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THE CH'IEH-LUNG INSCRIPTIONS OF 1755 AND 1758 IN OIRAT-MONGOLIAN

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TO HONOUR OWEN LATTIMORE AT SEVENTY

The polyglot nature of the Chinese kingdom has given rise to a number of polyglot inscriptions.¹ The late Erich Haenisch studied several of these, and published articles about them. One of these was his "Zwei viersprachige Inschriften zum Dsungarenkrieg aus den Jahren 1755 und 1758"². Drawing on the materials of the Franke-Laufer epigraphical work,³ he gave a brief study of the two inscriptions concentrating on the Chinese text, with transcription and occasional comment on the parallel Manchu,⁴ Oirat and Tibetan texts.

In the present article, I am interested solely in examining the Oirat text by itself. It is a reasonably full translation of the Chinese, but it has dropped a few phrases here and there or changes the original at points slightly. In order to integrate this material into the field of Mongolian and Oirat studies, it is deemed advisable to present a new transcription of the text, since in Haenisch's article, the three subsidiary languages are not given separately, but are crowded one after the other and arranged under the Chinese verses. Similarly, his comments are somewhat incohesive, as they must also be sought out for each language text instead of being grouped together. Last,

¹ L. Ligeti, in "Deux tablettes de T'ai-Tsong des Ts'ing" (*Acta Orientalia Hungarica*, vol. 9), page 218, footnote 10, gives a discussion about various extant polyglot inscriptions, citing the Franke-Laufer book (see my note 2 herewith), and B. Laufer's *Skizze der mongolischen Literatur*, pp. 202-204.

² Erich Haenisch, "Zwei viersprachige Inschriften zum Dsungarenkrieg aus den Jahren 1755 und 1758," in the *Miscellanea Academica Berolinensia*, vol. 2, no. 2, pages 224-247, Berlin 1950.

³ Otto Franke and Berthold Laufer, "Epigraphische Denkmäler aus China," two vols., Berlin 1914, plates 47 & 51.

⁴ The Manchu text has been briefly treated (without transcription or full translation) by John L. Mish, "The Return of the Turgut: a Manchu inscription from Jehol," *Journal of Asian History* 4 (1). 80-82 (1970).

the transcription system for Oirat used by Haenisch is one giving minimal contrast features, and from which one is sometimes uncertain how to reconstruct the original spelling.

Haenisch's transcription system does not distinguish the pairs x and q, or g and γ, and depends on the vocalism of the word to show this. Though this is valid for many occurrences, there is then no way to indicate any special, irregular or unusual writing. The Galik letters are not marked. The diphthongs and long vowels are marked as follows: the *udaan* (macron or long mark) is represented by a superscript macron as ā, ē, and diphthongs of the type öü or üü are indicated with a circumflex, viz., ô and û. His ī is represented here by *iysi*. In addition, there are also some minor internal spelling variations between the inscription as transcribed by Haenisch and the spelling of the same word as given in his commentary. As a result, his rendition does not really meet the requirements of precise research or of lexicography. Therefore, the present article proceeds from the originals as found on plates 47 and 51 of the Laufer-Franke epigraphy, and gives a fresh transcription with translation and commentary.

Since the two inscriptions of 1755 and 1758 were erected by the Ch'ien-lung Emperor to commemorate a victory over the Dzungars, it is appropriate that they used for their Mongolian portion the Oirat variety of Mongolian script and language. Though the writer was clearly conversant with standard Oirat, he is strongly influenced by Written Mongolian forms, as can be seen from some of his orthographies. For instance, he frequently writes uncontracted forms where Oirat would normally use a contraction, e.g., *zalayus*, not *zalūs*; *ibege-*, not *ibē-*; *unaya-*, not *unā-*. This language could therefore be characterized as "Oirat Hybrid Mongolian," in line with some earlier discussion by me on this topic.⁵

The first inscription is that of 1755, and is about five hundred words long. The second inscription, from 1758, is supplemental to the first, and is about half its length. The first inscription is in verses, except for the opening and closing sentences, denoted lines (1) and (17). It uses thirty triplet-stanzas, alliterating initially on three occurrences of the same sound. This is rather unusual in itself. The

⁵ John R. Krueger, "Oirat Literary Resources and Problems of Oirat Lexicography," in the semi-centennial volume of the Middle Western Branch of the American Oriental Society (Bloomington, Indiana), 1969, pages 134-157. See pp. 138-139 especially.

