiṭaka Vol. 1.
(text)	1) Difficult to read Pāli text; 2) Alternative to reading of the colophon.
[text]	1) Additional syllable(s) to the text either in Thai or Pāli in the colophon; 2) Additional English word(s) to make the translation complete.

Reigns of the Rattanakosin Period

Reign I (Phra Phutthayotfa Chulalok Chaoyuhua)	1782 – 1809
Reign II (Phra Phutthalœtla Naphalai Chaoyuhua)	1809 – 1824
Reign III (Phra Nangklao Chaoyuhua)	1824 – 1851
Reign IV (Phra Chomklao Chaoyuhua / King Mongkut)	1851 – 1868
Reign V (Phra Chulachomklao Chaoyuhua / King Chulalongkorn)	1868 – 1910
Reign VI (Phra Mongkutklao Chaoyuhua / King Vajiravudh)	1910 – 1925

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[81] See the trenchant criticism of the idea of 'Christian era' in Skilling's 'Vacillations of Dating' in Skilling 2021: 469–480.

Appendix I

Listing of Pāli *Milindapañha* manuscripts and related texts kept at the National Library of Thailand

Table 2. The *Milindapañha*, monolingual Pāli in Khom script

1	Code: **322**	*Bra Milindapaṇhā*	11 (1–11) *phuk*	Fifth Reign
	Remarks:	First half of the text. Opens with *paṇāmagāthā.* Categorised as a royal edition. A *thong thub* version (ฉบับ ทองทับ).		

2	Code: **326**	*Bra Milindapriṇā*	10 (1–10) *phuk*	Fifth Reign
	Remarks:	First half of the text (*banton*, บั้นต้น). Opens with *paṇāmagāthā.* Categorised as a royal edition.		

3	Code: **327**	*Bra Milindapañhā Banplai*	10 (11–20) *phuk*	Third Reign
	Colophon:	*iminā puññatejena milindapaṇhā likkhitvāna pāramiyo paripuṇṇo buddho homi anāgate* (Through the force of the merit of sponsoring the copying of the *Milindapañha*, in the future, may I fulfil the Perfections and become a Buddha).		
	Remarks:	Second half of the text (*banplai*, บั้น ปลาย). A *rot nam tham tho* version (ฉบับ รดน้ำดำโท). Categorised as a royal edition.		

4	Code: **330**	*Bra Milindapaṇhā Banton*	10 (1–10) *phuk*	Third Reign
	Colophon:	*paripuṇṇasārapāla* ([the manuscript] is completed by [scribe] Sarapala).		
	Remarks:	First half of the text (*banton*, บั้นต้น). Opens with *paṇāmagāthā.* A *Thong Noi* version (ฉบับ ทองน้อย). Categorised as a royal edition. Probably paired with **337**.		

5	Code: **331**	*Bra Milindapaṇhā*	10 (11–20) *phuk*	Fourth Reign
	Colophon:	*iminā puññatejena milindapaṇhā likkhitvāna pāramiyo paripuṇṇo buddho homi anāgate* (see **327**).		
	Remarks:	Second half of the text (*banplai*, บั้น ปลาย). Categorised as a royal edition.		

6	Code: **332**	*Bra Milindapaṇhā Vitthāra Kambujjakṣarachvāt*	18 *phuk* (complete)	Fourth Reign

	Colophon:	On the title folio of *phuk* 18:
		นายฉิมจำลองไว้ในพระศาสนาเป็นปจฺจยฺยแก่พระนิพพานปจฺจโยโหมฺ *ı* (*Nai* Chim, has copied [this manuscript] in the holy Dispensation [of the Buddha] for the obtention of Nirvana.)
		At the end of *phuk* 18: *iminā puññatejena milindapaṇhā likkhitvāna napāramiyo paripuṇṇe buddho homi anāgate kāli (kāle)* (See **327**).
		Scribe / donor: *Nai* Chim
	Remarks:	The manuscript has been proofread. Categorised as a royal edition.

7	Code: **333**	*Bra Milindapaṇhā*	20 *phuk* (complete)	First Reign
	Colophon:	*iminā puññatejena milindapaṇhā likkhitvāna pāramiyo paripuṇṇo buddho homi* (see **327**).		
	Remarks:	Opens with *paṇāmagāthā.* Categorised as a royal edition.		

| 8 | Code: **334** | *Bra Milindapaṇhā* | 10 (1–10) *phuk* | Third Reign |
| | Remarks: | First half of the text (*banton*, บั้นต้น). A *rot nam tham tho* version (ฉบับ รดน้ำดำโท). Categorised as a royal edition. | | |

9	Code: **335**	*Bra Milindapaṇhā Banplai*	10 (11–20) *phuk*	Third Reign
	Colophon:	*iminā puññatejena milindapaṇhā likkhitvāna pāramiyo paripuṇṇo buddho homi anāgate* (see **327**).		
	Remarks:	Second half of the text (*banplai*, บั้น ปลาย). Opens with *paṇāmagāthā.* Probably paired with **334** based on the design of the title folios. A *rot nam tham tho* version (ฉบับ รดน้ำดำโท).		

10	Code: **337**	*Bra Milindapaṇhā Banplai*	10 (11–20) *phuk*	Third Reign
	Colophon	*iminā puññatejena milindapaṇhā likkhitvāna pāramiyo paripuṇṇo buddho homi anāgate* (see **327**)		
	Remarks:	Second half of the text (*banplai*, บั้น ปลาย). Probably paired with **330**. A *Thong Noi* version (ฉบับ ทองน้อย). Categorised as a royal edition.		

11	Code: **377**	*Bra Milindapaṇhā*	13 (2–7, 9–15) *phuk*	1727 CE
	Colophon:	On the title folio of *phuk* 2:		
		หนังสือมหามัน ส่หายเราเอง (This manuscript [belongs to/was sponsored by the monk] Mahaman, my friend.)		

One folio after the title folio:
na buddho mo ddhe yya i thi di a hi raṃ ti buddho so'haṃ gā/tā ji ya ti พุทธทำนาย. This is a mantra or spell made up of disjunctive Pāli syllables. The import is not clear. The last phrase in Thai means '*the prediction of the Buddha*'. The *buddho so'haṃ* could mean 'may I become a Buddha.' For the rest of the words, the meaning is not clear.

On title folio of *phuk* 5:
พุทฺธสกฺกราชไท ๒๒๗๐ พระวสาเศษสังขยา ๘ เดือน กับ ๖ วัน ๒ เสาร์ เดือน ๓ ปีมะแม นพศก (The auspicious year is 2270 of the Buddhist Era [1727 CE] plus eight months and six days, on the second day, a Saturday of the third month of the Year of the Goat, era *Napphasok* or ninth year of the decade.)

มหาอินทสรวิมุลศรัทธาลิขิต [*mahāindhasaravimulasaddhā likkhitā*] (Maha Indhasaravimala was inspired by faith to copy [the manuscript].)

Scribe / donor: Mahamam and Maha Indhasaravimala

Remarks:	A mixed textual tradition (hybrid). The text ends at *issatthassa pañho* (*Question of the Archer*), without the concluding paragraph (*nigamanaṃ*). A *long chat* version (ฉบับ ล่องชาด).

12	Code: **378**	*Bra Milindapaṇhā*	18 *phuk* (complete)	Undated
	Colophon:	*iminā puññatena milindapaṇho sikkhitvāna pārimiyo paripuṇṇo buddho homi anāgate* (see **327**).		

