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## The Gurkha's Offerings of Elephants and the Qing Court's Responses in 1792 and 1795

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### *abstract*

After the second Tibet-Gurkha war, in Qianlong (乾隆) 57 (1792), the Gurkha kingdom offered a tribute of elephants to Qing. Recent studies state that this is the only time that Gurkha gifted elephants to Qing. Nevertheless, I found that in Qianlong 60 (1795), they offered elephants again. In this paper, I point out that Gurkha made tributes both in Qianlong 57 and 60, emphasizing the latter that had gone unnoticed until now, and I analyze the manner and meaning of offering elephants.

In this study, I put forth the following three opinions. First, Gurkha's elephant tributes in Qianlong 57 and 60 had special meanings. In China, the elephant has been regarded as a lucky animal since ancient times. In the Qing period, elephants were not only common gifts but also birthdays or coronations to emperors from Southeast Asian countries. These elephants were kept at a tame elephant facility (馴象所) in Beijing and took an active part in imperial processions. At the end of the Qianlong period, Qing refused gifts of elephants from Southeast Asian countries because the tame elephant facility was overpopulated at that time. However, Qing received gifts of elephants from Gurkha because these offerings had a special meaning; in Qianlong 57, Gurkha surrendered to Qing in the second Tibet-Gurkha war, and the tribute of elephants was a symbol of Qing's victory. On the other hand, the elephants that Gurkha gifted in Qianlong 60 were congratulatory gifts for the coronation of Emperor Jiaqing (嘉慶帝). These elephants were bound for Peking via Tibet and were even shared with the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama. Second, Qing did not accept elephants from Gurkha in Daoguang (道光) 2 (1822), even though they kept only a few at the tame elephant facility at that time. After Qianlong 60, Qing informed Gurkha that they no longer needed to offer elephants regularly. Nevertheless, Gurkha gifted them in celebration of the coronation of Emperor Daoguang. It seems that Qing did not accept them because they were worried about the high cost incurred by sending elephants went to Peking via Bhutan and Tibet. Third, Gurkha's court tributes always went through Tibet, and were carried out under the oversight of the Tibetan imperial residents (駐藏大臣). The way of offering tributes has changed throughout regions or over eras, making it difficult to schematize.

**Keywords:** Gurkha, elephant tributes, the Qing dynasty, Tibet

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## Introduction

In the sixth month of Qianlong (乾隆) 53 (1788), Nepal's Gurkha Kingdom (henceforth Gurkha) invaded the Tsang (gtsang, 後藏) area of Tibet, and the First Gurkha War began.<sup>(1)</sup> While in the following year, both sides entered into a peace treaty, in the sixth month of Qianlong 56 (1791), they again attacked Tibet, which led to the Second Gurkha War.<sup>(2)</sup> In response to this second Gurkha invasion, the Qing Dynasty sent a supporting army to Tibet, and in the fifth month of the following year (Qianlong 57/1792), a large army led by Fukanggan (福康安), a military general (大將軍), went on an expedition to Nepal and engaged in intense fighting with the Gurkha. At the end of the same month, his army drew close to Batravati<sup>(3)</sup> (near Nepal's capital, Kathmandu) and defeated the Gurkha army. After this great fight, on the eleventh day of the sixth month, the Gurkha released the prisoners that had been brought to Kathmandu, and negotiations advanced to end the war. In the eighth month, the war ended with the Gurkha's defeat.<sup>(4)</sup>

As scholars have noted, after the end of the Second Gurkha War, the Gurkha dispatched a tribute embassy to the Qing that included an elephant offering. He Xinhua's research (2011; 2012) has focused on the elephants presented to the Qing by other countries and provides an overview of how these elephants were received throughout the Qing Dynasty. It also discusses the Gurkha's Qianlong 57 offering. However, since the focus of this research is exclusively tribute items, the researchers' analysis of the circumstances and aims of the tributes themselves is somewhat shallow. Fang Jianchang (2013) discusses the Gurkha's eighteen tributes while referring to Nepalese historical materials but does not delve into the details of each of the tributes. Also, while the Qianlong 57 elephant offering has been seen as the first and last offering by the Gurkha in research by He Xinhua (2012: 392) and others, this is not the case. In reality, the Gurkha presented elephants again in Qianlong 60. This second offering of elephants has, for the most part, been left untouched in existing research, and there is thus room to examine it further.

The elephants presented by the Gurkha and other countries were raised at the tame elephant facility within the Beijing castle. Mao Xianmin (1991), while quoting from historical materials, discusses this Qing facility and its elephants. In Wang Cui's (2012) overview of elephant raising in Chinese kingdoms throughout history, the Qing's tame elephant facility is discussed and compared to that of the Ming. However, these scholars do not discuss the connection between offerings of elephants and this facility, thereby leaving details regarding the offered elephants unclear.

Therefore, in this paper, I will examine the circumstances surrounding the offering of elephants by the Gurkha in Qianlong 57 as well as the heretofore overlooked offering in Qianlong 60 while focusing on their relationship to the tame elephant training facility, and then discuss the details of the Gurkha's tributes and the meaning of these elephants. At the same time, I will attempt to present a new understanding of relations between the Qing, Nepal, and Tibet at the time.

Underlines, numbers, and bracketed text in translations have been added by the author.

## 1. The Qianlong 57 Offering

### (1) The Tame Elephant Facility (馴象所) and Elephants

On the eight day of the eighth month of Qianlong 57, the Gurkha dispatched four emissaries to the Tibetan camp, including the *kazi*<sup>(5)</sup> Devadat Thapa. They carried a letter for the emperor asking to make a tribute offering to the Qing and a list of offerings, and requested that Fukanggan forward them (*Qingding kuoerka jilüe* vol. 42, sheets 2–3, sixteenth day of ninth month of Qianlong 57).

The list included an Indian palanquin, a traditional Nepalese sword called a *kukeri*, as well as items used in Chinese medicine that were difficult to acquire in China (such as coral, cinnamon, safflower, betel palm, cloves, and *Alpinia katsumadai* seed) (*Mingqing shiliao*, Geng vol., book 9, pp. 861–863). Most importantly for our purposes, the offering also included draft horses and five tame elephants.

Being massive, elephants had been used in the palace since ancient times as an expression of the emperor's authority. Records remain indicating that in the Liang (梁), Chen (陳), and Wei (魏) eras, elephants were offered from the south (Wang Cui2012: 66). Furthermore, in Buddhism, elephants are considered an auspicious animal<sup>(6)</sup> that connect the emperor's authority with a religious image, deifying his authority and instilling it in the people (Wang Cui2012: 82). During the Qing, trained elephants were included in the regular tribute items from Southeast Asia's Xianluo (暹羅, Siam) and Nanzhangguo (南掌國)<sup>(7)</sup> (*Qing huidian* vol. 39 Libu Zhukesi 禮部主客司). The offered elephants were kept at a tame elephant facility<sup>(8)</sup> located to the west of the castle wall inside the Xuanwu gate (宣武門).<sup>(9)</sup> They were used for palace ritual and ceremonial processions (鹵簿). The tame elephant facility was established after the rebuilding of the elephant stable (象房) that had been constructed in Hongzhi (弘治) 8 (1495),<sup>(10)</sup> under the jurisdiction of the *Luanyiwei* (鑾儀衛, Imperial Guard of Honor) that handled imperial processions.<sup>(11)</sup> At the front of the big imperial procession were four leading elephants, five elephants that carried treasures, one elephant that pulled a golden car, and one elephant that carried a jeweled car, making a total of eleven elephants. At the front of the medium-sized procession were a leading elephant and an elephant that carried a jeweled car. In this way, elephants were placed at the front of the imperial processions (*Qing huidian shili* vol 1109, Luanyiwei 2, Lubu), in which they played an important role.<sup>(12)</sup>

Elephants were indispensable in processions. They would regularly be added to the tame elephant facility from regular tributes from Xianluo and Nanzhangguo, as well as tributes from Yunnan *tusi* (土司, headmen) (see Table 1).