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alliteration is well carried out, and the few instances of divergence are either simply due to cutting or carving slips, my inability to make out the fine shape of the photograph of the rubbing, or some influence of Written Mongolian (e.g., *ödүge* alliterating with *ene*, obviously because of Mo. *edүge*). The second inscription is not in verses, although it refers internally to the first as being versified.

Inscription of 1755

TRANSCRIPTION

The figures in parentheses refer to the lines of the inscription as shown on the original plates.

xan-nu bičiqsen bolai

(1) zöün-yari tübšidkeji toqtoqson yabudali Ili γazar-tu temdeqlen bayiγuluqsan gereltü kūše čilou-yin bičiq.

(2) dēdü izourāsa (3) tenggeri-yin tügeqsen ni inu yerünggүilebei.
Dayičing ulus-tu jiyaγabai.
dakiji xamaγalzaji ese xurmajiluqsan bēr ügei belei.

yeke Dayičing ulus (4) dēdü tenggeri-dü neyilüülbei.
yekede neyite dalai-yin oloni toqtobai.
yerünggei bügüdeyigi āyan Manju ulušiyin albatu bolγobai.

mön kū bidani (5) Tayižu (6) Tayižung (7) Šižu manduulbai.
Muqden-ü γazarāsa türü-gi negegebei.
mulu ulušiyin dürim xouli-gi toqtoji ilerkeyilebei.

geyigülün öünēse (8) Šengžu (9) Šižung zalγamjilabai.
gereli badaruulji coq-gi aldarsiulbai.
gem ügei öğüride engke-yin tüül-dü kürgebei.

üçükün beye zalγamjilan yeke sourin-du soubai.
ünér külęqsen yabudali ödür büri şimdaqsan belei.
ülemji tüğemel dörböñ dalai-yin surγali nigen bolxui-gi eremüi.

ene zöün-γar kemēbēsü basa čigi küreküi.
ede mön kümün γoläsa öbörō biši bügütele,
eyimi γaqcār xolodoji xocorči,

Urumč
ölzüi-t
ürgülji

kedü kedün üye soyolāsa terslebei.
kezē-dē gürkeji bulāji (10) uulγalabai.
getürkei neng olon uluši youn nu tölö dayisun bolγon üzebei.

yekeke
yekeng
yeke c

Dabāči neng terslegüü bolbai.
dariui aqsumlan ösleldübei.
darulaji oloni sanagi zobobai.

dabšiji
dēši aq
dimei t

teyin kü xoroxoyituqsan tarālang-du adali bolbai.
tere dariui moγoi-du xadxuqdaqsan metü bucabai.
tede bügüde angγalzaji xasulalcabai.

zebseq
jigirger
jiluji x

tani γuuxa ireqsen youn-du xoudamaγai azuγu.
tayilxuyin tölö bi ergecü'lji sanabai.
tani nige örlüge aqšan zoura (11) tenggütüülsü genei.

mungxa
muxurc
mölkiji

ene metü zoboqson ni üzeji,
enērin belei öün-dü uyaraji bi. süürēsün aldabai.
enērin yaγaran tani tengkürü'lji γaryasu gebei.

deyilüq
deyilüq
degejile

teyin kü şine daxan oroji ireqsed-tü tušābai.
tedeni turšuul bolγoji emüne yabuulbai
tendeki zami ta labtai medebei.

ödüge n
edegēr
ene Ili

müngke bātur cerigi nemüülbei.
mön kü kedü kedün sarayin künüsü-gi beledkebei.
mucegērken bu uulaγalaji bulaqtun geji tungγaqlabai.