13	Code: **379**	*Bra Milindapaṇhā*	10 (1–10) *phuk*	Undated
	Colophon:	On the title folio: [Scribe] Sapala completed [the manuscript].		
	Remarks:	First half of the text. Opens with *paṇāmagāthā*.		

14	Code: **1781**	*Bra Milindaprisnā*	2 (13, 16) *phuk*	1802 CE
	Colophon:	On the title folio of *phuk* 13: หนังสือมหาเรื่องวัดระฆัง (This manuscript [is sponsored by] Maharueng [to] Wat Rakhang.)		

On title folio of *phuk* 16:
หนังสือเขางทานหลวงตาสามีมหาเรื่องเปนบุรทานกุฎำสำเรจจปีจอ จัตวาสกพรพุทธสกฺกราช ไท ๒๓๔๕ พระวสฺสา (This manuscript, [copied by] Venerable Luang Tasa [in the temple where] Maharueng is the sponsor, was completed in the Year of the Dog, era *Chattawasok* or fourth year of the decade, 2345 of the Buddhist era [1802 CE].)

Remarks:	Incomplete, loose *phuk*. A *long chat* version (ฉบับ ล่องชาด).

15	Code: **1955**	*Bra Milindapaṇhā*	18 *phuk* (complete)	Undated
	Colophon:	At the end of *phuk* 18: *iti iminā puññattena milindapañhā likkhitvāna pāramiyo parirapuṇṇe buddho homi anāgate ǀ itipi so bhagavā arahaṃ sammāsambuddho vijjācaraṇasampanno suggato lokavidū anuttaro purissaddammasārathī satthā devamanussāna[ṃ] budhho bhagavāti sa svākhyāto bhagavatā dhammo ǀ*		
		(Through the force of the merit of copying the *Milindapañha*, in the future may I fulfil the Perfections and become a Buddha. Such indeed is the Blessed One: An Arahant; a completely and perfectly Awakened One; one who is endowed with knowledge and conduct; a Well-gone One; knower of the world; an unsurpassed coach to train people; a teacher of gods and humans; an Awakened One; [and] a Blessed One. Well-declared is the Dhamma by the Blessed One).		

16	Code: **2018**	*Bra Milindapaṇhā Vitthāra Kambujjaksarachvāt*	16 (2–6, 6ก, 7–18) *phuk*	Undated
	Colophon:	At the end of *phuk* 18: *nibbānapaccayo hotu ǀ bud[dh]aṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi* (May it be a contributing condition to [attain] Nirvana. I go to the Buddha for refuge).		
	Remarks:	A mixture of manuscripts in the same bundle.		

17	Code: **2921**	*Bra Milindapaṇhā*	20 *phuk* (complete)	1868 CE
	Colophon:	On the title folio of *phuk* 20: ศาสนา สกฺกราช ล่วง ไท ๒๔๑๑ (In the year after 2411 years of the Dispensation [of the Buddha] has elapsed [1868 CE]). พญาพิศาลสร้างไว้ใน (Phaya Phisan sponsored [this manuscript] in [2411 BE]). พฺรสาสำเรฺจลฺงในปีมเสฺงเอกฺกสฺก ฯ (Phra Sa completed [this manuscript] in the Year of the Snake, era *Ekasok* or first year of the decade).		
		At the end: *iminā puññatejjena milindapaññā likkhitvā pāramiyo paripuṇṇo buddhā homi anāgateti* (see **327**).		
		Scribe / donor: Phra Sa and Phaya Phisan		
	Remarks:	Opens with *paṇāmagāthā*.		

18	Code: **3332**	*Bra Milindapaṇhā*	One *phuk*	Undated
	Remarks:	Some loose folios put together as a *phuk*.		

19	Code: **3391**	*Bra Milindapañhaṃ Nitthitaṃ*	15 (1, 4–17) *phuk*	Undated
	Colophon:	*nibbānapaccayo hotu me te anāgate* (May it be a contributing condition to [attain] Nirvana for you and me in the future).		

	Remarks:	Opens with *paṇāmagāthā.*		
20	Code: **3392**	*Milindapañhā*	7 (6–12) *phuk*	Undated
	Remarks:	Incomplete.		
21	Code: **3393**	*Milindapaṇhā Vitthāra*	16 (1–2, 4–6, 8–18) *phuk*	Undated

	Colophon:	*nibbānapaccayo hotu ‖ buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi ǀ dhammaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi ǀ* (May it be a contributing condition to [attain] Nirvana. I go to the Buddha for refuge, I go to the Dhamma for refuge.)

22	Code: **3964**	*Bra Milindapaṇhā Vitthāra Kambujjakṣarachvāt*	18 *phuk* (complete)	1788 CE

	Colophon:	On the title folio of *phuk* 4: ส้างไว้ไนพ̣รสาสุนาเมือลุวงไฑ ๒๓๓๑ พ̣รวสุสาบีเว̅ากสำเรจจ[ทธิศก] ([this manuscript] is created when 2331 years of the Buddha's Dispensation had elapsed [1788 CE], the Year of the Monkey, *Samritthisok* era or tenth year of the decade).

		At the end of *phuk* 18: *iminā puññatejena milindapaṇhā likkhitvāna pāramiyo paripuṇṇe buddho homi anāgate kāle* (see **327**).

23	Code: **4066**	*Bra Milindapañhā Kambujjakṣarachvāt*	18 *phuk* (complete)	undated

	Colophon:	*iminā puññatejena milindapaṇhā likkhitvāna pāramiyo paripuṇṇo buddho homi anāgate* (see **327**).

24	Code: **4067**	*Milindapaṇhā*	20 *phuk* (complete)	undated
	Colophon:	*iminā puññatejena milindapaṇhā likkhitvāna parimiyo paripuṇṇo buddho homi anāgate* (see **327**).		
	Remark:	A well copied manuscript, for example, most of the long vowel 'ī' are clearly indicated compared to other manuscripts. Opens with *paṇāmagāthā.*		

25	Code: **4068**	*Bra Milindapaṇhā*	16 *phuk* (incomplete)	undated

	Remarks:	Incomplete manuscript. For example, in *phuk* 4, the numbering runs till folio *jī*, giving part of the *ācariyaguṇam* of the *Meṇḍakārambhakathā* and the rest is missing. The text then continues again with folio *ña,* part of *aṭṭhahetu-aṭṭhapaccaya mahābhūmicālapātubhāvapañho catuttho* of the *paṭhamavaggo,* Approximately twenty folios are missing in between. In *phuk* 5, the page starts at folio *ṭu* instead of *ṭa,* meaning six folios are missing. At *phuk* 6, the page starts with *ṭa* again and followed by *ṭha* while *phuk* 7 starts with *ḍha* then *ḍa.*

26	Code: **4090**	*Milindapaṇhā Vitthāra kambujjakṣaracchvāt*	18 *phuk* (complete)	undated
	Remarks:	In *phuk* 4, the *ja* series runs up to *jau* only.		

27	Code: **4094**	*Bra Milindapaṇhā*	17 *phuk* (complete)	undated
	Colophon:	*iminā puññatejjena milindapañhā likkhitvā pāramiyo paripuṇho buddho homi anāgateti* (see **327**).		
	Remarks:	The last *phuk* has thirty-eight written folios. In total nearly eighteen *phuk*.		

28	Code: **4322**	*Bra Milindapaṇhā Kambujjakṣarachvāt*	3 (9, 12–13) *phuk*	undated
	Remarks:	*Phuk* 12 is without pagination. Three loose *phuk* are put together into one bundle (มัด). A *chat thub* version (ฉบับ ชาดทับ).		