Elephants would also be presented upon occasions such as the emperor or empresses' birthday or the enthronement of a new emperor. They were added to celebratory tributary items as proof that all under heaven was at peace.<sup>(13)</sup> As can be seen from Table 1, in Qianlong 26 (1761) Nanzhangguo presented two elephants as part of its regular offering as well as two more to celebrate the seventieth birthday of Empress Xiaoshengxian (孝聖憲皇后), Emperor Qianlong's birth mother. They also gave two elephants upon her eightieth birthday ten years later. In Qianlong 55 (1780), to celebrate the eightieth birthday of Emperor Qianlong, Miandian (緬甸, Burma) presented seven elephants and Nanzhangguo presented two more elephants in addition to regular two-elephant tribute.

However, the elephants offered by the Gurkha at the abovementioned occasion were neither regular

Table 1: Elephant Offerings (from the Kangxi (康熙) to Guangxu (光緒) years).

Year	Presenter	Elephants	Notes	Other Sources
Kangxi 47	Xianluoguo	2	<i>Biaowen</i> .	<i>Qingshigao</i> Liechuan 315 Shuguo 3 Xianluo
48	Diao Paiding	Unknown	Mianningting. Government post given ( <i>Menglian xuanfushi</i> )	<i>Qingshigao</i> Liechuan 301 Tusi 3 Yunnan shunningfu
54	Zizhi	Unknown	Mianningting. Given government position ( <i>Mengmeng tuxunjian</i> )	<i>Qingshigao</i> Liechuan 301 Tusi 3 Yunnan shunningfu
Yongzheng 7	Xianluoguo	Unknown	Not presented to empress. Gold leaf <i>biaowen</i> .	
8	Nanzhangguo	2	<i>Jinmianzipubian biaowen</i> .	
Qianlong 1	Nanzhangguo	2	Three spare elephants.	
	Xianluoguo	1		<i>Qingshigao</i> Liechuan 315 Shuguo 3 Xianluo
14	Xianluoguo	2	Not presented to empress. Gold leaf <i>biaowen</i> .	
	Nanzhangguo	Unknown	Presented in the first month.	<i>Qingshigao</i> Liechuan 315 Shuguo 3 Nanzhang
16	Miandian	8	Presented to the emperor. <i>Biaowen</i> .	
		2	Presented to the empress.	

Year	Presenter	Elephants	Notes	Other Sources
26	Nanzhangguo	2	Celebration of seventieth birthday of Empress Xiaoshengxian, the birth mother of Emperor Qianlong and Qianlong's fiftieth birthday.	<i>Qingshigao</i> Liechuan 315 Shuguo 3 Nanzhang
		2	Regular tribute.	
31	Xianluoguo	Unknown	Not presented to empress. Gold leaf <i>biaowen</i> .	
34	Tusi Hunjue	4	Acquired during Miandian expedition.	<i>Qingshigao</i> Liezhuan 88 Puheng
36	Nanzhangguo	2	Celebration of Empress Xiaoshengxian's eightieth birthday. Following the example of Qianlong 26, presented along with year tribute. <i>Pnye biaowen</i> .	
46	Xianluoguo	3	Presented as a side tribute along with regular tribute items. Elephant and rhinoceros horns were sent to Beijing along with main tributes, other items were changed into money in Guangdong province.	<i>Gongzhongdang qianlong-zhao zouzhe</i> , twenty-seventh day of the tenth month of Qianlong 46, Jiangxi <i>xunfu</i> Baoshuo zouzhe
	Nanzhangguo	4	Year tribute and celebration of the emperor's long life.	
50	Xianluoguo	2	Gold leaf <i>biaowen</i> . Not presented to empress.	Qianlong 51 in <i>Qingshigao</i> Liechuan 315 Shuguo 3 Xianluo
52	Cheli Tusi	2	Given to Luanyiwei for raising.	
53	Miandian	8	Gold leaf <i>biaowen</i> .	
55	Nanzhangguo	2	Celebration of emperor's long life. Presented along with two tame elephants (year tribute).	
		2	Year tribute	
	Miandian	7	Celebration of the emperor's long life. Gold leaf <i>biaowen</i> . Six tame elephants, one flower elephant.	
		2	Investiture ritual	
	Annan	2	Celebration of the emperor's long life. Ruler himself went to the imperial court.	
Gengma Tusi	2	Celebration of the emperor's long life.		
57	Annan	2	Wangxiang elephant	
58	Kuoerka	1		<i>Qingshigao</i> Liechuan 315 Shuguo 4 Kuoerka, <i>Luanyiwei dang</i> vol. 138
	(Nanzhangguo)	0	Exempted from regular tribute elephants.	<i>Qingshigao</i> Liechuan 315 Shuguo 3 Nanzhang
	(Annan, etc.)	0	Yungui Lianguguang Dufu made to reject them because they had already received many tribute elephants.	<i>Qingshigao</i> Benji 15 Gaozong Qianlong 58
Jiaqing 12	Nanzhangguo	4	Committee members who escorted animals returned to Yunnan.	<i>Qingshigao</i> Liechuan 315 Shuguo 3 Nanzhang
16	Miandian	3		
Xianfeng 3	Nanzhangguo	Unknown	Envoy not given permission to come to Beijing, but the elephants were received and the governor general in charge dispatched someone to take them to the capital.	
	Miandian	Unknown	Envoy not given permission to come to Beijing, but the elephants were received and the governor general in charge dispatched someone to take them to the capital.	
Tongzhi 9	Yuenan	Unknown		<i>Qingshigao</i> Benji 22 Muzong Tongzhi 9
Tongzhi 10	Annan	2	Expression of gratitude for the Qing having sent many soldiers to address disturbances by rebel-bandits.	
Guangxu 1	Miandian	2		

Created based on *Qing buidian shili* vols. 503 and 504, Libu 214, Chaogong.

tribute items nor celebratory tribute items: having been defeated by the Qing in the Second Gurkha War, they were asking to be allowed to make imperial tributes. In this way, these elephants had a special meaning. In the following text, I will examine the process by which the Gurkha presented these elephants.

## (2) Elephant Offerings

Unlike other tribute items, the five tame elephants presented by the Gurkha were large and difficult to transport. They were thus sent along with five draft horses. In the ninth month of Qianlong 57, Emperor Qianlong issued the following instructions regarding these elephants.

Currently, there are already many elephants in the capital (Beijing), and there are enough for escort exhibitions (1). However, until now, there have been no elephants in Tibet. Tell Fukanggan the emperor's edict is transmitted, and from those elephants being sent to Beijing, one is given to the Dalai Lama and one to the Panchen Lama and the other three sent to Beijing at a slow pace (2), the monks and laypeople of Ü-Tsang will always see the offered items from afar, gradually adopt the [Qing Court's] system, and be shown the prestige and authority [of the Qing Court](3).

(*Kuoerka dang*, nineteenth day of the ninth month of Qianlong 57)

In the underlined section (1), the Emperor states that there are already many elephants in Beijing and therefore plenty for use in processions. I will now discuss the number of elephants that were kept at the tame elephant facility in Beijing at the time (ninth month of Qianlong 57).