Coros, I
coxom
cöm nüi

śilideq ceriq-tü boronoloqson (12) metü öbüsüben büčibei.
suluun ceriq yabuxuni alγür aγajim-yēr belei.
śibardaxu boqdoxui-gi kezē čigi ese ucaraldubai.

olon zay
oncolan
oγoyata

küçürkeq ceriq zöün baroun etegēd inu zalγamjilaldumui.
kürē kürē bēr mini ceriq dabšiji orobai.
kürüqsēr alγür-yēr yabulcamui.

tani axa
ta zalaγ
talamjit

Urumči-du kürbei.

ölzüi-tü Tabun Jisayigi daxan oruulbai.
ürgülji kedü γazar kümün ügei metü yabubai.

yekeken tayiji zayisang mürgüke irebei.

yekenggi xojimdayu (13) boluγujin geji temeceldün daxaji orobai.
yeke cerigiyin sūr-yēr amuuluqsan belei.

dabšiji Boro Tala-du kürbei.

dēši aqšan zoura Talki daba-gi dababai.
dimei töuni γazar boγomta xabcilxana bii.

zebseq ergecüülji xoyishi bayildumui.

jigirgemşıqtü Dabāči bosči buruulamui.
jiluji xaši odbōčigi egeneqte šaxamdamui.

mungxaraji yabād Xojis beq-tü bariqdabai.

muxurdād xuluγana metü cōmcürabei.
mölkiji conoqtu orosu geji čirmabai.

deyilüqsen (14) medegi sedkül medebei.

deyilüqdeqsen olzo-gi xalγa-du külēji abubai.
degejilēd yalayigi uučilan baqtaγabai.

ödüge nēse öüskeji eyimi bolunai.

edegēr dörbön Oyirad mörgüke iremüi.

ene Ili γazarı sāya jiruq dangsen-dü oruulumui.

Coros, Dörböd, Xošod, Xoyidi šiyidkebei.

coxom dörbön xān wang gung-giyin zerge olγuulbai.
cōm nüüdeliyin gēr-yēr nutuqlan jirγuulbai.

olon zayisang-gi albanai bolγoji oncoγoyilbai.

oncolan (15) cōm xošuun sumu zok'ōbai.
oγoyata ayishi ügei ken tani zobomui.

tani axa yekēši ta kündülen aji töröqtün.

ta zalaγus axa yekes-nariyin kümüzüküi-gi sonosuqtun.
talamjitayin uduridun surγaji tezēqtün.

teme ükéri öbörö öbörö ürezüülüqtün.
tenggürüülji xoni mori-gi arbijiuluqtun.
teqşileji zui zokis-yēr nutuqlaji aduuluqtun.

xubi-bēr xubāqsan γazari dimei bu temēceldüqtün.
xubisxaji esergü tesergü bu dimii kereldüqtün.
(16) xubiraxu kündü yala-du bu unaqtun.

γadanakiyigi neyidebēr tulγaji külēqtün.
xaracus Buruudi sergeyilün xalγalaqtun.
Xasaq-gi kičēn xalγalaji zoqsoqtun.

arzan uuji cadtala ideqtün.
ačitu šarayin šašin ni delgerüülüqtün.
aγui yeke tenggeriyin soyorγoqsan. buyani külēji bolunai.

Ili-yin γazari tübsidkeji toqtobai.
ilerkeyilen šilüqleji gereltü küshē čilou-du seyilgebei.
ilangγuyiya tümen tümen jil-du toqtobai.

(17) tenggeri-yin tedküqsen xoriduγar on küküqčin γaxai zun-nu
dundadu sarayin sayin ödür Xān-nu bičiqsen inu.

TRANSLATION

A commemorative memorial (lit. 'refulgent memorial stone') in the Ili land commemorating (lit. 'establishing and noting') the action of having organized and rectified Dzungaria.

That distributed by Heaven since time immemorial (lit. 'from the sublime root') has been made universal. It was destined for the Daiching nation. Time and again (lit. 'changing-repeatedly again')¹ there was no playing-false. The Great Daiching nation conformed to High Heaven. It greatly stabilized the multitude of public and sea. It made everyone in general the subjects of the great² Manchu nation. Our T'ai-tsū, T'ai-tsung and Shih-tsū elevated it (lit. 'made

¹ Clearly read as *xamayalzaji* (Haenisch *xalagalzaji*). The form *xamayalza*- means 'to protect'. The form *xalayalza*- a compound of *xala*- 'to change' plus the frequentative suffix *yalza*. I prefer the meaning of the latter.