29	Code: **4427**	*Milindaprisnā* (*phuk* 6)	9 (6, 11a, 11b, 13, 14a, 14b, 16–18) *phuk*	undated
	Colophon:	*iminā puññatethena milindapa* (the following folio is missing).		
	Remarks:	The two *phuk* 11 are like duplicates of each other but there are errors in 11(b) for example, the *anāgāmiphalaṃ* in *nippapañcapañho dutiyo* is missing. This bundle consists of loose manuscripts put together.		

30	Code: **4563**	*Braḥ Milindapaṇhā*	14 *phuk* (complete)	undated
	Colophon:	Side colophon (at the title folio): คิดเปลียน [or ผิดเพี้ยน] ทีฆะรัสสะตัวใดตัวหนึ่ง ข้าพระเจ้าขสมาโทษท่านบผู้มีสติปัญญา แล้วช่วยทำนุบำรุงพระศาสนาเถิด ([As for] any mistakes regarding short or long vowels [in the Pāli text], I, servant of the Lord, humbly ask for forgiveness from the venerable ones possessed of awareness and intelligence—please help [correct those vowels in order to] preserve and maintain the Dispensation [of the Buddha]).		
	Remarks:	The text ends at *issatthassa pañho pañcamo* (The fifth question of the Archer), without the *nigamanaṃ* (conclusion).		

31	Code: **4578**	*Phuk* 1*, Braḥ Milindapaṇhā Japap Lāṃbhuñja* (Chabap Lamphun); *Phuk* 2*, Bra Milindapañhā*; *Phuk* 3*, Brañā Milindapañhā*	13 (1, 2–6, 8–12, 14–15) *phuk*	undated
	Remarks	This is a mixed bundle. The textual tradition of *phuk* 1 is different from the textual tradition of *phuk* 2 onwards. There is an overlap of texts between *phuk* 1 and 2. As such, the flow of the text in *phuk* 1 does not continue with *phuk* 2. Moreover the writing style differs in both *phuk*.		

32	Code: **4583**	*Phuk* 4a, *Milinda*	11 (4a, 4b, 5a, 5b, 6, 7, 10a, 10b, 11) *phuk*	1688 CE (*phuk* 4a, 5a)

	Colophon:	On the title folios of *phuk* 4a, 5a:

พุทธสกกราช ไท ๒๒๓๑ ปีมะโรงสํฤทธิสก (The year is 2231 of the Buddhist Era [1688 CE], the Year of the Dragon, era *Samritthisok* or the tenth year of the decade.)

(Scribe): Mahapromsuddhi (มหาพรมสุทธิ)

	Remarks:	This bundle is a mixture of different loose manuscripts. Out of the eleven, two are dated 1688 CE (Ayutthaya period). The rest are undated. There is also a set of *nissaya* (a Pāli-Thai text). *Phuk* 10b, the ending is an unusual mixed composition of the verses (*gāthā*) from the *bāhirakathā*. Some undated *phuk* are old and could be remnants of seventeenth or the eighteenth century manuscripts.

33	Code: **4588**	*Bra Milindapaṇhā*	1 (1) *phuk*	undated
	Remarks:	Opens with *paṇāmagāthā*.		

34	Code: **4594**	*Bra Milindapaṇhā*	17 (1–16, 18) *phuk*	undated

	Colophon:	*imina pañña te pilana paṇhā likkhatvāna pāramiyo paripuṇṇe buddho homi anāgate kāle			nibbānapaccayo homi |*

ขอไหขาทันพรสีอาริยเมตไตรไนอนาวร[ณ]ญาณโนนแล
(May I be reborn in time for Sri Arya Maitreya, who has unobstructed knowledge, in that distanced future).

35	Code: **4595**	*Braḥ Milindapañhā*	19 *phuk* (complete)	undated

	Colophon:	*anāgate	uṭṭhehi jāli patiṭṭha poraṇaṃ viya dissati brāhmaṇaṃ viya passāmi nandiyo mābhikirare ti ahaṃ pi tāta passāmi yo so brāhmāva dissati atthiko viya āyāti [atithī no bhavissati].* (In the future: 'get up now, Jāli, and be a support: it is as if something from the past is in view. I might just see a Brahmin, and delight overwhelms me.' [Hearing this, the boy said]: 'I see him too, dear one. He certainly seems to be a Brahmin. Perhaps he is a suppliant, [and will be our guest.]')[1]

	Remarks:	The final colophon is an excerpt of the *Vessantara-jātaka* verses 2117 and 2118.[2] The verses in the manuscript end at *viya āyāti*. The last line (*pāda*) should be in the next folio, but the folio(s) is missing.

36	Code: **4596**			
	Set 1	*Bra Milindapaṇhā*	11 (5–6, 8–9, 11–15, 17–18) *phuk*	undated
	Remarks:	Based on palaeographic assessment (in particular the numeral '2'), it could be copied in the (late) Ayutthaya period between 2230 to 2270 BE or 1687 to 1727 CE.		

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[1] Translated by N. Appleton and S. Shaw, 2015: 595.

[2] Ja VI: 541–542.

| **Set 2** | *Milindapañhā* | 7 (5, 7–8, 12–15) *phuk* | 1687 CE |

Colophon:
At the end of *phuk* 15:
iti nā puññā kammena sagge sagati gāmiko tāvataṃse nibbatteyyaṃ sudhammāyaṃ sanantane gato ceto bhave yattha divibhū vibhave bhave uppanno paññavahessaṃ cheko puññāvisajane yatha rājā nāgaseno yujjhanti yujjhabhūmiyaṃ aññamaññaṃ visedhanoti | | nibbānapaccayo hoti | buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi | (See Appendix III).

On the title folio of *phuk* 5:
พุทธศักราช ได้ ๒๒๓๐ ปีเถาะ นพศก (The year is 2230 of the Buddhist Era [1687 CE], the Year of the Rabbit, era *Nopphasok* or the ninth year of the decade).

อินทปัญญายภิกขุนาสัพพัญญูพุทธภาวํปฏฐนฺเตนอิมํสิกฺขาเปตํ | อุบาสิกางายเปนอุปการ | [*Indapaññāya bhikkhunā sabbaññū buddhabhāvaṃ paṭṭhentena imaṃ sikkhāpetaṃ | upasikā ngai pen upakāra*] (This was taught by the monk Indapaññā, who aspires to be an omniscient Buddha. A female lay devotee Ngai sponsored [this manuscript]).

Remarks:
Phuk 11 seems to be out of place as its textual tradition does not align with the rest. A colophon similar to that of *phuk* 15 is also found in **4606** (**Set 1**) and **6133** (**Set 1**).

| **Standalone** | *Milindapañhā* | 1 (11) *phuk* | undated |

Remarks:
A loose *phuk* without pagination.

| 37 | Code: **4600** | *Braḥ Milindapaṇhā* | 16 *phuk* (complete) | undated |

Colophon:
iminā lekkhapuññena tikkhapaññena visārado ahaṃ pi jātisatasahassāni dhārento tipitakaṃ kittīyaṃ ahaṃ pi jātisatasahassāni tipitakaṃ labhissāmi ahaṃ pi yāva nibbānaṃ na gamissāmi saṃsāraṃ saṃsaranto mahābhogo labhissāmi ahaṃ pi suddhakeso suddhadanto suddhanāso suddhamukho suddhasoto suddhalalo suddhacakkhu suddhajivho suddhabhasito piyavaddho suddhanakkho suddhapādo suddha-urasuddhabhāhu sudhahattho suddhavāco suddha-akodhano cettha mettā bhavano punappanaṃ anāgate yassa buddho paccayo lokanāyako ahaṃ labhāmi sāvako buddho | | milindapañho samato | | (See Appendix IV).