In the second month of Qianlong 50 (1785), eighteen elephants were being kept at the facility (see Table 2). Subsequently, two were presented by the Cheli *tusi* (車里土司) in Qianlong 52 (1787) and eight by Miandian in Qianlong 53. In Qianlong 55, in addition to regular tribute elephants, the following were presented in celebration of Emperor Qianlong's eightieth birthday: four from Nanzhangguo, nine from Miandian, two from Annan (安南, Vietnam), and two from the Gengma *tusi* (耿馬土司), for a total of 17 (see Table 1). Furthermore, in the twelfth month of Qianlong 57, two were presented by Annan (see Table 1). We can confirm that in the eleventh month of the following year (Qianlong 58), thirty-nine elephants were at the facility (see Table 2). In other words, in the ninth month of Qianlong 57, when the above instructions were issued, there were at least thirty-seven and at most forty-five at the facility. As previously described, eleven elephants were needed for the big imperial procession. In the wedding ceremony held for Emperor Tongzhi in Tongzhi 9 (1870), eleven elephants were needed (*Junjichu dangzhe jian*, fourteenth day of eleventh month of Tongzhi (同治)9, Luanyiwei zhangweishi dachen Yishan (奕山)). Considering the number of elephants actually used in processions, it is clear that having between thirty-seven and forty-four elephants at the facility was excessive.<sup>(14)</sup> It appears that Emperor Qianlong therefore stated that they should be sent to Beijing after decreasing their numbers by giving one each to the Dalai Lama (the eighth Dalai Lama, “jam dpal rgya mtsho”) and the Panchen Lama (the fourth Panchen Lama, “bstan pa'i nyi ma”) since there are no elephants in Tibet (underlined part (2)). While it was stated that it would be preferable for the Gurkha tribute mission to arrive in Beijing within the year or before the Lantern Festival (元宵節, fifteenth day of the first month) so that they could join Korea (朝鮮) and other countries' missions in the emperor audience ritual (*(Qingding) kuoerka jilüe* vol. 42, sheet 28, third day of the tenth month of Qianlong 57), the elephants and horses were sent to Beijing on a slower itinerary in the following year.

Table 2: Tame Elephant Facility Elephants (Qianlong 27 to Daoguang (道光) 28)

Date	No. of elephants	Notes	Source
Eleventh month of Qianlong 27	30		<i>Lmanyiwei dang</i> vols. 144, 145, 146, 147
Twelfth month of Qianlong 31	24		<i>Lmanyiwei dang</i> vols. 144, 145, 146, 147
Seventh month of Qianlong 32	23		<i>Lmanyiwei dang</i> vols. 144, 145, 146, 147
Second month of Qianlong 36	19		<i>Lmanyiwei dang</i> vols. 144, 145, 146, 147
Fourth month of Qianlong 37	23		<i>Lmanyiwei dang</i> vols. 144, 145, 146, 147
Second month of Qianlong 40	17		<i>Lmanyiwei dang</i> vols. 144, 145, 146, 147
Twelfth month of Qianlong 44	17		<i>Lmanyiwei dang</i> vols. 144, 145, 146, 147
Third month of Qianlong 47	22		<i>Lmanyiwei dang</i> vols. 144, 145, 146, 147
Second month of Qianlong 50	18		<i>Lmanyiwei dang</i> vols. 144, 145, 146, 147
Eleventh month of Qianlong 58	39		<i>Gaozong shilu</i> , vol. 1441, forty-fourth day of the sexagenary cycle in the eleventh month of Qianlong 58.
Twelfth month of Jiaqing 1	34		<i>Lmanyiwei dang</i> vols. 148, 149
Eighth month of Jiaqing 2	35		<i>Lmanyiwei dang</i> vols. 148, 149
Tenth month of Jiaqing 4	32		<i>Lmanyiwei dang</i> vols. 148, 149
Eighth month of Jiaqing 10	20	4 elephants were sick	<i>Gongzhongdang zhupi zouzhe</i> 04-01-15-0032-013, third day of the eighth month of Jiaqing 10
Jiaqing 6	28		<i>Lmanyiwei dang</i> vols. 148, 149
Jiaqing 15	16	1 small elephant	<i>Lmanyiwei dang</i> vols. 148, 149
Jiaqing 17	22		<i>Lmanyiwei dang</i> vols. 148, 149
Intercalary fourth month of Jiaqing 24	19		<i>Lmanyiwei dang</i> vols. 148, 149
Jiaqing 25	22		<i>Lmanyiwei dang</i> vols. 148, 149
Daoguang 3	9		<i>Lmanyiwei dang</i> vol. 155
Eleventh month of Daoguang 3	12		<i>Lmanyiwei dang</i> vol. 155
Ninth month of Daoguang 22	15		<i>Lmanyiwei dang</i> vol. 155
Daoguang 25	12		<i>Lmanyiwei dang</i> vol. 155
Daoguang 27	11		<i>Lmanyiwei dang</i> vol. 155
Daoguang 28	11		<i>Lmanyiwei dang</i> vol. 155

### (3) Elephants: Transport and Number

The elephants presented by the Gurkha were not brought from Nepal—they were acquired in India and were then sent to Tibet through Bhutan. There is a record of the elephants first entering Bhutan on the twelfth day of the twelfth month of Qianlong 57 from Calcutta's<sup>(15)</sup> Baerdesazali (巴爾底薩雜哩),<sup>(16)</sup> and then taking fifteen days to head forward (*(Qingding) kuorke jilie* vol. 51, sheet 1, eighth day of third month of Qianlong 58). Since the roads going to Tibet from Sikkim through Zongmu (宗木) were dangerous, difficult to pass, and were never repaired, a route from Baerdesazali through Bhutan was chosen (*Kuorke dang*, twenty-ninth day of second month of Qianlong 58). However, we can see in the report on Bhutan found in the below instructions that the roads on this Bhutan route were certainly not well-maintained.

Just earlier, the general Fukanggan, who was a *daxueshi* (大学士, grand academician) and have the title of gung (公), reported, “The Gurkha arrived in Baerdesazali (in Bhutan, Calcutta) with the Gurkha’s presented elephants and horses. Since the road is narrow, I immediately dispatched people to repair it, had them take good care [of the elephants and horses], and sent them to the Tibet border.”<sup>(17)</sup>

*(Junjichu manwen lufu zouzhe* 3-194-3415-28.1, instructions given on the twenty-ninth day of the second month of Qianlong 58 to the heads of the Bhutanese village Eldenidepa and Calcutta’s Baerdesazali).

It is reported that since the road was narrow from Baerdesazali to the Tibetan border, the elephants and horses were sent on their way after the road had been repaired. In the same instructions, Emperor Qian-

long said that the measures taken by Fukanggan “should be praised.”

The elephants reached the town of Phag ri (帕克里) on the Tibetan and Bhutanese boarder in the following year (Qianlong 58), on the twelfth day of the first month. Moving slowly from Phag ri to central Tibet would take approximately one month. Therefore, they probably arrived in Lhasa in the middle of the second month. It was reported that after arriving in Tibet, they would feed the elephants for one to two months and, then, after the snow and ice gradually melted and the grass began to grow upon entering the fourth month of the year, they would make their way to Beijing via Xining (西寧). The emperor gave his approval (*(Qingding) kuoerka jiliie* vol. 51, sheets 2, 10, eighth day of third month of Qianlong 58). The Gurkha emissaries who went to Beijing in the previous year took the Sichuan (四川) route, headed from Eastern Tibet’s Chabmdo (察木多) through Dar rtse mdo (打箭炉) to Sichuan. This Sichuan route crossed many mountains and steep paths; it would have been difficult to transport large animals like elephants on this route. Thus, the elephants were most likely taken on the easier Xining road, even if it meant spending more time travelling.