² The text uses the Manchu word *ayan* 'great, big'.

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³ Instead plate.⁴ Uses the⁵ *buca*- 'to

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vol. 14, p. 3

⁶ *pro boroy*

top.

it rise'). They exercised their rule³ (lit. 'opened the kingdom') from the Mukden land. They established and clarified the rules and regulations of the founding⁴ state (lit. 'core-nation').

Illuminating thenceforth, Sheng-tsü and Shih-tsung continued it. They caused the fulgence to spread and made its splendor famous. They reached the point of faultless eternal peace. My minor person continued, and sat on the grand throne. I strove daily for the truly awaited action. I sought for there to be one doctrine of the entire whole world (lit. 'the very universal four seas').

As for Dzungaria, oh too alas! Though you are basically no different from these persons, you alone have thus been distant and lagged behind, and for some few generations have been hostile (lit. heretical) to culture, ever assaulting, robbing, attacking. Why did the great mass of people regard the [Daiching] nation as an enemy?

Dawači was especially hostile. He constantly blustered and hated-everyone. The mood of the masses was oppressed and tormented. It (they) became like unto fields ravaged by insects. It (they) recoiled⁵ as if constantly pricked (stung) by a snake. They all gaped-wide (i.e., complained ?) and suffered together.

Why should I be indifferent when you came with your request? I thought and considered in order to resolve this, and said (to myself), "Let me equalize this for you during the time (till next) morning." [i.e., very quickly].

Beholding such suffering, I was compassionate and moved by it. I heaved a sigh. I said, "Let me hasten to grant you relief."

I issued-orders to those newly subjected. Making them the vanguard I sent them forward. "You surely know the roads there." I augmented the ever heroic army, and readied the same with some few months provisions. I promulgated, "Do not vye in plundering and robbing."

I surrounded myself densely (lit. 'like the rain')⁶ with crack troops. When the regular troops went, it was with deliberation and leisure. Even when there was mire and morass, they did not run

³ Instead of Haenisch's *düriü* 'form, shape', one finds *türiü* (for *töriü*) on the plate.

⁴ Uses the Manchu word *mulu* 'core, nucleus, root, basis'.

⁵ *buca-* 'to return, revert, go back'. More suitable to the context might be 'to suffer'. Note the meanings 'to hide, conceal' (*Acta Orientalia Hungarica*, vol. 14, p. 325).

⁶ *pro boroyolo-*. A curious image-Haenisch comments on it, pp. 237 and 238 top.

into each other (i.e., bog down?). The mighty Army continued-together to right and to left. Camp by camp⁷ my forces advanced. When they came they proceeded-together with deliberation. They reached Urumchi. Under-good-conditions, they went thru the Five Jisai. Steadily for many *li* it was virtually deserted.

Quite a few *taiji*'s and *zaisang*'s came to do obeisance. The majority vied to submit, saying "What if we should be late?" They were awed (lit. 'pacified') by the splendor of the great Army. Advancing, we came to Boro Tala. Further upwards, we soon crossed over Talki Pass. Unfortunately this spot was a close and narrow pass.

We crossed weapons and fought them from the (i.e., their) rear. Contemptuous Dawači got-up and fled. Wherever he went and fled, I was always nearby. He got completely upset and was captured by Hojis beg. He was in a tight spot and scurried like a rat. He tried to creep into a burrow.⁸

A courier made known the news of defeat. I accepted at the gates the booty which had been captured. I magnanimously pardoned their offenses when they had made-due-sacrifice.⁹

Making (it so) from now on, it is thus. These Four Oirats will come to kowtow. This Ili land was at once entered onto the map registers. They are adjudged the Coros, Dörbed, Khoshout and Khoits. I (we) created the ranks of four real khans, of wangs and gungs, etc. I secured them happiness, nomadizing with their moveable houses. I made the many *zaisang*'s subject and gave them preferential treatment. I specially created entire hoshuns and sumuns. Who dares to molest you at all? (lit. 'who suffers you entirely without fear?').