Remarks:
This colophon also appears in **5500**, **11815** and **5435**. The *paṇāmagāthā* seems to be added in because there are two additional folios (four pages) placed on top of the text before it begins with '*milindo nāma so rājā…*'. This shows that at one point, the *paṇāmagāthā* was added to manuscripts which previously do not have it.

| 38 | Code: **4601** | *Bra Milindapaṇhā* | 17 (1–3, 7–9, 9a, 10–11, 11a, 12–14, 14a, 15–17) *phuk* | undated |

Colophon:
iminā puññatejjena milindapaññālikkhitvā pāramiyo paripuṇṇo buddho homi anagateti (see **327**).

Remarks:
A mixture of loose *phuk* from different manuscripts.

39	Code: **4602**	*Bro Milindaprisshnā Kambujjakṣarachvat*	15 *phuk* (complete)	undated
	Remarks:	This manuscript has a mixed textual tradition (hybrid). Opens with *paṇāmagāthā*.		

40	Code: **4603**	*Bra Milindapaṇhā*	15 (3–17) *phuk*	undated
	Remarks	Incomplete manuscript, the text does not end at *phuk* 17.		

41	Code: 4606			
	Set 1	*Braḥ Milindapañho Niṭṭhito*	7 (6, 8–9, 11, 13–15)	1755 CE
	Colophon:	At the end of *phuk* 15: *iminā puññākammena satte sugatigāmiko tāvatiṃse nibbatteyyaṃ sudhammāyaṃ sanantane gato pūto bhave yattha divibhūvibhavebhave uppano paññavāhessaṃ cheko pucchāvisajjane yathā rājā nāgaseno yujjhanti yujjhabhūmiyaṃ aññamaññavivecanoti |* (see Appendix III).		
		On the title folio of *phuk* 11: พุทธสกราช ได ๒๒๙๘ ปีกุนสัปตศก (The year is Buddhist Era 2298 [1755 CE], the Year of the Pig, era *Saptasok* or seventh year of the decade). คา(ข้าพเจ้า) เสมียนยอ ออตองพ่อลุกสร้างไวในพระศาสนาจงได นิพพานนปจโย (I, Samian Yo and O Tong, father and son sponsored [this manuscript] for the Dispensation [of the Buddha]. May it be the contributing condition to [attain] Nirvana).		
	Set 2	*Milindaprisnā*	4 (3, 7–8, 13) *phuk*	undated
	Remarks:	An old manuscript, perhaps from the Ayutthaya period. A slight different style of Khom letter is used especially '*ṭha*' as in '*paṭhavī*' where most other manuscripts just have '*tha*' as in '*pathavī*'.		
	Standalone	*Milindapañhā*	1 (2) *phuk*	undated
	Remarks:	A single loose *phuk* in the bundle.		

42	Code: **4630**	*Bra Milindapaṇhā*	1 (16) *phuk*	undated
	Remarks:	A single loose *phuk*.		

43	Code: **4647**	*Bra Milindapañhā*	1 (14)	1802 CE
	Colophon:	On the title folio: หนังสือของบ้านหลองภาสามีมหาเรืองเป็นประธานกระทำสำเร็จ ปีจอจัตวาศก พระพุทธศักราชได้ ๒๓๔๕ พระวัสสา (The manuscript was successfully completed by Luang Phasa [for the temple] where Mahareung is the principle monastic supporter in the auspicious year of 2345 of the Buddhist Era [1802 CE], the Year of the Dog, era *Chattawasok* or fourth year of the decade).		

| | Remarks: | A single loose *phuk*. | | |

| 44 | Code: **4698** | *Bra Milindapaṇhā* | 1 (7) | 1802 CE |
| | Colophon: | On the title folio: | | |

หนังสือมหาเรื่องวัดระฆัง (the manuscript [is sponsored by] Mahareung to Wat Rakhang).

On second title folio:
หนังสือของท่านหลวงกาสามีมหาเรื่องเป็นประธานกระทำสำเร็จ ปีจอจัตวาศกพระพุธศักราชล่วงแล้วได้ ๒๓๔๕ พระ วัสสา (The manuscript [sponsored by] Mahareung, the principle monastic supporter, was completed by Luang Kasa, in the year 2345 of the Buddhist Era [1802 CE], the Year of the Dog, era *Chattawasok* or fourth year of the decade).

| | Remarks: | A single loose *phuk* with two title folios. | | |

| 45 | Code: **4720** | *Bra Milindaprisnā* | 16 (1–2, 4–11, 13–18) *phuk* | undated |
| | Colophon: | *iminā puññatena milindapaṇhā likkhitvāna pāramiyo paripuṇṇe buddho homi anāgate /* (see **327**). | | |

| 46 | Code: **4890** | *Bra Milindapañhā Vitthāra Kambūjjakṣarachvāt* | 18 *phuk* (complete) | undated |
| | Colophon: | On the title folio: | | |

เจ้าครอกฉอุ่มสร้างไว้ในพระศาสนา ขอให้ได้ สำเร็จ พระนิพพาน โดยออ[3] (Chao Khrok Cha-um sponsored [this manuscript] in the Dispensation [of the Buddha]. [I] wish to attain Nirvana).

| | Remarks: | Opens with *paṇāmagāthā*. | | |

| 47 | Code: **4919** | *Milindapañhā* | 1 (3) *phuk* | undated |
| | Remarks: | A single loose folios. Folios are arranged in reverse order (*ca, cā, ci,… ce, ṅai, ṅo, ṅaṃ, ṅaḥ*). | | |

| 48 | Code: **5008** | *Bra Milindapañhā* | 4 (1, 7a, 7b, 15) | 1686 CE (*phuk* 1) |
| | Colophon: | After the title folio of *phuk* 1: | | |

พระญามิลินท ผูก ๑ ข้าพเจ้าผู้ชื่ออุบาสกธมุมโชต ได้เอาใจลงในพระศาสนา ณ วัดกลวย [กงวย] แลได้สร้างพระยามิลินทปัญหาปริศนาคัมภีร์ ๑ จบ บริบูรณ์ ๑๖ ผูก ไว้สำหรับ พระศาสนาให้บริบูรณ์ถ้วน ๕๐๐๐ พระวัสสา เมื่อ สร้างนั้น พุทธศักราช ๒๒๒๙ พระวัสสา เศษสังขยาได้ ๑๐ เดือน กับ ๑๒ วัน สำเร็จในวันศุกร์ เดือน ๕ ขึ้น ๒ ค่ำปีขาล อฐูศก แล้ว ข้าพเจ้าขอเป็นปัจจัยแก่ นิพพาน ในอนาคตกาลภายภาคหน้า นั้นเถิด แล้วข้าพเจ้าผู้ได้เขียนหนังสือนี้เล่า ไซร้ ขอเป็น อัครสาวกพระเจ้าเบื้องหน้านั้นเล่าเถิด.

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[3] The last word is not clear.