There is a record of the Gurkha elephants entering the elephant facility in the beginning of the eleventh month of Qianlong 58.<sup>(18)</sup> It is therefore certain that the elephants had arrived in Beijing by this time. In other words, it took around seven months to reach Beijing from Lhasa via Xining. The emissaries in the previous year left the town of Skyid grong (濟龍), located on the Gurkha-Nepalese trade route, on the second day of the ninth month (*(Qingding) kuoerka jiliie* vol. 44, sheet 10, twenty-third day of the tenth month of Qianlong 57) and arrived in Beijing on the twenty-third day of the twelfth month (*Kuoerka dang*, thirteenth day of the first month of Qianlong 58). If we assume that they started Lhasa immediately after they arrived in Lhasa at the end of the ninth month or the beginning of the tenth month, they would have arrived in Beijing within approximately two months. Comparing these two trips, it becomes clear that the trips involving massive elephants were done slowly, as the emperor instructed.

As discussed in the previous sub-section, three elephants were instructed to be sent to Beijing, with two others being given to the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama. However, only two are found in the records after the group left Lhasa (*(Qingding) kuoerka jiliie*, vol. 54, sheet 3, thirteenth day of the tenth month of Qianlong 58). Similarly, there are only two elephants depicted in the “Gurkha Offered Horses and Elephants Picture Scroll” (廓爾喀貢馬象圖卷; Qianlong 58, by Louis Antoine de Poirot (賀清泰) and Giuseppe Panzi (潘廷章)). It seems clear that only two were sent to Beijing. However, there is a record of only one elephant entering the facility (“on the second day of the eleventh month of Qianlong 58, an elephant with tusks sent by the Gurkha entered stable 42” (*Luanjyivei dang*, vol. 138)).<sup>(19)</sup> It thus appears that one of the two elephants died on the way to Beijing or immediately after arriving. It is highly likely that in the end, only one of the five elephants presented by the Gurkha were received by the Qing.

#### (4) The Meaning of Elephant Tributes

As previously described, the elephant presented by the Gurkha in Qianlong 58 arrived in Beijing at the beginning of the eleventh month and entered the tame elephant facility. However, Nanzhangguo and Annan were allowed to not present elephants in the same year (see Table 1). In the same month of the same year, Emperor Qianlong stated the following regarding countries’ presented elephants:

Until now, countries such as Annan, Miandian, and Nanzhangguo have presented elephants as part of their regular tributes. Since this shows their sincerity from afar [to the Qing Dynasty], all [elephants] have been put in [the tame elephant facility]. Currently at the [facility of the] Imperial Guard of Honor there are thirty-nine elephants. There are thus already many of them. If this increases again this year, then not only will they not be able to be raised in the elephant stable (tame elephant facility), but their provisions will be used up[. . .] There are already many elephants. I give permission for other tribute items to be presented, and elephants do not need to be brought to Beijing. In addition to the provinces

avoiding the expenses of accompanying them for long distances, these countries will not have to go through the effort of buying them. It is in fact a win-win situation for both sides.

(*Gaozong shilu* vol. 1441, forty-fourth day of the sexagenary cycle (丁未) in the eleventh month of Qianlong 58)

At the time, the facility was looking after thirty-nine elephants and there were concerns that this was too many. The emperor stated in order for both the sending and receiving sides to avoid expenses, Annan, Miandian, and Nanzhangguo regular tribute elephants would not be expected to be sent to Beijing, implying that countries should stop offering elephants.

Nevertheless, the elephants that arrived in the month that these orders were given were accepted. This is because they were not a regular tribute item—they had been offered by the Gurkha, the country defeated by the Qing in the Second Gurkha War, as a symbol of the Qing’s victory.

The two elephants offered by the Gurkha were special; this can also be seen by the fact that they were named Xunyuanyang (馴遠象, Manchu: *goroki be toborombuha sufan*; “the elephant that soothed afar”) and Furouxiang (伏柔象, Manchu: *ijisbun i dababuba sufan*; “the elephant that obediently surrendered”) (*Junjichu manwen lufu zoushe* 03-0189-2917-028, List of elephants donated by the Gurkha; Nie Chongzheng, head ed. 1996, 247). These elephants and the horses offered by the Gurkha are mentioned in “Engraving of the Imperial Poem on Gurkha Elephants and Horses’ Journey to the Capital (御製廓爾喀貢象馬至京詩墨刻)” and also depicted in “Gurkha-Offered Horses and Elephants Picture Scroll (廓爾喀貢馬象圖卷)” (Nie Chongzheng, head ed. 1996, 247). Like “Image of Subjugating the Gurkha in Battle (平定廓爾喀戰圖<sup>(20)</sup>”), a copperplate print of the Qing and Gurkha engaged in battle, from imperial memorials (奏摺) in which recipients of this poem engraving express gratitude to Emperor Qianlong, we can confirm that this poem engraving was given to *zongdu* (總督, provincial governors) and *xunfu* (巡撫, provincial inspector-generals)<sup>(21)</sup> (See Table 3). Like the copperplate print, this engraved poem played the role of reinforcing the prestige of Emperor Qianlong, the “old man with ten accomplishments (十全老人),” in the emperor’s subjects.

Meanwhile, the emperor gave some of the elephants he received from the Gurkha to the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama not only to avoid the costs associated with transporting the elephants to Beijing and raising them at the tame elephant facility. As stated in the third underlined portion of the quotation in Section 1.2, it appears that the emperor hoped that the people of Tibet would see that elephants, sacred and majestic animals, had been offered to him, and to visually reinforce his military prestige after the defeat of the Gurkha.

Table 3: List of People Expressing Gratitude for Receiving “Engraving of the Imperial Poem on Gurkha Elephants and Horses’ Journey to the Capital”

Name of Person	Position	Date of Memorial	File ( <i>dang’an</i> ) No.
Jiang Zhaokui	Shanxi <i>xunfu</i>	Twenty-sixth day of the eighth month of Qianlong 59	<i>Gongzhongdang</i> 04-01-12-0249-021
Li Fenghan	Dongde <i>zongdu</i>	Twenty-sixth day of the eighth month of Qianlong 59	<i>Gongzhongdang</i> 04-01-12-0249-005
Lan Dixi	Nanhe <i>zongdu</i>	Twenty-ninth day of the eighth month of Qianlong 59	<i>Gongzhongdang</i> microfilm no. 045-2123
Ji Fenge	Jiangsu <i>xunfu</i>	Twenty-ninth day of the eighth month of Qianlong 59	<i>Gongzhongdang</i> 04-01-13-0094-033
Liangken Tang	Zhili <i>zongdu</i>	Twenty-ninth day of the eighth month of Qianlong 59	<i>Gongzhongdang</i> 04-01-12-0249-016
Jiqing	Zhejiang <i>xunfu</i>	Fifth day of the ninth month of Qianlong 59	<i>Gongzhongdang</i> 04-01-12-0249-041
Hu Gaowang	Jiangsu <i>xuezheng</i>	Seventh day of the ninth month of Qianlong 59	<i>Gongzhongdang</i> 04-01-12-0249-047
Le Bao	Shangan <i>zongdu</i>	Fifteenth day of the ninth month of Qianlong 59	<i>Gongzhongdang</i> 04-01-12-0249-048
Chen Huai	Jiangxi <i>xunfu</i>	Fifteenth day of the ninth month of Qianlong 59	<i>Gongzhongdang</i> 04-01-12-0249-043
Hui Ling	Hubei <i>xunfu</i>	Twenty-fourth day of the ninth month of Qianlong 59	<i>Gongzhongdang</i> 04-01-12-0249-044
Pu Lin	Fujian <i>xunfu</i>	Twenty-fourth day of the ninth month of Qianlong 59	<i>Gongzhongdang</i> 04-01-12-0249-042
Zhu Gui	Guangdong <i>xunfu</i>	Twenty-sixth day of the ninth month of Qianlong 59	<i>Gongzhongdang</i> 04-01-12-0249-045
Yaofen	Shuli Guangxi <i>xunfu</i>	Nineteenth day of the tenth month of Qianlong 59	<i>Gongzhongdang</i> 04-01-12-0250-19

*Gongzhongdang*: *Gongzhongdang zhubi zoushe*. Held by The First Historical Archives of China