Give rise to honoring your elders and leaders. You, youth, heed the instruction of elders and leaders. [You, leaders] strive considerably to lead and instruct them. Make your camels and cattle multiply, individually! Make your sheep and horses fructify after restoring themselves! In equal measure, go nomadizing and tending herds in suitable and proper ways! Do not contend to no avail the lands

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⁷ *kürē* lit. just 'camp, enclosure', but here taken as a military unit, following Haenisch and the other languages.

⁸ Natsagdorji, *Khalkhiin tüüx* (Ulan Bator, 1963, page 24) reports a similar account of Tsogtu Taiji creeping into a burrow.

⁹ *degejile*- lit. 'to choose the best, select the choicest; extol, praise'.

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¹⁰ Haenisch
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divided into portions! Do not quarrel to no use back and forth in revolt! Do not fall into serious offenses that will ruin you!

Wait and oppose external-forces all-together! Vigilantly protect from the common Buruud; and cease protecting the Kazakhs carefully! Drink *arza* and eat your fill! Expand the beneficial Yellow Faith! You will receive the merit granted by vast High Heaven.

The Ili land has been rectified and conformed. I have engraved it on this resplendent memorial stone clearly in verses. It was established especially for tens and tens of thousands of years.

Written by the Khan on a propitious day of the middle month of summer, the Blue Pig Year [1755], the Twentieth¹⁰ of "Protected by Heaven" (= Ch'ien-lung).

Inscription of 1758

TRANSCRIPTION

1. zöün-γari tübšidkeji toqtoqson daraγa inu Ili γazar-tu temde-glen bayiγuluqsan gereltü kūsē čilou-yin bičiq.
2. tenggeri-yin kümüzüulküi-gi inu kümün xazayilγan ülü čidaxu aji.
3. tenggeri-yin unaγaxui-gi inu kümün bosxon ülü čidaxu aji. tere zöün-γariyin ulus āya youn nu tölö arya zali-gi xarilcan duuraji. üye ularin xulaγayıči bolji yabuqsan aji. tere kücüten-bēr yadanggi-tani tegermeldeji olon cuqlaqsād-bēr cōkün aqčidi darulan kümüni alaxui-gi kereq bolγoji, oγoyata xalaxu-ban
4. ülü medekü aji. šara-yin šašin-ni badaruulxu burxan bodisuq-nari kündülekü gebeci sanān-nu dotörō mou čidkūr doqšin šimnu-lügē adali kümün-nü idēgen bolγoqson aji. šixacaqsan kelence nigül tere metü tüül-dü kürēd, beyebēr üyiledüqsen yala nāsa keltüriji boluši ügei-dü küçüqsen aji. šine oroji
5. ireküi-dü. dörbön Oyiradi örgümjileji. olon zayisang, dörbön tüşimel, xorin nigen anggi bayiγuluqsani tusxayilan tasuraqsan ni. zalyamji luulun. ebdereqsen-ni deqjiylji. edegeri jirγal-yēr aji törötügei geqsen aji. šuγuud sünüküi müküküi-gi eriji. tedeni dotörō samouran yabuqsār öcüsdegen

¹⁰ Haenisch writes *xoyoduyar* 'second', clearly an error for *xoriduyar* 'twentieth' as in his translation.