(King Milinda *phuk* one. I, a layman by the name of Dhammajota, devoted myself to the Dispensation of the Buddha at Wat Kluai, sponsored this manuscript of the *Questions of King Milinda*, complete in sixteen *phuk*, to be established in the Dispensation of the Buddha for the full five thousand years. As for the time I sponsored it, it was in 2229 of the Buddhist era, plus ten months and twelve days, completed on a Friday, the fifth lunar month on the second waxing day, the Year of the Tiger, era *Atthasok* or eighth year of the decade. I humbly aspire for the conditions for Nirvana in the future. May I, the person who copied this manuscript, aspire to be a foremost disciple of the Buddha in the future.)[4]

Remarks:	Four loose *phuk* put together. Only *phuk* 1 is dated and is the oldest dated manuscript in this collection which is also the earliest evidence showing the *paṇamagāthā* circulated in Central Siam since the late seventeenth century CE if not earlier.	

49	Code: **5013**			
	Set 1	*Bra Milindapaṇhā Paripūṇṇa*	2 (1–2) *phuk*	undated
	Remarks:	Opens with *paṇāmagāthā*.		
	Set 2	*Bra Milindaprisnā*	2 (2–3) *phuk*	undated

50	Code: **5077**	*Bra Milindaprisnā*	15 (6-20) *phuk*	1850 CE
	Colophon:	On the title folio:		

พร พุทธสกราช ล฿วง ไฃ ๒๓๙๓ ปี จอ โทศก (The year is 2393 of the Buddhist Era, the Year of the Dog, era *Thosok* or second year of the decade.)

At the end of *phuk* 20:
iminā puññātejena milindapaṇhā likkhitvāna pāramiyo paripuṇṇo buddho homi anāgate (see **327**)

51	Code: **5094**	*Bra Milindapaṇhā*	1 (10) *phuk*	undated

52	Code: **5017**	*Bra Milindapaṇhā* ฉบับ *Lambhūñja Kambojakṣarachvāt*	1 (5) *phuk*	undated
	Remarks:	One loose *phuk*. It could be a mixture of loose folios put together in one *phuk*.		

53	Code: **5174**	*Bra Milindapaṇhā*	3 (1, 5, 10) *phuk*	undated

54	Code: **5215**			
	Set 1	*Milindapaṇhā*	1 (4) *phuk*	1755 CE

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[4] Translation with input by Trent Walker (personal communication, 14 February 2020).

Colophon:	On the title folio:	

พุทธสกราช ไท ๒๒๙๘ พร วสสา ปี กุน สัปตศ (The year is 2298 of the Buddhist Era [1755 CE], the Year of the Pig, era *Saptasok* or seventh year of the decade.)

Remarks: This *phuk* could be part of **6133**.

Set 2	*Milindaprisnā*	2 (8–9) *phuk*	undated

55	Code: **5435**	*Bra Milindapaṇhā*	16 *phuk* (complete)	1793 CE

Colophon: At the end of *phuk* 16:
iminā lekkhapuññena tikkhapañño visārado ahaṃpijā satasahassāni dhārento tipitakattayaṃ ahaṃpijā tisatasahassāni tripitakaṃ labhissāmi ahaṃpi yāva nibbanaṃ na gamissāmi sasāraṃ saṃsārento mahābhogo labhissāmi ahaṃ suddhakeso suddhadanto suddhanāso suddhamukho suddhasoto suddhalalo suddhacakkhu suddhajivho suddhabhāsito piyavaddho sunanaddhanakkho suddhadāno suddha-ura, suddhabāhu suddhahattho suddhavoco suddha-akodhano cettha mettā bhāvano punappunaṃ anāgate yassa buddho paccayo lokanāyako ahaṃpi labhāmi sāvako buddho | milindapañño samato | (see Appendix IV)

On the title folio:
พร พุทธสกๅกราช ล่วง ไท ๒๓๓๖ พร วสฺสา ปี ฉลูเปญฺจศก' (The auspicious year is 2336 of the Buddhist Era, the Year of the Ox, era *Benchasok* or fifth year of the decade.)

Remarks: Similar aspiration also appears in **4600**, **5500** and **11815**. Opens with *paṇāmagāthā*.

56	Code: **5444**	*Milindaprissahnā*	2 (2–3) *phuk*	undated

Remarks: Only two *phuk* in a mixed bundle with six *phuk* of other titles.

57	Code: **5500**	*Bra Milindapañhā*	14 *phuk* (complete)	undated

Colophon: *iminā lekkhamuññena tikkhapañño visārado ahaṃ hi jātasahassāni dhāvento tipitakaṃ kitiyaṃ ahaṃ pi jātisatasahassāni tripitakaṃ labhissāmi ahaṃ pi yāva nibbanagamissāmi | saṃsāraṃ saṃsaranto mahābhogo labhissāmi ahaṃ pi suddhakeso suddhadanto suddhanāso suddhamukho suddhasoto suddhalalo suddhacakkhu suddhajivho suddhabhāsito piyavaddho suddhanakkho suddhapādo suddha-uru suddhabāhu suddhahattho suddhavāco suddha-akodhano cettha mettābhāvanā punappunnaṃ anāgate buddho paccayo lokanāyako ahaṃ pi labhāmi sāvakova buddho puna* จงได้ตรัสรู้เป็นพระ | (see Appendix IV)

Remarks: The text ends at *issatthassa pañho pañcamo.* A similar aspiration also appears in **4600**, **5434** and **11815**. But the last phrase, 'to awaken as a Phra or a Buddha' (จงได้ตรัสรู้เป็นพระ) is only found in this manuscript.

58	Code: **6133**			
	Set 1	*Milindapañhā*	10 (4, 6–10, 12–15) *phuk*	1755 CE
	Colophon:	At the end of *phuk* 15: *iminā puññākammena sagge sugatigāmiko tāvatiṃse nibbateyyaṃ sudhammāyaṃ sasanantane gato puto bhaveyyattha divibhūvibhavekave uppatto paññavāhessaṃ cheko pucchāvisajjane yathā rājā nāgaseno yujjhanti yujjhabhūmiyaṃ aññamaññavivecanoti* / (see Appendix III)		
		On the title folio: หนังสือ ท่าน ตา กับ ออ ตอง ส้าง / พุทฺธสกฺกราช ไท ๒๒๙๘ พระวสฺสา ปี กุน ศฺพฺพศก (สัปฺตศก) / (This manuscript was donated by the grandfather and Ms Tong. The auspicious year is 2298 of the Buddhist Era [1755 CE], the Year of the Pig, era *Saptasok* or seventh year of the decade).		
		(Scribe): Maharajakavi		
	Remarks	*Phuk* 4 in fact is *phuk* 5. *Phuk* 4 can be found in **5215**. Similar colophon is found in **4606** (**Set 1**) and **4596** (**Set 2**).		
	Set 2	*Bra Milindaprisnā*	3 (16–18) *phuk*	undated
	Colophon	At the end of *phuk* 18: *iminā puññatejena milindapaṇhā likkhitvāna pāramiyo paripuṇṇe buddho homi anāgate* / / *bra milindaprisnā* (see **327**)		
	Set 3	*Bra Milindapañhā Chabap Lāṃbhuñja*	1 (1) *phuk*	undated
	Set 4	*Bra Milindapañhā Kammujjakṣarachvāt*	1 (3) *phuk*	undated
59	Code: **6191**	*Milindaprisnā*	6 (3–8) *phuk*	1745 CE
	Colophon:	On the title folio of *phuk* 3: พุทฺธสกราช ได ๒๒๘๘ พรวสฺสา ปี ฉลู ศฺพฺพศก (The year is 2288 of the Buddhist Era, the Year of the Ox, era *Saptasok* or seventh year of the decade.)		
		ราชกวี เพฺชต มีใจ สทฺธ สาง ไว ไน พฺรสาสสนุน แล (The royal poet Phet, his mind is full of faith, sponsored [this manuscript] for the Dispensation [of the Buddha].)		
	Remarks:	The flow of the text is inconsistent. For example, in *phuk* 8, in middle of a dialogue, the text skips eleven other dialogues in between.		
60	Code: **6552**			
	Set 1	*Bra Milindapaṇhā Vitthāra Kambujjakṣarachvāt*	3 (1–3) *phuk*	undated