## 2. The Qianlong 60 Offering to the Qing

### (1) Dispatching Tributary Emissaries

As described in the previous section, after the Second Gurkha War, in Qianlong 57 the Gurkha sent a tributary mission and presented tribute items and agreed to do so once every five years. According to this agreement, the next tribute year would be Jiaqing (嘉慶) 2. Nevertheless, there is a record of the Gurkha doing so along with Miandian, Nanzhangguo, Xianluo, Annan, England (英吉利) and Ryukyu (琉球) (*Qingshiqao* vol 15 *Benji* 15, Gaozong Hongli 6, Qianlong 60), and there is a report from the Tibetan imperial resident (駐藏大臣) Songyun (松筠)<sup>(22)</sup> of Gurkha emissaries arriving in Tibet (*Gaozong shilu* vol. 1486, 57th day of the sexagenary cycle (庚申) in the ninth month of Qianlong 60). Fang Jianchang (2013:14) also points out that, based on Nepalese historical documents, there was a Gurkha tributary mission in Qianlong 60. This confirms the second tribute in Qianlong 60.<sup>(23)</sup> Considering that only three years had passed since the previous tribute, this tribute was too early to be considered a regular tribute. This was because in the previous year, Emperor Qianlong had ceded the throne to his son, Yongyan (永琰, Emperor Jiaqing), and the Gurkha decided to dispatch envoys in celebration. Below I will trace the circumstances of this tribute mission.

In Qianlong 60, the Dalai Lama and others from Tibet requested that they be allowed to send a *danshuke* (丹書克)<sup>(24)</sup> envoy to celebrate the previous year's event. Emperor Qianlong both allowed the envoy to come and also said that it would be easier for the special tribute emissaries to depart at the same time as those leaving for the Dalai Lama's *nianban* (年班) in the following year.<sup>(25)</sup> He thus ordered them<sup>(26)</sup> to come to the capital by the end of the year<sup>(27)</sup> (*Qianlongchao manwen jixindang yibian* no. 4218, ninth day of the second intercalary month of Qianlong 60). At the same time, the emperor said the following about the Gurkha's tribute:

The Gurkha king Rana Bahadur (Ratonabadu) might hear that the Dalai Lama's group is sending a retainer and ask to be allowed to again send one. While Songyun will, with the request [to be allowed to send a retainer] being received from the [Gurkha's] land, seek my opinion, he would not be able to make them follow after [the Dalai Lama has departed]. If Rana Bahadur contacts Songyun and makes [this] request, report this and do as they request, having them come with the Dalai Lama's retainers. If they do not request, then there is no need to have them come so that we can check in on them and have them submit to our rule.<sup>(28)</sup>

(*Qianlongchao Manwen jixindang yibian* 4218, the ninth day of the second intercalary month of Qianlong 60).

Hearing that the Dalai Lama would send emissaries to celebrate the enthronement of Emperor Jiaqing, it is possible that the Gurkha might similarly seek to send emissaries. The emperor states that in such a case, the Gurkha should not come alone but with the Tibetan emissaries that were sent by the Dalai Lama. We should note that the emperor states that if the Gurkha do not request that they be allowed to send tribute emissaries, there is no need to make them come. The Qing court did not ensure that the tribute was paid and were not actively seeking to host Gurkha tribute envoys.

Despite these instructions by the emperor, some days later, Songyun sent an imperial memorial that stated the following: "The Gurkha's King Rana Bahadur heard late that the Dalai Lama and others dispatched a retainer, and since the [Gurkha's] retainers cannot arrive at the end of the year in Beijing, I want to have them come in the next year's *nianban* and have another government official be dispatched to present a letter and offerings to the emperor" (*Qianlongchao manwen jixindang yibian* 4231, fourth day of fifth month of Qianlong 60).

Emperor Qianlong harshly responded to this report that appeared to have ignored his instructions.

Looking at what Songyun and others submitted, it appears that they are making them come to see [how they are doing] and submit them to our rule. This handling was greatly mistaken. However, if Songyun and others have already made Rana Bahadur dispatch envoys and they have already arrived in Tibet, considering that they will be able to arrive [in Beijing] at the end of the year, make them come here. There will be no problem if this is past the celebratory period (fifteenth day of the first month, the Lantern Festival). There is no need to have them come after.<sup>(29)</sup>

*(Qianlongchao Manwen jixindang yibian 4231, the fourth day of the fifth month of Qianlong 60)*

Emperor Qianlong criticizes Songyun for his great mistake of making the Gurkha send a tribute mission to the court despite the emperor having told him that there was no need for the Gurkha to send envoys.<sup>(30)</sup> However, he also states that if the Gurkha's envoys had already come to Tibet, they could proceed to Beijing regardless of whether they would arrive by the end of the year or after the New Year. It is clear that the emperor did not intend to reject a tribute mission that had already left its country. With that said, he then very ironically notes that having a banquet for the Gurkha would cost money: "Everyone may be dispatched to the capital where a banquet will be prepared for them. About how much would this trifling wasted expense be?" In this way, he implies that they should arrive by the end of the year and have their audience with other tribute missions.

In the end, a report arrived that the Gurkha's envoys could arrive in Beijing by the end of the year (*Qianlongchao manwen jixindang yibian 4246*, tenth day of seventh month of Qianlong 60). The Gurkha emissaries had already left Kathmandu on the twenty-seventh day of the seventh month (*Qianlongchao manwen jixindang yibian 4250*, the twenty-seventh day of the seventh month of Qianlong 60). On the thirty-fifth day of the sexagenary cycle in the twelfth month, along with other countries' envoys, the Gurkha tribute envoy Kazi Narshin (迺爾興)<sup>(31)</sup> had an audience with Emperor Qianlong outside the Western Garden (西苑) (*Gaozong shilu 1493*, thirty-fifth day of the sexagenary cycle (戊戌) in the twelfth month). They arrived in Beijing by the end of the year with no problem.

## (2) Offered Elephants

As described at the beginning of this paper, scholars have previously believed that the Gurkha's only elephant offering was in Qianlong 57. Nevertheless, looking at *Gaozong shilu* (vol. 1494, fifth day of the sexagenary cycle (戊辰) in the first month of Jiaqing 1), we find, "Your village (Gurkha) presented elephants both times." These second elephants are none other than the Qianlong 60 tribute offering. Therefore, as we did for the Qianlong 57 elephant offering, let us examine the process by which these elephants were presented in Qianlong 60.

Emperor Qianlong, having received a report from Songyun and others in Lhasa that the Gurkha tribute mission had left Kathmandu, stated the following regarding their tribute items on the twenty-seventh day of the seventh month of Qianlong 60:

Songyun notified me that the Gurkha's King Rana Bahadur had dispatched Kazi and others, and that they had left Kathmandu (Yangbu) to give a letter to the emperor and present tribute items. This is a good thing. However, there are many elephants in the capital (Beijing). They cannot be fit in the house used to raise them (tame elephant facility). Send a notification to Songyun and others of the five elephants, have them give two to the Dalai Lama and one to the Panchen Erdeni (the Panchen Lama) and send the remaining two to the capital.<sup>(32)</sup>

*(Qianlongchao manwen jixindang yibian 4250, the twenty-seventh day of the seventh month of Qianlong 60).*

We can see that the Gurkha were attempting to present five elephants as before. However, on the grounds that there were too many elephants in the tame elephant facility, Emperor Qianlong again gave orders that elephants should be presented to the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama (two and one, respectively). In D8N: 476, there is a record of the Gurkha giving a pair of elephants to the Dalai Lama in 1795 (the twenty-second day of the third month of the Tibetan calendar), and on the eleventh day of the fourth month of Jiaqing 1 (1796), the following report arrived from Tibetan imperial residents Songyun and Hening (和寧): “Because all five elephants and five horses sent by the Gurkha arrived just now, following the emperor’s instructions, we have given two to the Dalai Lama and one to the Panchen Erdeni.<sup>(33)</sup>” (*Junjichu manwenlu fuzouzhe* 3-2-3542-043, imperial memorial of Tibetan imperial residents Songyun and Hening, eleventh day of the fourth month of Jiaqing 1). We can confirm that two elephants were in fact given to the eighth Dalai Lama.<sup>(34)</sup>