6. kiduji baraqdaxui-du kürēd, zaxa gizayār ügei Ili-yin γazar kümün ügei xob xousun boluqsan aji. ene yerü bi youn-du dayin ni ürgülji deqdöölün alaxui-du duratai ceriqleküi-gi ülü bayixu aji. öün-dü gülicēsi ügei-yin učir šiltaγan ni baruun
7. γazar-tu ceriqleqsen ni šilqleqsen bülüq-tü temdeqleqsen gün narin ib ilérkei aji. edeni bayin bayin urbalkilan toqtuuri ügeidü, neng udabāsu. zabolong neng ülemji bolōd töünü xurdun urbaqsan-du züdebēcigi. xarin tusa oloqson aji. ene metü
8. cöm
9. tenggeri-dece Dayičing uluši ibegeküi-ece boluqsani. tung kümün-nü küçün biši aji. tuqtam Ili-gi oloqson-du xoyitu-gi ögüride sayin bolγoxu bodolya cuxula kereqtei. nigen-te toqtoqson γazari yakin dakiji aldabāsu bolxu aji. tümen γazariyin γadana tāra
10. tarixui-gi basa čigi öcüstele arya olbai kemēbēsü ülü bolxu aji. toxorbin bodoji dotoro-ban ergecüülbēcigi. yaqca kü
11. dēgū tenggeri ayiladxāsa biši. odō yakiji aysi ügei tusči sanaxu aji. tūgemel zöün-γari tübšidkeji toqtoqson daraγa inu Ili γazar-tu temdeqlen bayiyulxu gereltü küše čilou-yin bičiq-gi zok'oji bičiqseni ene aji.
12. tenggeri-yin Tedküqsen xorin γurbaduyar on šara bars namuriyin terigüün sarayin sain ödür xān nu bičiqsen inu.

TRANSLATION

Refulgent memorial stone document in the Ili land commemorating after the rectification and stabilization of Dzungaria.

The one Heaven will make-successful (lit. ‘make into a man, educate’), men will not be able to bend-awry. The one whom Heaven will topple, men will not be able to raise up. Oh, ye people of Dzungaria! Why have you all spread-abroad your craft and wile? For generations in turn you have turned out to be thieves. The mighty-ones have robbed the indigent-ones, and those many assembled have oppressed those who were few, finding it necessary to kill persons, and ever not knowing (how) to change.

Though saying they will honor the Bodhisattvas and Buddha, and will venerate the Yellow Faith, their inner thoughts (were) evil, and like the čidkür-demons and fierce šimnus-demons they made men their food. Reaching the limit of such sins and evils which

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² gülicēsi

compelled them, the offenses performed by them have become¹ unpardonable.

When they came in again, and having expanded the Four Oirats, I established the many *zaisang*'s, the four ministers and the twenty-one sections, and had continued those which had been separated and broken-apart, and raised-up those that were destroyed, stating "Let them live and exist in happiness!"

Straightway seeking death and destruction, and constantly acting confusedly amongst themselves, and finally reaching the point of massacreing and being captured, an endless stretch of the Ili country became completely empty. Why should one at all always elevate war, be wanting to kill, and not cease waging war? In this regard, the reason and cause of these intolerable² conditions (is as follows):

The campaign to the western lands has been profoundly and deeply clarified clearly in the versified section [i.e., the monument of 1755]. Without constant stability, had this long endured, suffering would become still greater, and though there were hardships in their hasty revolt, still it has found utility.

In this way it has fully transpired that the Daiching nation was supported by Heaven. It was not at all the might of men. Now that Ili is found again, it is necessary and important to have a policy to constantly maintain its welfare forever in the future. How would it do to lose again the land already established?

Regarding the cultivation of fields for a distance of 10,000 *li*, it is not possible to say whether it will find result in the long run. Though one endeavors to think, and ponders to oneself, there is no disposition (statement) but from High Heaven. Now how would I venture to handle (lit. 'strike') this?

This is (the circumstance) of composing and writing this resplendent memorial stone document later in the Ili region, establishing and noting the universal stabilization and pacification of Dzungaria.

The Khan wrote it on a propitious day of the first moon of fall, a Yellow Tiger Year [1758], the twenty-third of "Defended by Heaven" (*Ch'ien-lung*).

¹ Haenisch's text reads *küriiqsen* 'reached' and *küsüqsen* 'wished'. The Oirat text has *küküqsen*. It is the regular correspondence of Mo. *güice-* 'to overtake, attain'.

² *gülécéši ügei* 'for the non-forbearance', i.e., for not so enduring.

CENTRAL ASIATIC JOURNAL

INTERNATIONAL PERIODICAL
FOR THE LANGUAGES, LITERATURE,
HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF
CENTRAL ASIA

VOLUME XVI

1972

OTTO HARRASSOWITZ · WIESBADEN