Remarks:	From palaeographic assessment, this manuscript could have been copied in the Ayutthaya era.		
Set 2	*Bra Milindaprisnā*	15 (4–18) *phuk*	undated
Colophon:	*iminā puññatejena milindapaṇhā likkhitvana pāramiyo paripuṇṇe buddho homi anāgate* (see **327**)		
Set 3	*Bra Milindapaṇhā*	3 (4–6) *phuk*	undated
Remarks:	This entry with 21 *phuk* is made up of three sets of manuscripts		

61	Code: **6952**	*Braññā Milinda*	1 (12) *phuk*	undated
	Remarks:	One loose *phuk*. The title is given as *Braññā* or *Phaya Milinda* (King Milinda)		

62	Code: **7237**	*Bra Milindapaṇhā*	1 (18) *phuk*	undated
	Remarks:	One loose *phuk* in a bundle together with another ten *phuk* of other titles.		

63	Code: **8307**	*Bra Milindapaṇhā*	17 *phuk* (complete)	1783 CE
	Colophon:	At the end of *phuk* 17: *iminā puññatejjena milindapaññālikkhitvā pāramiyo paripūṇṇo buddho homi anāgatateti* **/** (See **327**)		

On the title folio of *phuk* 3:
'พร พุทฺธสกฺกราช ไท ๒๓๘๖ พรวสฺสา ปี เถาะ เบญจศก' (The auspicious year is 2386 of the Buddhist Era [1783 CE], the Year of the Rabbit, era *Benchasok* or fifth year of the decade).

On different title folios:
หนังสือประสกสาลิกาสร้างไว้ในศาสนา (this manuscript is sponsored by lay devotee Salika);
หนังสือท่านสีกาอินสร้างไว้ในศาสนา (…by lay devotee *Than* In) ;
หนังสือท่านหนาสร้างไว้ในศาสนา (…by lay devotee *Than* Naa);
หนังสือท่านประสกคีสีกาจันสร้างไว้ในศาสนา (…by lay devotee *Than* Dii and female lay devotee Chan)

Remarks:	This manuscript was sponsored by a group of donors. In the card catalogue, this was initially classified as a *Saṅkhepa* version.

64	Code: **8837**	*Milindaprisne*	1 (11) *phuk*	NA
	Remarks:	One loose *phuk*.		

65	Code: **11730**	*Bra Milindapaṇhā*	17 *phuk* (complete)	NA
	Colophon:	At the end of *phuk* 17: *iminā puññatejjena milindapaññālikkhitvā pāramiyo paripuṇṇo buddho homi anāgateti* (see **327**)		

On the title folio of *phuk* 1:

มหเสงอุษาหะเพิจรพญายามเขียรมิลินธะปฤษหนาให้ได้ทันสราง

(Mahaseng made an effort to write the *Milindapañha* to finish [it in time]).

Remarks:	The colophon at the title folio seems incomplete.	

66	Code: **11815**	*Bra Milindapaṇhā*	16 *phuk* (complete)	1782 CE
	Colophon:	At the end of *phuk* 16:		

iminā lekkhapuññena tikkhapañño visārado ahaṃ pi phāti satasahassāni dārento tipitakaṃ (p.c: tipitakattayaṃ) ahaṃpi phāti satasahassāni tripitakaṃ labhissāmi ahaṃ yāva nibbānaṃ na gamissāmi sasāraṃ saṃsārento mahābhogo labhissāmi ahaṃ suddhakheso suddhadanto suddhanāso suddhamukho, suddhasoto suddhalalo suddhacakkhu suddhajivho suddhabhāsito piyavaddho suddhanakkho suddhapādo suddha-ura suddhabāhu suddhahattho suddhavāco suddha-kodhano cettha mettābhāvano punnappanaṃ anāgate yassa buddho paccayyo lokanāyako ahaṃpi labhāmi sāvako buddho (see Appendix IV).

On the title folio of *phuk* 12:

พร พุทฺธสกฺกราตฺ ไท ๒๓๒๕ พร วสาเสฺต[เศษ] สํขฺยา เดือน ลวง แลว สี่ เดือน กับ ๕ วัน ทั้ง (ธงชัย?) วัน ๕ + ๙ ปีขานจัตฺตวาศก

(The auspicious year is 2325 of the Buddhist Era (1782 CE), in the ninth month, sixth waning day, Thursday, the Year of the Tiger, era *Chattawasok* or fourth year of the decade).

Remarks:	Copied in the transition year of Thonburi to Rattanakosin era in 1782. Similar aspiration also appears in **4600**, **5435** and **5500**.	

67	Code: **11829**	*Milindapaṇhā*	14 (1, 3–9, 12–17) *phuk*	undated
	Colophon:	*nibbānapaccaya hotu.* Opens with *paṇāmagāthā.*		

68	Code: **12288**	*Bra Milindapaṇhā*	20 *phuk* (complete)	undated
	Colophon:	*iminā puññātejena milindapaṇhā likkhitvāna pāramiyo paripuṇṇo Buddho homi anāgate* (see **327**).		
	Remarks:	The text is clean and clear. The long vowels are indicated (though not in all cases). Opens with *paṇāmagāthā.*		

69	Code: **12813**	*Bra Milindapaṇhā*	1 (1) *phuk*	undated
	Remarks:	Opens with *paṇāmagāthā.*		

Table 3. The *Milindapañha*, monolingual Pāli in Mon script

1	Code: **240**	*Bra Milindapaṇhā*	10 (11–20) *phuk*	undated
	Colophon:	*iminā puññatejena milindapaṇhā likkhitvāna pāramiyo paripuṇṇo buddho homi anāgate* (See Table 2, **327**)		

Remarks	It may be a copy of a Khom-script manuscript. Unfortunately the first half, *phuk* one to ten, cannot be located at the moment.

Table 4. The *Milindapañha-ṭīkā* in Khom script.

1	Code: **338**	*Bra Ṭīkā Milindapaṇhā* 8 *phuk* (complete)	undated
	Colophon:	*nibbānapaccayo hotu me anāgate* (In the future, may this be a contributing condition for me to [attain] Nirvana)	
	Remarks:	The textual tradition of this commentary is similar to P.S. Jaini's edition, the *Milinda-Ṭīkā,* published by the Pali Text Society, London, in 1961. The manuscript looks relatively new, could be a newly copied manuscript. It is found together with a *Saṅkhepa* version with the same entry code.	