### (3) Elephants: Transport and Number

From Lhasa, where the Gurkha’s tribute elephants had arrived, the following report was offered regarding the two elephants that would be sent to Beijing:

We have sent letters to all necessary places stating that a set of elephants and five horses to be sent to the capital (Beijing) will be sent via the Xining route, as on the former occasion, and we will dispatch the *bithesi* (筆帖式) Jichang (吉昌) of the *Lifanyuan* (理藩院, Board for the Administration of Outlying Regions), who has lived in Tibet for many years, as well as the second captain (守備) Dai Fesing and other guards, to look after them. Then, they will leave from Tibet at the end of the fourth month and be transported.<sup>(35)</sup>

(*Junjichu manwenlu fuzouzhe* 3-2-3542-043, eleventh day of the fourth month of Jiaqing 1, imperial memorial of Tibetan imperial residents Songyun and Hening)

It was reported that two elephants and five horses would be sent to Beijing via Xining, and that they planned to depart Tibet at the end of the fourth month similar to the previous envoy. Subsequently, the elephants and horses left the Ü area (dbus, 前藏) on the twenty-sixth day of the fourth month and proceeded slowly from the Qinghai route. On the eleventh day of the seventh month, they had already reached the entrance to Xining’s Dangal (丹噶爾) (*Gongzhongdang Jiaqingchao zouzhe* 000984, twenty-ninth day of the seventh month of Jiaqing, imperial memorial from Yimian (宜綿) and Tsebak (策拔克). The last tribute elephants had arrived there on the twenty-first day of the seventh month (*(Qinding) kuoerka jiliie* 54, sheets 3–4, thirteenth day of the tenth month of Qianlong 58). It appears that transportation of the elephants the second time via the same route progressed more smoothly.

The entirety of the thirty-eight stations from Doronbator (多倫巴圖爾), which is located on the border of Tibet and Qinghai, and Dangal are all in a pastoral area. It appears that in the previous envoy, food such as rice and rice stalks for elephants’ consumption, as well as the food of the government soldiers transporting them, was brought from the interior (*(Qinding) kuoerka jiliie*, vol. 54, sheet 11, fourteenth day of the seventh month of Qianlong 58). However, in this journey, food was provided differently.

At the thirty-eight stations between Doronbator and Dangal, not only did the Mongolian rulers complain about having to prepare the necessary cows, sheep, grass, and laborers, they also did not accept payments. In other words, we passed through areas in which the Jyekundo (玉樹) uncivilized people (番子) live, and while committee members assigned prices to necessary items, they all strongly try to not accept [payment].

(*Gongzhongdang Jiaqingchao zouzhe*, twenty-ninth day of the seventh month of Ji-

aqing 1, imperial memorial from Yimian and Tsebak)

We can see that the party had planned to procure and purchase the food and foremen necessary for transporting elephants and horses rather than transporting such people and things from the interior. However, it was reported that the various Mongolian rulers and Jyekundo people were firm in not accepting payment for food, and therefore in the end the travelers received these items from locals without charge. It was proposed that instead of payment, the people who provided such items be given as rewards cloth rolls and tea leaves at a value of twice the cost of the received items, and each of the Mongolian Jasagh rulers be given two rolls of large silk damask. The emperor gave the travelers permission to do so (*Gongzhongdang Jiaqingchao zhouzhe*, twenty-ninth day of the seventh month of Jiaqing, imperial memorial from Yimian and Tsebak).

The Gurkha Ajige Datan, who shod the elephants, also accompanied the caravan. He arrived in Beijing during the winter of Jiaqing 1 along with the elephants for the emperor. After having an audience with the emperor, he returned to Lhasa in the fifth month of the next year (Jiaqing 2). He returned home to Nepal via Skyid grong (*Junjichu manwenlu fuzhouzhe* 3-2-3565-025, twenty-seventh day of the fifth month of Jiaqing 2). The caravan was large and included a caretaker for the elephants.

#### (4) The Meaning of Offering Elephants and the End of the Practice

In Qianlong 58, the Emperor encouraged Nanzhangguo and Annan to stop offering elephants on the grounds that there were already too many elephants at the tame elephant facility. Despite this situation, in Qianlong 60, the emperor accepted the elephants offered by the Gurkha. This was because they were not regular tribute items; they were offerings presented in celebration of the enthronement of a new emperor, and it would not make sense to refuse a celebratory tribute item. It appears that the elephants were thus accepted amidst concerns about the cost of transporting them from afar and keeping them at the facility.

In response to the Gurkha's presentation of elephants twice, Emperor Qianlong worked out the following approach:

There are over thirty elephants at the stable (tame elephant facility) (1). [ . . . ] Your village (Gurkha) has donated elephants both times (2). There are too many elephants in the capital['s tame elephant facility], and thus, the elephants they are sending should be stopped at Ü-Tsang and given as presents to the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama. [ . . . ] From now on, you do not need to offer elephants and horses as part of their regular tributes (3). [ . . . ] Furthermore, this time, Narshin will bring home a reward. After you have received it, there is no need to send an envoy to express your gratitude. It will be acceptable for them to write a letter to the emperor and send it to the Tibetan imperial resident to have it forwarded.<sup>(4)</sup>

(*Gaozong shilu* vol. 1494, fifth day of the sexagenary cycle (戊辰) in the first month of Jiaqing 1).

As mentioned above, at the tame elephant facility, there were thirty-nine elephants in the eleventh month of Qianlong 58, and thirty-four in the twelfth month of Jiaqing 12 (*Luanyivei dang* vols. 148, 149). In the first month of Jiaqing 1 when this order was issued, there were over thirty elephants that were cared for by the facility (underlined portion (1)). The emperor also points out in this text that the Gurkha have presented tribute elephants twice (underlined portion (2)). As there were too many elephants in the facility, the Gurkha were ordered not to present them as part of their regular tributes in the future (underlined portion (3)). The emperor also stated that since the horses provided by the Gurkha were untrained (and therefore difficult to use) and because it is difficult to transport them from afar, like the elephants, they were no longer needed (*Gaozong shilu* vol. 1494, fifth day of the sexagenary cycle (戊辰) in the first month

of Jiaqing 1).

In addition, the emperor states that there is no need to dispatch an envoy to express gratitude for the reward from the Qing court, and that a letter may be sent to the emperor via the Tibetan imperial resident instead (underlined portion (4)). It appears that the emperor was not enthusiastic about the Gurkha dispatching an envoy, partially because, as pointed out in Section 3.1, he was concerned about the costs associated with entertaining the envoy group when they arrived in the capital.

Although Gurkha tribute elephants were banned from Qianlong 60 onwards, in their Daoguang 2 (1822) tribute, elephants were again included (*Xuanzong shilu* vol. 33, the forty-eighth day of the sexagenary cycle (辛亥) in the fourth month of Daoguang 4). This is probably because the Gurkha assumed that the emperor's wish that elephants not be presented during regular tributes did not apply because the Daoguang 2 tribute was made in celebration of the enthronement of Emperor Daoguang. Nevertheless, the permission was not granted to "prepare tame elephant or draft horse celebratory tribute items" (*Xuanzong shilu* vol. 33, the forty-eighth day of the sexagenary cycle (辛亥) in the fourth month of Daoguang 2); they were not accepted. While in Jiaqing 25 (1820), there were twenty-two elephants at the facility, in Daoguang 3 (1823) there were only nine (see Table 2). In Daoguang 2, when the above order was issued, the number of elephants must have been decreasing. Despite this situation, the tribute elephants from the Gurkha were probably not accepted due to concerns about the effort and massive cost involved in transporting elephants from afar.

Furthermore, the situation in South Asia at the time might have also had an influence on the elephant tribute tradition. In 1814, a war broke out between the Gurkha and the British Raj over territorial rights in the Terai area. As a result, the Gurkha ceded the Terai basin to the British Raj<sup>(36)</sup> and gave up the area west of the Mahakali River that had originally been ruled by the Kingdom of Sikkim (including Darjeeling and Kalimpong) (Saeki 2003: 516). With the relationship between the Gurkha and British Raj worsening, it is highly likely that transporting elephants acquired in India to Tibet through Bhutan, as had been done in the last two tributes, was difficult. In addition, in order to put in place a new transport route, the Qing court would have to shoulder additional costs. This probably contributed to the emperor's declaration that there was no need for the Gurkha to present elephants. The international situation in South Asia at the time had changed since the second time elephants were presented by the Gurkha in the end of the eighteenth century.

## Conclusion

This paper focused on the Gurkha's offerings of tribute elephants in Qianlong 57 and Qianlong 60, examining their circumstances and aims. This research not only verified claims made by prior studies that the Gurkha presented elephants in Qianlong 57, but also clarified the Gurkha's tribute and offering of elephants in Qianlong 60.

From the end of the Qianlong period into the beginning of the Jiaqing period, there were too many elephants at Beijing's tame elephant facility, and the emperor therefore instructed Southeast Asian countries that they did not need to present the court with elephants. It appears that the acceptance of elephants depended on the number of elephants at the facility. However, elephants were accepted from the Gurkha twice because they were not regular tribute items; instead, they were offerings with a special meaning. The first time the Gurkha presented elephants, poems and paintings (such as "Engraving of the Imperial Poem on Gurkha Elephants and Horses' Journey to the Capital" and "Gurkha-Offered Horses and Elephants Picture Scroll") were created, and the elephants played a symbolic role of sharing the Emperor Qianlong's military success with the world. Some of the offered elephants were presented to the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama not only to reduce transport costs but also to show the people of Tibet the majesty of the Qing.

Nevertheless, the Gurkha were told that there was no need for them to present elephants in their regu-

lar tributes after Qianlong 60. This was for the following two reasons. First, as Emperor Qianlong repeatedly stated, since there were already many elephants at the tame elephant facility and it would cost money to raise them, the Qing did not need a regular supply of elephants. Second, since the Gurkha's tribute elephants were brought from India via Nepal and Tibet, transportation costs were high and the effort involved was considerable. Even if the food and food transportation was provided at no charge, there would be a need to provide rewards in return. The Qing Court shouldered a considerable financial burden. The Gurkha were probably not expected to supply elephants, unlike the Southeast Asian tributary states of Xianluo and Nanzhangguo, in light of their location.

This paper also concretely described how the Gurkha offered tributes to the court. The Gurkha's court tributes always went through Tibet, a dependency (藩部) of the Qing, and were carried out under the oversight of the Tibetan imperial residents. Therefore, as can be seen by the imperial memorial of Songyun in Qianlong 60, the success of these court offerings were greatly influenced by the ways in which the mediating Tibetan imperial residents exercised their authority.<sup>(37)</sup> Kataoka (1998: 254-256) points out that the Gurkha's tribute missions were treated the same as dependencies' *nianban*, and one example of this is the Gurkha and Tibet envoys being ordered to go to the capital together for the Qianlong 60 court tribute. The Gurkha, which was "a country on the margins of the outer dependencies (a quasi-outer dependency)" (Kataoka 1998: 256), carried out court tributes under the oversight of the *Lifanyuan*, which was very different from how Korea, Ryukyu, and Southeast Asian countries, which were under the jurisdiction of the Libu (礼部, Ministry of Rites), carried out tributes. In other words, the relationship between the Qing court and tributary states differed depending on the time and area and cannot be reduced to a simple pattern. In the future, I intend to consider the nature of the Gurkha vis-a-vis other Qing tributary states, comparing them to those that were under the Board for the Administration of Outlying Regions, such as Kazakh and Kokand.

## Notes

- (1) The Gurkha invaded Tibet due to economic problems, such as the currency exchange rate, as well as intra-sibling conflict over the assets of the deceased third Panchen Lama (Zhuang Jifa 1983; Sato 1986a).
- (2) The Gurkha re-invaded Tibet on the grounds that the Tibetan side had not paid reparations for the First Gurkha War. For details on the Second Gurkha War, see Zhuang Jifa 1983 and Sato 1986b.
- (3) Chinese-language historical materials (such as *(Qingding) kuorke jiliè*) do not clearly state the place at which the battle was held, but Sato has concluded that it was Batravati based on geographical conditions (Sato 1986b: 688).
- (4) Saeki points out that while the war was going well for the Qing, fearing not only major losses and exhaustion but also winter isolation and the participation of the East India Company, the Qing decided to reach a peace deal (Saeki 2003: 506).
- (5) Kazi is the highest-ranked Gurkha civil servant.
- (6) White elephants were seen as the Buddha himself—it is said that the Buddha was born after his mother Maya saw a white elephant enter her womb in a dream—and thus, are greatly respected.
- (7) "Nanzhangguo" refers to the Lanexang Kingdom that once existed where Laos stands today. While it was divided into three countries in 1694, Chinese sources often continued to refer to the northern Kingdom of Luang Phrabang that subsequently made tributes as "Nanzhangguo."
- (8) The name of the institution that looked after elephants first appears in history books during the Northern Song (Wang Cui 2012: 66; Li Zhiyong & Yang Huiling 2015: 80). Furthermore, the *Yanjing suishiji*, written at the end of the Qing, discusses the tame elephant facility and how the elephant washing on the sixth day of the sixth month became a seasonal tradition in Beijing.
- (9) *Yanjing suishiji*, sixth month, *xixiang*/elephant washing.