Table 5. The *Milindapañha Saṅkhepa* in Khom script

1	Code: **334**	*Bra Milindapaṇhā Saṃkheppa*	3 *phuk* (complete)	Third Reign
	Remarks:	These three *phuk* are bundled together with the *Milindapañha* non-*saṅkhepa* version (*phuk* 1–10) with the same entry number (see **334** in Table 2). Each *phuk* is covered with two folios decorated with gold-lacquered floral-squirrel-bird design against a black-maroon background. Categorised as a royal edition. A *rot nam tham tho* version (ฉบับ รดน้ำดำโท).		
2	Code: **336**	*Bra Milindapaṇhā Saṃkheppa*	3 *phuk* (complete)	First Reign
	Remarks:	The text from *phuk* 2 to *phuk* 3 is not continuous—the linking folio could be found at the end of *phuk* 1, with the page number '*ga*'—which should be the first folio in *phuk* 3. Categorised as a royal edition.		
3	Code: **338**	*Bra Milindapaṇhā Saṃkheppa*	3 *phuk* (complete)	undated
	Remarks	Bundled together with *Ṭīkā Milindapañha* (see Table 4 no. 1)		
4	Code: **376**	*Bra Milindapaṇhā Saṃkheppa*	3 *phuk* (complete)	Third Reign
	Remarks:	Each *phuk* is covered with two gold-lacquered (plain) folios. A *Thong Noi* version (ฉบับ ทอง น้อย). Categorised as a royal edition.		
5	Code: **3658**	*Milindapaṇhā Saṃkheppa*	3 *phuk* (complete)	undated

6	Code: **4508**	*Milindapaṇhā Saṃkheppa*	3 *phuk* (complete)	undated
	Colophon:	พญาสีหเทพยสร้าง ([this manuscript] is sponsored by Phaya Siha-thep).		

7	Code: **4715**	*Milindapaṇhā Saṃkheppa*	1 (2) *phuk*	undated
	Colophon:	นายสีจำลองขึ้น วัดราชบูรณะ (*Nai* Si Chamlong copied this at Wat Rachaburana)		

8	Code: **6769**	*Bra Milindapaṇhā Saṃkheppa*	3 *phuk* (complete)	Third Reign
	Remarks:	This manuscript has been proofread. Each *phuk* is covered with two folios of decorated gold-lacquered floral-squirrels motifs against a black-maroon background. The *rot nam tham tho* version (ฉบับ รดน้ำดำโท). Categorised as a royal edition.		

Table 6. The *Milindapañha Saṅkhepa* in Mon script

1	Code: 45	*Milindapaṇhā Saṃkheppa*	3 *phuk* (complete)	undated
	Remarks:	Each folio is covered with a set of gold lacquered folios decorated with floral design.		

Table 7. The *Milindapañhagāthā* in the *Vaṃsamālinīpakaraṇa* in Khom script

1	Code: **2478**	*Vaṅsamālinī*	12 (1–4, 6–13) *phuk*	undated
	Colophon:	On the title folio of *phuk* 1: พระองค์เจ้าช่อุ่มสร้างไว้สำหรับพระศาสนาขอให้ได้สำเร็จแก่ พระนิพพานในอนาคต (Phra Ong Chao Cha-um [sponsors this manuscript] for the Dispensation [of the Buddha] and wishes to attain Nirvana in the future.) At the end of *phuk* 13: *nibbānapaccayo hotu anagate kale ǀ buddham saraṇaṃ gacchāmi dhammaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi saṃghaṃsaraṇaṃ gacchāmi* (In the future, may this be a contributing factor to [attain] Nirvana. I go to the Buddha for refuge, I go to the Dhamma for refuge, I go to the Sangha for refuge).		
	Remarks:	The *Milindapañha* is part of *Rājavaṃsādikathā paricchedo*. The *Milindapañha* verses come after *Kuṭakaṇṇatissarājakathā* and before *Buddhaghosassa Nidānakathaṃ*, in thirty-four written folios. The *Milindapañhagātha* begins in *phuk* 10, folio *dhū-r*, at the fourth line and ends in *phuk* 12, folio *bi-v*, second line.		
2	Code: **2480**	*Vaṅsamālīni*	13 *phuk* (complete)	undated

	Colophon:	At the end of *phuk* 13: *buddham saraṇaṃ gacchāmi dhammaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi* *saṃghaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi*
		(Scribe): *Nai* Boonma (นาย บุญมา)
	Remarks:	The *Milindapañhagātha* begins in *phuk* 10, folio *dhū-r*, at the fourth line and ends in *phuk* 12, folio *bi-v*, second line.

3	Code: **2482**	*Vaṅsamālinī*	13 *phuk* (complete)	undated
	Colophon	At the end of *phuk* 13: *buddham saraṇaṃ gacchāmi dhammaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi* *saṃghaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāṃi ǀ ahaṃ vanditvā rattanatayaṃ* *nibbana paccayo hotu ǀ aniccāvattasaṃkhāra upāda-vayya* *dhammino uppaja*[5] (I go to the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Saṅgha for refuge. I salute the triple gems. May this be a contributing condition to [attain] Nirvana. Impermanent, alas, are all formations! They have the nature to rise and fall. Having arisen…).
	Remarks:	*Milindapañhagāthā* begins in *phuk* 10, folio *dhu-v*, first line and ends in *phuk* 12, folio *bi-r*, first line.

4	Code: **3963**	*Vaṅsamālinī*	13 *phuk* (complete)	undated
	Colophon:	At the end of *phuk* 13: *nibbanapaccayo hotu anāgate kale ǀ buddham saraṇaṃ* *gacchāmi dhammaṃ saṃghaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāṃi* (see **2478**)
		On the title folio of *phuk* 2: พระยาสีสหเทพพ์สร้างไว้ในพระพุทธศาสนา นานแล้ว ไม่ (Phraya Sri Sahathep [sponsored this manuscript] for the dispensation of the Buddha not long ago).
	Remarks:	The *Milindapañhagātha* begins in *phuk* 10, folio *dhū-r*, at the fourth line and ends in *phuk* 12, folio *bi-v*, second line.

5	Code: **5801**	*Vaṅsamālinī*	13 *phuk* (complete)	1835 CE
	Colophon:	At the end of *phuk* 13: *buddham saraṇaṃ gacchāmi dhammaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāṃi ǀ* *saṃghasaraṇaṃ gacchāṃi*
		On the title folio of *phuk* 1: พระพุทธศักราชล่องแล้ว ๒๓๗๘ พระวัสสาปีมะแมสัพศกสมเด็จ พระพันปีกรมพระศรีสุลาไลยทรงสร้างไว้ในพระศาสนา[6](When 2378 years of the Buddhist Era [has passed], in the Year of the Goat, *Saptasok* era or seventh year of the decade, [the manuscript] was sponsored by Somdet Krom Phra Pan Vassa Srisulalai to sustain the Dispensation of the Buddha).

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[5] Cf. D II 157.8–9. *Mahā-Parinib*bāna-Suttanta; This verse at the colophon is not complete.

[6] Cf. with NL8650 (recorded as the V*aṃsamālinīpakaraṇa-tīkā,* but instead it is a commentary to the Mahavaṃsa. Therefore it is not listed in the tables here), which shares the same colophon.

	Remarks	The *Milindapañhagāthā* begins in *phuk* 10, folio *dhū-r*, at the fourth line and ends in *phuk* 12, folio *bi-v*, second line.		
6	Code: **5805**	*Vaṅsamālīni*	13 *phuk* (complete)	undated
	Colophon:	At the end of *phuk* 13: *buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi dhammaṃ saṃghaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi*		
	Remarks:	The *Milindapañhagāthā* begins in *phuk* 10, folio *dhū-r*, at the fourth line and ends in *phuk* 12, folio *bi-v*, second line.		
7	Code: **9093**	*Bra Vaṅsamālini*	1 (10) *phuk*	undated
	Remarks:	A loose *phuk*. *Phuk* 10 covers some of the *Milindapañhagāthā* which starts at folio *dhū-r*, the fourth line.		