- (10) During the Ming, there were three facilities: one for the initial training of elephants that had been captured in the wild (演象所, 射箭所, archery facility), the tame elephant facility (馴象所) in which trained elephants that would perform duties were kept, and the elephant stable (象房), where elephants were kept to replenish them as needed. During the Qing, these were all placed under the tame elephant facility. It is likely that during the Qing, the elephants that were offered had already been tamed and thus, the training facility ceased to be necessary. See Wang Cui 2012: 69-70.
- (11) During the Ming, the *Jinyiwei* (錦衣衛), the department that handled escorts and processions in the palace, managed elephants used in the latter (Wang Cui 2012: 68). This continued to be followed during the Qing, with the Imperial Guard of Honor (鑾儀衛, the re-organized *Jinyiwei*) having jurisdiction over elephants and the tame elephants' facility.
- (12) According to *Qinding Rixia jiuwen kao* (vol. 49 sheet 20), only six were used for ordinary imperial processions.
- (13) *Yanjing suishiji*, sixth month, *xixiang*/elephant washing.
- (14) In the eighth month of Jiaqing 10 (1805), there were twenty elephants, including four sick ones at the tame elephant facility. However, there were concerns regarding there not being enough for rites, and increasing this number was discussed (*Gongzhongdang jiaqingchao zouzhe* 04-01-15-0032-013, third day of the eighth month of Jiaqing 10, Yun-Gui Zongdu (雲貴總督) Bolin (伯麟) and Yunnan Xunfu (雲南巡撫) Yongbao (永保). We can thus see that sixteen elephants were considered to not be enough.
- (15) Refers to British Raj. It appears that it was referred to in this way because Calcutta was its center.
- (16) An area where India is currently located with Nepal to the West and Bhutan to the East; exact location unclear. This issue deserves further study.
- (17) jakan amba jiyanggiyūn, aliha bithei da, gung fukanggan sei baci, k'orka i jafaha sufan, morin, burukba g'arig'ada i harangga bardī sadzati sere aiman de isinafi, jugūn hafirahūn isheliyen ofi, uthai niyalma tucibufi jugūn dasatabufi, saikan tuwašatabume dzang ni jecen de isibume benjihe bade wesimbuebi.
- (18) *Luanyivei dang* vol. 138. As this book of archives, which is stored at The First Historical Archives of China, is not currently viewable, I have used the information included in Mao Xianmin 1991.
- (19) This historical document has been copied from Mao Xianmin's work, and therefore there is the possibility that one more elephant entered the tame elephant facility. However, when multiple elephants entered the facility, we find a list of all of them together (for example, "on the nineteenth day of the ninth month the three elephants presented by Nanzhangguo arrived and were put in rooms 33, 34, and 39" [*Luanyivei dang* vol. 138]), and therefore, it appears that in the eleventh month of Qianlong 58, only one elephant entered the facility.
- (20) Regarding the bestowal of "Image of Subjugating the Gurkha in Battle," see Komatsubara 2015: 25-26.
- (21) In Table 3, I have listed individuals found in the Palace Archive Qianlong Court Rescripts.
- (22) Songyun was a Mongolian Zhenglan Banner bureaucrat. After working in the *Lifanyuan*, from the end of the eighteenth century into the nineteenth century he served as imperial residents of Kulun and Tibet, and general of Ili. Regarding the career of this Mongolian bannerman Songyun, see Murakami 2007.
- (23) In the Gurkha tribute items table in He Xinhua 2012: 398, only the Jiaqing 8 (1803) tribute appears after the Qianlong 57 tribute. This is probably because no historical materials listing later tribute items were found.
- (24) A *danshuke* is a kind of congratulatory letter wishing for long life sent by the Dalai Lama, the Panchen Lama, and Tibetan government ministers on milestone birthdays (70th, 80th) of the emperor (or empress) as well as major celebrations such as enthronement. They would be sent along with tribute items. In Tibetan, this term (brten bzhuḡs) refers to a Tibetan Buddhist ritual for long life.

This could explain the name of the letter. Regarding *dansbuke*, see Sangding Cairen 1997.

- (25) *Nianban* refers to the system in which Mongolian rulers and the upper strata of outlying areas would periodically come to the capital, participate in the New Year's Day court celebration, and have an audience with the emperor (Zhao Yuntian: 192). Its Chinese name, which literally means "year groups," comes from the fact that area rulers would be divided into groups that would then come to Beijing in different years. There were various numbers of groups and group members, and cases in which the person (ruler) himself would come to the court, as well as cases (such as Tibet) in which representative envoys would be sent. From Qianlong 7 (1742) onwards in Tibet, the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama would send an envoy group with a lama called *mkhan po* as its representative (He Xinhua 2012: 54, 65). The "next year" referred to here (Jiaqing 1) was the Dalai Lama's turn.
- (26) Similarly, in the order from twenty-second day of the first month of Daoguang 22 (1842), instructions were given that the *dansbuke* that the eleventh Dalai Lama (mkhas grub rgya mtsho) was trying to send in celebration of the following year's fiftieth birthday of Emperor Daoguang, as well as the *dansbuke* that the eleventh Dalai Lama, having been recognized in the previous year, had planned to send after receiving a gold seal from the emperor, should be sent at the time of the Daoguang 25 (1845) Dalai Lama *nianban* (from Daoguang 19 onwards, Tibet's *nianban* was changed to once every four years; *Qinggong zhencang lishi dalai lama dang'an huicui*, 295, twenty-third day of the first month of Daoguang 22, order). This is an example of the *dansbuke* and *nianban* envoy being sent together.
- (27) The *nianban* procession was asked to arrive in Beijing between the fifteenth and twenty-fifth day of the twelfth month so that they would make it in time for the New Year's ceremony (Zhao Yuntian: 193; Kataoka 1998: 248-249).
- (28) dalai lama sa elcin takūraha babe k'orka i wang ratnabadur donjifi inu elcin takūraki seme baire be boljoci ojurakū ini baci baime jifi, sungyun se hese be baime wesimbuci geli amcaburakū ombi, ubabe sungyun sede suwaliyame jasifi ratnabadur se baime jici, uthai emu derei wesimbume, emu derei ceni baiha songkoi obufi dalai lama sai elcin i sasa jurambukini aika baime jiderakū oci, inu cohotoi šambume elbime jibure be baiburakū.
- (29) sungyun sei wesimbuhe be tuwaci, aimaka šambume elbime jibure gese, ere icihiyahangge umesi tašarahabi damu sungyun se aika emgeri šambufi ratnabadur sei baci elcin takūrafi dzang de isinjaha ofi, uthai aniyai dubade isinjime mutere be bodome ebsi unggikini, uthai hacin ucuri duleke okini, inu amasi unggire be baiburakū.
- (30) Songyun had probably not yet fully grasped the situation in Tibet; in the seventh month of Qianlong 59 (1794), he was ordered to be the Tibetan imperial resident, and had just taken up his post there in the twelfth month.
- (31) According to Fang Jianchang 2013:13, Ms. Fisher mentioned that the Gurkha tribute envoy's name was Narsingh Sah. The Nepal State Military Archives' entry indicates that it was Kazi Narsing Gurun. However, no detailed source is given.
- (32) sungyun sei baci, k'orkka wang ratnabadur, g'iji sebe takūrafi iletuleme wesimbure bithe wesimbume, albabun jafame yangbu ci juraka bade wesimbuhebi, ere sain baita. damu gemun hecen de bisire suf-an labdu, ujire boo baktarakū, sungyun sede jasifi sunja suf-an i dorgici, dalai lama de juwe, bancan erdeni de emke šangnafi, funcehe juwe be gemun hecen de benjibukini.
- (33) jakan k'orka i baci, sunja suf-an, sunja morin be yooni benjime isinjaha turgunde, ahasi hese be dahame dalai lama de suf-an juwe, bancan erdeni de suf-an emke šangname bahabuha.
- (34) A Tibetan record remains of these elephants being kept in an elephant structure called the "complete paradise (phun tshogs dga' tshal)" behind the Potala Palace, and that the eighth Dalai Lama loved these elephants and went to see them from time to time (D8N: 476).
- (35) gemun hecen de benebuci acara suf-an emu juru, morin sunja be, ahasi nenehe mudan i icihiyaha songkoi si ning ni jurgūn deri benebume, dzang de tefi aniya jaluka monggo jurgan i bithesi gicang, tuwakiyara hafan dai fe sing sebe tucibufi tuwašatame, duin biyai manashūn dzang ci jurambume



unggire babe, ahasi yabubuci acara bade yooni bithe yabubuhabi.

(36) The Terai area subsequently returned to the Gurkha.

(37) For example, while in the tenth month of Qianlong 55 the Gurkha sent an envoy with a letter and tribute items to Tibet, a Qing court bureaucrat in Tibet rejected them as not being an official letter and tribute items and did not report this ((*Qinding*) *kaoerka jilue* vol. 38, sheet 24, fourteenth day of the eighth month of Qianlong 57).

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D8N→ ngag dbang blo bzang thub bstan 'jig med rgya mtsho, *rgyal ba'i dbang po thams cad mkhyen gzigs chen po rje btsun blo bzang bstan pa'i dbang phyug 'jam dpal rgya mtsho dpal bzang po'i zhal snga nas kyi rnam par thar pa mdo tham brjod pa 'dzam gling tha gru yangs pa'i rgyan*, dga' ldan pho brang, 1811, Lhasa (TBRC: W2CZ7847)

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