Table 8. The *Milindapañhagāthā* in the *Vaṃsamālinīpakaraṇa* in Mon script

7	Code: **329**	*Vaṅsamālinī*	13 *phuk* (complete)	undated
	Remarks:	The *Milindapañhagāthā* begins in *phuk* 10, folio *dhū-r*, at the fourth line and ends in *phuk* 12, folio *bi-v*, second line. Each *phuk* is covered by a set of gold-lacquered title folios adorned with floral motifs. This manuscript seems to be a copy of the Khom version (or vice versa).		

Appendix II

Names of Donors and Scribes:

Bhikkhu Indapaññā (อินทปัญญายภิกขุ) 2.36. **4596 (Set 2)**
Nai Boonma (นาย บุญมา) 7.2. **2480**
Chan (จัน) 2.63. **8307**
Chao Khrok Cha-umu (เจ้าครอกฉอุ่ม) 2.46. **4890**
Nai Chim (นายฉิม) 2.6. **332**
Dhammajota (ธมฺมโชต) 2.48. **5008**
Than Dii (ดี) 2.63. **8307**
Than In (อิน) 2.63. **8307**
Luang Kasa (หลวงกาสา)[1] 2.44. **4698**
Luang Tasa (หลฺวงตาสา) 2.14. **1781**
Luang Phasa (หลวงภาสา) 2.43. **4647**
Mahaman (มหามัน) 2.11. **377**
Maha Indhasaravimala (มหาอินทสรวิมุล) 2.11. **377**

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[1] Luang Phasa, Luang Tasa and Luang Kasa of **1781**, **4647** and **4698** could be the same person (scribe).

Mahapromsuddhi (มหาพรมสุทธิ) 2.32. **4583**

Maharajakavi 2.58. **6133**

Maharueng (มหาเรือง) 2.14. **1781**; 2.43. **4647**; 2.44. **4698**

Mahaseng (มหเสง) 2.65 **11730**

Ngern (เงิน) 2.36. **4596 (Set 2)**

Than Naa (หนา) 2.63. **8307**

Phaya Siha-thep (พญาสีหเทพย) 5.6. **4508**

Phaya Phisan (พญาพิศาล) 2.17. **2921**

Phra Sa (พรสา) 2.17. **2921**

Phra Ong Chao Cha-um (พระองค์เจ้าชอุ่ม) 7.1. **2478**

Phraya Sri Sahathep (พระยาสีสหเทพพ์) 7.4. **3963**

Rajakaviphet 2.59. **6191**

Salika (สาลิกา) 2.63. **8307**

Sarapala (*sārapāla*) 2.4. **330**

Nai Si Chamlorng (นายสีจำลอง) 5.7. **4715**

Somdet Krom Phra Pan Vassa Srisulalai (พระวัสสาสมเด็จกรมพระศรีสุลาไลย) 7.5. **5801**

Tong (ตอง ล้าง) and grandfather 2.58. **6133**

Names of monasteries:

Wat Kluai (วัดกลวย [กงวย]) 2.48. **5008**

Wat Rachaburana (วัดราชบูรณะ) 5.7. **4715**

Wat Rakhang (วัดระฆัง) 2.14. **1781**; 2.44. **4698**

Appendix III
Edited colophon based on **4596 (Set 2)**, **4606 (Set 1)**, **6133 (Set 1)**:[2]

iminā puññākammena sagge sugati gāmiko tāvatiṃse[3] nibbatteyyaṃ sudhammāyaṃ sanantane gato pūto[4] bhave yattha[5] divibhū vibhave bhave uppanno paññavahessaṃ cheko pucchāvisajjane[6] yathā rājā nāgaseno yujjhanti yujjhabhūmiyaṃ aññamañña-vivecanoti[7] || nibbāna paccayo hoti | buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi[8] |

Translation:
Through this act of merit, may I be the one who goes to the happy realm; may I be reborn in the Tavatiṃsa heaven, and spend a long time in Sudhamma hall. May I be there, in the majesty of the divine state. May I be wise and skilled in answering questions like in the same way the king and Nāgasena contested on the forum of

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[2] The syntax of this colophon is unusual.

[3] tāvatiṃse 4606 (Set 1), 6133 (Set 1)] tāvataṃse 4596 (Set 2).

[4] pūto 4606 (Set 1)] puto 6133 (Set 1); ceto 4596 (Set 2).

[5] bhave yattha 4596 (Set 2), 4606 (Set 1)] bhaveyyattha, 6133.

[6] pucchāvisajjane 6133, 4606 (Set 1)] paññāvisajane 4596 (Set 2).

[7] °*vivecanoti* 4606 (Set 1), 4596 (Set 2)] visedhanoti *dub.* 4596 (Set 2)

[8] nibbāna…gacchāmi 4596 (Set 2)] *om.* 4606 (Set 1), 6133 (Set 1).

debate, each of them sharply discerning. May this be the contributing cause to [attain] Nirvana. I go to the Buddha for refuge.

Appendix IV
Edited colophon based on **4600**; **5500**; **11815**; **5435**:

iminā lekkhapuññena tikkhapaññena visārado ahaṃ pi[9] jātisatasahassāni dhārento tipitakaṃ kittīyaṃ[10] ahaṃ pi jātisatasahassāni tipitakaṃ labhissāmi ahaṃ pi yāva nibbānaṃ na gamissāmi saṃsāraṃ saṃsaranto mahābhogo labhissāmi ahaṃ pi suddhakeso suddhadanto suddhanāso suddhamukho suddhasoto suddhalalāṭo[11] suddhacakkhu suddhajivho suddhabhāsito piyavaddho suddhanakkho[12] suddhapādo[13] suddha-ura-suddhabāhu suddhahattho suddhavāco suddha-akodhano cettha mettābhāvano[14] punappunaṃ anāgate yassa buddho paccayo lokanāyako ahaṃ pi[15] labhāmi sāvako buddho ||

Translation:
With this merit of writing down (the text), may I be accomplished in sharp wisdom, may I memorize and teach the *Tipiṭaka* for hundreds of thousands of lives. I will also be one who receives the *Tipiṭaka* for hundreds thousands lives. As long as I am yet to attain Nirvana, I will get to be one who possesses great wealth, perfect hair, perfect teeth, perfect nose, perfect mouth, perfect ears, perfect forehead, perfect eyes and perfect tongue; one who is pure in speech and who is dear to the elders; one who has perfect nails, perfect feet, perfect chest, perfect arms and perfect hands; one who is pure in words and free of anger; and one who cultivates loving kindness [for all living beings] here and in the future, again and again….[16]

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[9] pi 4600, 11815, 5435] hi 5500.

[10] tipiṭakaṃ kittīyaṃ *em.*] tipitakaṃ kittīyaṃ 4600; tipitakattayaṃ 11815, 5435; tipitakaṃ kitiyaṃ 5500.

[11] suddhalalāṭo *em.*] suddhalalo 4600, 5500, 11815, 5435.

[12] °nakkho 4600, 5500, 11815, 5435] °nakho PED

[13] °pādo 4600, 5500, 11815] °pāno 5435.

[14] mettābhāvano 11815] mettābhavano 4600, 5435 ; mettābhāvanā 5500.

[15] pi 5500, 11815, 5435] *om.* 4600

[16] The syntax of the last sentence '*yassa…buddho*' is unclear.

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